
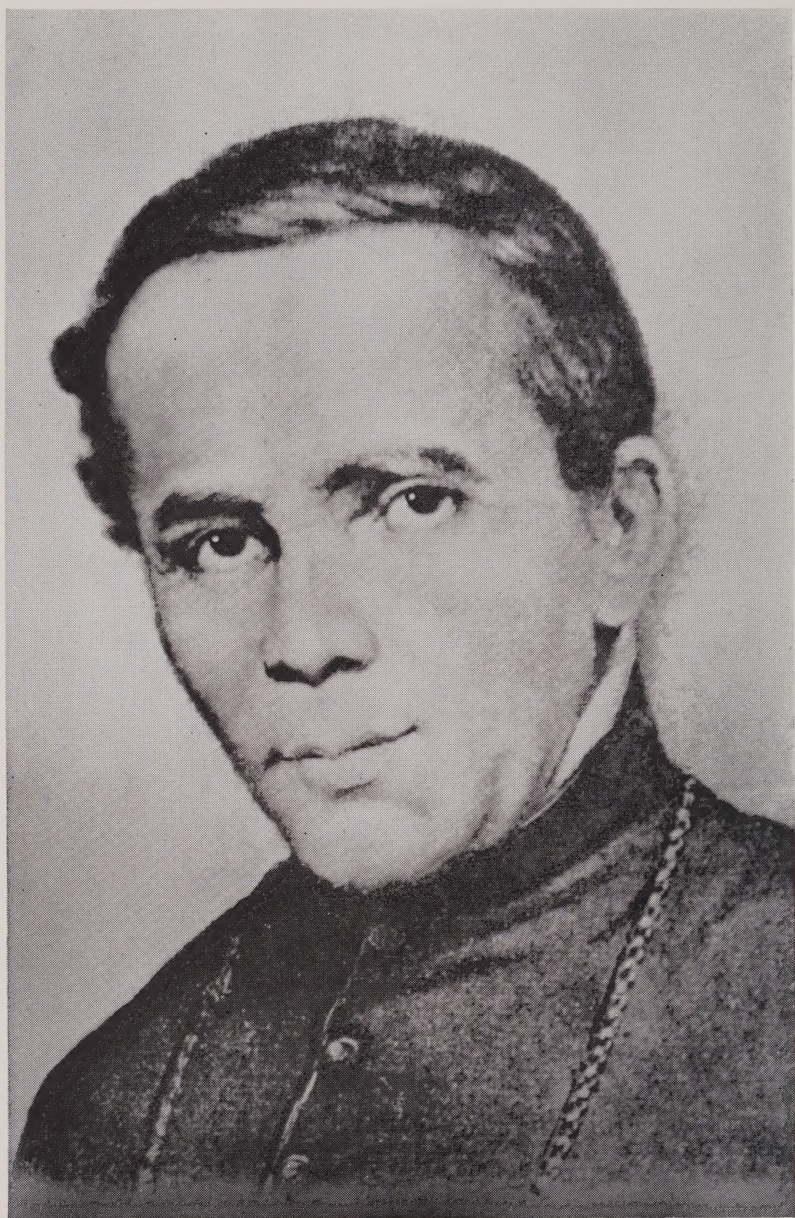


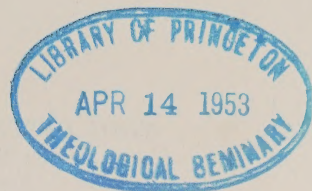
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Venerable John Neumann, C.
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VENERABLE JOHN NEUMANN, C.S.S.R.,
FOURTH BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA, 1852-1860



Venerable
John Neumann, C.S.S.R.

FOURTH BISHOP
OF
PHILADELPHIA

By
MICHAEL J. CURLEY, C.S.S.R.



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Bishop of Ponce, P.R.

September 1, 1952

In conformity to the Decree of Pope Urban VIII, the author unreservedly submits all statements herein to the judgments of the Holy See and the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

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REDEMPTORIST FATHERS OF THE
BALTIMORE PROVINCE

*To the Memory of the
Bishops of the United States
who like Bishop Neumann
struggled valiantly to save
the faith of
countless immigrants*

Foreword

The Saints do not need us but we need them. In a particular way the Saints glorify the places in which they have lived for they have stamped there the indelible marks of their passing, which usually become sources of piety and grace. They cannot be forgotten, and to neglect them means to overlook precious treasures and to lose opportunities to promote our spiritual welfare and that of our country. These considerations all apply in the case of the Venerable John Nepomucene Neumann. His reward is assured; but we, who are still engaged in the struggle of life, can use the encouragement and help that come from the example and intercession of this holy man of God. This native of Bohemia became an American by adoption and then a priest, religious and bishop in this country. He must, therefore, be considered as a glory of the clergy of America.

Only by increasing and deepening our knowledge of the sterling character of John Neumann can we make certain of the spiritual profit that must come from a study of his life. Father Curley, C.S.S.R., by his book, "Life of Venerable John Neumann," has opened for us the possibility of knowing our hero better and more intimately and thus of deriving great spiritual benefit for ourselves and others to the honor and advantage of the Church in the United States.

With vivid lines Father Curley has drawn for us a picture that is most faithful and attractive, a picture whose deep shadings and lighter strokes call for meditation and study if they are to be fully appreciated. The soul of John Neumann defies complete description. Our author has given us the facts, has analyzed them to some extent and challenges us to go even deeper if we would discover the treasures of Neumann's character.

Accurate relation of the history of the times of Bishop Neumann, exhaustive research and constant attention to details enabled our author to present clearly the complicated facts of American church history in the mid-nineteenth century. Without the accomplishment of this gigantic task the story of John Neumann could not be fully written. Through this book we are brought face to face with the man in whom we are interested; we can see him as he lived, against the background of his times.

Fortunately, John Neumann kept a diary until he became a Redemptorist. This first hand source of his intimate thoughts and aspirations as a seminarian and as a young priest reveals spiritual traits then in their early stages, but which developed later in his life into strong and tried virtues and became heroic in their perfection.

Father Curley skillfully depicts the three great characteristics of the spiritual figure that is John Neumann, *faith, labor and humility*. So intense and ardent was his faith that his dedication to God was complete. He grew in innocence and always walked in the presence of God. That he would spend himself in the service of the Divine Master, he never doubted, although he did not always see how his resolution would be fulfilled. But his faith and firm purpose carried him successfully through a rather disconcerting seminary course that might have easily weakened the resolve of a lesser soul. When he became aware of the possibility of working for the Church in America, he began at once to desire that labor, although he was to undergo uncertainty from without and much anxiety from within before he finally found himself an ordained priest of the Diocese of New York. Throughout the many vicissitudes that attended the attainment of his goal to become a missionary in America, John Neumann was always very definite in his decision, calm and generous in his response to the special calling of his Master. His apostolate was outstanding because of his faith and fidelity in his priestly vocation. God worked through him as a priest, missionary and bishop; and his appreciation of this Divine assistance was reflected in his solid piety and ardent devotion especially to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Mother of God, Mary. His faith prompted him not only to introduce the Devotion of the Forty Hours in his diocese but he seized every opportunity that he could to intensify and spread this practice everywhere, encouraging priests and faithful to participate in this intimate union with Jesus present on the altar.

For his formation in the spiritual life Neumann studied ways to bring heavenly light into his prayers and meditations. Among his guides were St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Teresa of Avila and St. Alphonsus de Liguori. Not only was he well acquainted with the theories of the writings of these Saints, but he effected their practical application.

Neumann's generosity was unlimited and indefatigable. Sustained by his love of Christ he could see Christ in all the needy and in the

sick in mind and body. These qualities moved Bishop Neumann to continue in his episcopate the missionary work he began as a young priest. Beyond the limits of the cities of his diocese he found many fields for his zeal, where his pontificals had to be set aside for heavy boots and workman's coat and cap to enable him to brave the cold and rain and mud to confirm the more remote and neglected of his flock. Just as his clear, supernatural vision enabled him to see the necessity of the sacraments for all his people, even those on out-of-the-way farms, so too did it guide him in the administration of the affairs of the important Diocese of Philadelphia that was committed to his care.

The sacraments, prayer, and Catholic education were the important works of the Church in his plan. Amid the complications of a vast administration he kept his objectives before him and worked with every ounce of his being for their attainment.

During the eight years of his episcopate, while continually defending the rights of the Church even in civil courts, Bishop Neumann had eighty churches erected, organized a parochial school system, provided for the spiritual welfare of immigrants, published a catechism, wrote learned articles in the field of theology, took part in three councils at Baltimore and conducted three synods. All these he accomplished amid the many building and financial problems of the times that abounded throughout his regime. His exterior labor was accompanied by an interior dedication of his thoughts, words and actions to God. Profound humility and heroic labor sanctified his ministry. His self-abnegation and poverty of spirit were other dynamic forces behind his many successful undertakings and accomplishments for the spiritual welfare of his flock. He sought to hide his works of charity and especially his mortifications. Honors and distinctions held no attraction for him and he avoided them whenever possible. Although he was an able and competent man, conversant with several languages, learned especially in theology and the natural sciences, he never made even the slightest reference to his splendid gifts. If he had to say something about himself, he spoke about his self-styled defects. The Almighty blessed John Neumann, for He saw in him a son who loved with a great self-sacrificing love.

In his sacerdotal work as a secular priest of the Diocese of New York and as a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, Father Neumann served in so many places in the United

States that the faithful of numerous localities should have a personal interest in this man of God, who has been honored by the Church with the esteemed title of "Venerable." Buffalo and all the surrounding countryside, Rochester and environs, Steubenville, Pittsburgh, New York City and the Upper State, Baltimore, Philadelphia and much of the State of Pennsylvania were the chief scenes of his apostolate. But the appeal of Venerable Neumann is even wider. Once acquainted with him, people the world over will be in admiration of his virtues and by his example will be drawn more closely to the One Who inspired him.

This wonderful book of Father Curley, replete with facts about the life of our hero, culled from every attainable, trustworthy source, will serve to make us intimately acquainted with Venerable John Neumann and will awaken an intense desire to imitate him in our service of our Creator. We need John Neumann, his example, his encouragement and his intercession.

As is well known, public cult is not offered to those who have not been elevated by the Holy Father to the honors of the altar by canonization or beatification; but it is useful and good to invoke the intercession of the Servants of God who reign with Him in heaven. The tomb of Venerable Neumann became a place of ardent prayer and spiritual marvels immediately after his burial. Those who knew him considered him a saint and they went at once to ask him to pray for them at the throne of the Most High.

Pope Benedict XV, in the Decree of December, 1921, in which he gave solemn recognition to the heroic virtues of this Servant of God, concludes: "You are all bound to imitate the Venerable Neumann." This admonition is especially directed to the faithful of America. We fervently pray that our Divine Lord will also glorify His faithful servant in this land and through his intercession accord to this country the choicest of heavenly blessings.

+ A. G. Cicognani
Apostolic Delegate

May 1952

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CHAPTER I

Youth: 1811-1830

Picturesquely located in a valley north of the famed Böhmerwald in southwest Bohemia lies the attractive little village of Prachatitz. From a distance the cluster of houses appears artistically situated with wide-stretching fields surrounding it and rolling hills beyond; but as one approaches, the place takes the semblance of a medieval fortress with high walls and many old, gabled buildings that resemble ancient towers. On an early spring day, March 28, 1811, there was born here a child destined to become one of the glories of the American hierarchy, John Neumann, the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia. The child was baptized in the village church the day he was born.¹ The place where he first saw the light of day is a relatively obscure village, with several thousand inhabitants, off the main line of travel from Linz to Budweis. Even today, it has not emerged from the status of a small country town, having at most 4,000 inhabitants; 140 years ago, it was just another of the hundreds of such villages and towns in the polyglot Austrian Empire that sprawled over the south central lands of Europe from Venetia and Lombardy in Italy to the confines of the Ottoman empire.²

Time was when Prachatitz carried more importance for tradesmen than it did in the childhood of John Neumann. In the distant past, it had a large commerce with nearby Bavaria. At one period in medieval times, in the eleventh century, as many as 2,000 horses carried articles of trade every week to and from the little town; but the years had blighted its commercial promise, so that as time went on, it sank into the status of a small, peaceful village, with most of its inhabitants engaged in agricultural pursuits rather than in trade.³

But Prachatitz had a history, too. In the fifteenth century the terrible protagonist of the Hussites, Ziska the One-Eyed, and his forces went berserk through its streets, murdering Catholic soldiers and crowning their excesses by imprisoning over four score supporters of the Catholic faith in the town's very old church to which they set fire. The bent iron rods of the sacristy windows are still pointed out to visitors to prove the desperate efforts of the Catholics to break from their fiery bondage on that tragic occasion.

Bullet holes in the walls of the ancient public buildings still remind the villagers of the fierce and bloody fights between the Catholic and Protestant forces during the Thirty Years War in the first half of the seventeenth century. For a period of time thereafter, the town was controlled by Protestants, but succeeding ages saw the Catholic faith win its way back into the hearts of the townspeople, and Catholicism has ever since been in the ascendancy.⁴

In the troublous years following the Thirty Years War down to modern days many Germans moved over from nearby Bavaria to the Bohemian villages. As a rule, these villages were further from the scene of battle, and they enabled emigrants from war-stricken and desolated Germany to gain a livelihood in peace. Bohemia was at that time under the direct control of the Hapsburgs, the Germans who ruled the Austrian Empire. The Germans of Bohemia were favored by the ruling class, and their language was the public language of the courts and civil officials. Among the common people, however, the Czech culture was much in evidence, as was also the Czech language; and, toward the end of the eighteenth century after Empress Maria Theresa had given support, Czech literature, in eclipse since the Thirty Years War, came more and more into prominence. The two cultures, German and Czech, lived side by side, with mutual opposition and some smoldering hate underneath, though never breaking out into flame.⁵

When the Emperor Napoleon of France led his marching legions over the battlefields of Europe in the first decade of the nineteenth century, many Germans in Bavaria, desirous of getting away from his armies, were on the move to Bohemia. One such German, the Bavarian-born Philip Neumann, then twenty-eight years of age, seeking in 1802 to evade the ravages of the war disturbing his homeland and to introduce his trade of stocking knitting, settled down in the charming village of Prachatitz with his Czech bride, Antonia Strakotinskou. The union was short-lived, however, for in November, 1804, death struck the young bride and the child she bore.⁶

The next year, the young Bavarian, with his business of knitting stockings now established, successfully wooed an Agnes Lebis, the daughter of a Czech harness maker, whom he took to wife on July 17, 1805.⁷ This second marriage of Philip Neumann was gladdened by the birth of six children: Catherine, Veronica, John, Joan, Louise and Wenceslaus. It was a religious family. Three of these children—John, Joan and Wenceslaus—joined religious orders,

while the fourth, Louise, after caring for her father in his old age, spent her remaining days living with a community of nuns in her native town. Veronica married John Kandla and died in 1850. Catherine married Matthias Berger and after her husband's death became a member of the Third Order of St. Francis. But Prachatitz best remembers the third child of the marriage, John, the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia, and the subject of this story.⁸

John Neumann was particularly fortunate in his parents. They were of sturdy, industrious stock, respected by all the townfolk and ever friendly with their neighbors. They owned their own home, a two-story brick structure, built close to the sidewalk on a narrow street a short distance from Jakobskirche, the principal village church in the center of gabled houses that clustered within the village walls. Among their possessions were several cows, a meadowland in a neighboring district, and within the house itself several looms for weaving. Philip hired three or four men to work on the looms, and a maid-servant sometimes assisted his diligent wife in the household while she did her part in the weaving trade. As an additional source of income came the receipts from selling mineral water and brandy, then often used in Prachatitz. Though hardly rich, the Neumanns were considered a family of moderate means among the Prachatitz citizens.⁹

Better than their economic standing was their repute for general uprightness and character. They were a peaceful and charitable couple. The elder Neumann was an active master of his house, fair-minded, prudent in his dealings with others, and passionately fond of reading, a firm believer in bringing up his children in a Christian manner, a man who went to bed early and arose early, one who to his last days was a living example of the rule that moderation especially in eating and drinking leads a man to a ripe old age. He was careful to have business matters cleared up early on Saturday so as to allow his workmen to prepare for the church services on the morrow.

One anecdote told of Philip Neumann and a thief illustrates the former's character. The thief was quietly stealing from Neumann; and when the unhappy man was finally caught in the act, the elder Neumann asked him in grave tones, "How can you go on repeatedly stealing in God's eyes and offending Him?"

"I did it because of my poverty," said the shame-faced culprit.

"If you had let me know, I'd have given you what was needed. Come to me whenever you are in need and I'll give you what is necessary." With that he gave the offender a donation and strictly forbade the two witnesses of the confession to tell anyone about it.

The people of the village thought enough of Philip Neumann to elect him to the town council and to confer on him the office of guardian of the forest and prefect of the poor. In this latter office it was his duty to care for the indigent and endeavor to relieve their wants. In practical fashion this master of relief levied a tax on the people of the town, and from the fund thus acquired he doled out help in a wise manner, giving money to those who were needy because of circumstances, but limiting his help to supplies of food and clothing to those likely to misuse the money. Delighted to see the streets soon cleared of idling beggars, Prachatitz folk approved of his measures and requested him to continue in this office for several years.

Philip's wife was distinguished for her piety. She attended Mass daily, usually accompanied by one of her children; these she encouraged to go by rewarding them with tidbits or a kreuzer, a small coin of those days. With a prayerbook and a rosary in one hand she was often seen at the door or at the window near the door of her house on a Friday, distributing a sack of flour and a basket of bread, bestowing alms to the poor, and adding a kindly word. The fasts of the church she observed rigorously, adding some of her own even over the protests of her husband who feared she was overtaxing her strength. Her scrupulous exactness at times caused her to hesitate about many things that less sensitive souls did without any qualms of conscience. Morning prayers and evening prayers were a common practice in the household, and the saying of grace before and after meals an established custom. She and her husband had such control over their children that a look from them was just as effective in correcting faults as stern use of the rod by other parents.

Likewise, they held a steady hand on the character training of their offspring. One day one of the girls in the family undertook to recondition her father's coat without his knowledge. She altered it according to her childlike taste, but with drastic results to the garment. On returning home, the father asked who had been playing with his coat. No one answered. He then resorted to strategy and promised to give a reward to the one who had stitched his coat so neatly. Joan quickly put in her claim for the reward. True to his

word the father gave her the reward and then reproved her, not for destroying his clothes but for failing to admit what she had done when questioned.

The workmen or visitors in the Neumann home were never allowed to indulge in loose talk when around the premises. Both parents preferred to have the gossipy details of neighborhood misdemeanors left unmentioned in their presence or that of their children. Mrs. Neumann was particularly averse to the age-old custom of criticizing the neighbors. If by chance someone began to blacken the character of another, she would stop the trend of the conversation by saying, "Oh, what use is this talk about another's sins? We, too, have our weaknesses, and God is so patient with us!" Visitors with wagging, uncharitable tongues never received another invitation to the Neumann dwelling.

From all accounts John was a serious child, giving little trouble to his parents. To be sure, he had his share of a child's misadventures. At the age of three he was luckless enough to fall through an open cellar door and land fifteen feet below, unharmed. His mother took this occasion to instruct the children to be devoted to their guardian angels, and the boy grew accustomed to say the prayer, "Angel of God, my Guardian dear, to whom His love commits me here, ever this day be at my side, to light and guard, to rule and guide." He had the small boy's curiosity about the sun and the moon and the stars. Once, instead of going off to sleep, he began to think out loud, asking himself why the planets stood off in space apparently without any support. His vocal efforts brought his mother upstairs in a hurry, where she was confronted with the query of her eldest son, "What makes the moon stay up without falling?" Whatever her deficiencies in astronomical knowledge, Mrs. Neumann gave a practical answer and told the youngster to leave the control of the planets to God and to get himself off to slumberland. The first lie John ever told was his last, for the chastening rod of the elder Neumann so strongly impressed the lad with the seriousness of lying that it was never effaced from his memory. Long years after, when he was bishop, he told others of the wholesome effect of this correction and was grateful to his father for it. He often accompanied his mother to daily Mass, so much so that neighboring mothers pointed him out as a model to their own boys. One little playmate objected to the comparison, however,

and told his mother that he too would go to Mass if he were rewarded with a kreuzer.¹⁰

In his seventh year, the days of freedom and romping in the fields about the town of Prachatitz were over for the boy. He began his education in the town school, where for six years he struggled with the three "R's," with religion, Bible history, dictation, the formidable rules of German grammar, composition and kindred subjects. This first brush with learning was highly successful for young John. The studious, hardworking youngster early impressed his fellow pupils and his teachers with his ability and persevering diligence. In a school that was highly rated for its efficiency, he stood in the front ranks of competing pupils. He was early known for his strict attention to the words of his teachers and his promptness in carrying out the assigned tasks at home.

Attention to the teacher seemed one of his strong points. One day he took his five-year-old sister to school with him; but when she began to amuse the young scholars with her antics and talk, John told her, "I'm not taking you to school any more, for you disturb the others so much they pay no attention to the teacher."

John had a thirst for knowledge; and, imitating his father, he became such a lover of books that his mother playfully called him "my little bibliomaniac." To encourage him in his reading, a bookcase was built for him into which he gathered all the books in the house. After school hours, when he had prepared his reading lessons and completed his written assignments, he would rush off to that case and take book after book and read, even while his fellow pupils were at their games and outdoor fun.¹¹

In the lowest grades young John often was assigned to the task of initiating his schoolmates into the intricacies of the alphabet, and as early as the third grade he was appointed to correct the homework of his classmates and to act as monitor when the teacher was out of the room. He was singled out to give the customary little speeches at the school entertainments. Years later, he looked back on these first successes and discounted their value, for he remarked that his father's official position in the town might have influenced the teachers in giving him a preferential rating. Be that as it may, young John was an apt pupil. The catechist of the school, Father Peter Schmidt, long remembered his famous disciple, and in after years the priest testified that the singular and striking qualities of

the boy often made the teacher wonder what the future held for young John Neumann. The youngster was often in the garden with the catechist and first learned from him the wonders of plants and flowers and the intriguing story of the stars and planets, information which he retailed to his younger brother and sisters when he went out with them in the fields.¹²

His conduct in those early school years gave proof of a fondness for the more serious things in life. He could play with the rest, but he was not particularly inclined toward games. Many noted that he avoided the company of other children on the way home from school so as to escape being drawn into their pranks. He was somewhat shy of girls and the amusements in which girls took part. He often said the rosary and invited others to say it with him. He loved to seek out a solitary spot in the church to pray, and early he learned to say ejaculatory prayers with delight, particularly the verses of the *Anima Christi*, the prayer, *Soul of Christ*, attributed to Saint Ignatius Loyola. John Neumann first went to confession when he was six years of age. Three years later he made his First Communion. When he was but eight years old, three years earlier than the usual age for children in his home town, he was confirmed in the village church.

At home he helped in doing the chores of a small boy. Though he loved so much to read that he was forever with his head in a book, he was prompt to answer a call from his elders. He arose usually at five o'clock from a hard bed in a room never heated even during the coldest months of the year. No one ever remembered his having broken out into anger, for self-control and a natural tranquillity of spirit pervaded all his actions. As today, teachers then asked their pupils what they intended to be when they grew up. On one occasion the question was put to Neumann. He knew in his heart he wanted to continue his studies for some profession; but because he did not wish to disobey the teacher, who wanted a more definite answer, John impulsively blurted out that he wanted to be a barber. Later, when questioned at home, he tearfully confessed that he had hurriedly hit upon the choice of a barber's trade only because he had not been allowed to say he wanted to pursue higher studies.

On another occasion he was asked by his mother what he intended to become. John replied that he knew what he wanted to be, but that it would cost much money. At this time he served at the altar of the village church. While still in school, he constructed a little

altar for his own use at home, procured sacred ornaments for it, and then practiced the sacred ceremonies, sometimes calling on his boyhood chums to assist him. Some have seen in this vague declaration about wishing to be something that would require much money, and in John's early attention to prayer and church services, a dawning of his vocation to the priesthood; but he himself wrote, "I cannot say I felt a decided inclination to the priesthood in my childhood. It is true that I had an altar made of lead and that I served Mass almost every day, but the idea of being a priest was so exalted that it did not seem within my reach."¹³

But the young boy's mother knew how to foster such an idea. Once, a servant in the house, a lady whose life marked her as a pious soul, observed that John made the sign of the cross after the manner of a priest and not by making the three little crosses on the forehead, lips, and breast as is customary with the lay people of Bohemia. She saw in this a sign of a call to higher things, and with the thrill of announcing a discovery she exclaimed aloud, "See! Our John is going to be a priest!" The incident was mentioned several times to little John by his mother, for she seemed to yearn to have her son one of the Lord's anointed. The remark was not lost on the lad and as the years went by he remembered it. It appears that his mind was thus made receptive to a call to higher things, although in all truth the idea of becoming a priest was not then consciously rooted and far from being set as a life goal.¹⁴

A portrait of John, painted when he was about ten years of age by a friend, shows that he was undersized but stockily built, with a sturdy, pleasant countenance, a large, broad forehead, big, penetrating eyes set off by short, wide nostrils, a generous mouth with lips pleasantly upturned.¹⁵ He was certainly a pious boy, and mothers knew what they were doing when they pointed him out as a model to their less tractable youngsters. Without dramatizing his youthful actions to heroic proportions, it must be admitted that they were prophetic of things to come, inasmuch as they foreshadowed his lifelong characteristics: a deeply rooted horror of offending God, a meek spirit, a persistent diligence, and a strong will not to be swerved from his conception of duty. He was, in truth, somewhat different from the general run of boys even in those early days, and the difference was marked. Though he was quiet, there was no question of morose, not to say sullen, aloofness. A story has come down that one of Neumann's relations could not conceive the idea

of a boy's being so quiet and told him, "John, go out and throw a brick through a window!" The advice went unheeded, for John, though very much a boy, alive and active, was not the brick-throwing type.¹⁶

Boys in Prachatitz were not destined for more advanced study after the elementary school training unless they showed a special aptitude. Those failing to find books and school life congenial were soon put to work. It was a happy day for the ten-year-old John when his parents told him that they were ready to allow him to continue his education after grammar school. That education would have to be pursued in Budweis, where the gymnasium course of six years, equivalent to the present high school and first two years of college training, prepared youthful minds for professional studies.

One of the requirements for the gymnasium course was the study of Latin. To give young boys who hoped to continue their studies a solid foundation in this important subject, the catechist of Prachatitz was accustomed to hold evening classes at his home. John enrolled in this special class, and every night for the last two years of his term at grammar school he trudged off with eight or ten other boys to the good priest's Latin class, where his diligence and excellent conduct made a marked impression on his preceptor.¹⁷ The autumn of 1823 saw John hurdle the final bar to higher studies when he went before the examining teacher of the Budweis institution and passed the entrance examination with distinction.¹⁸

A new chapter opened in the life of the sturdy little Bohemian boy when on All Saints' Day, 1823, he plodded off to Budweis accompanied by a score of other boys. It was a journey of but fifteen and one-half miles from his native place,¹⁹ which in that day was distant. For the first time in his experience John was introduced to city life. Budweis was more than three times as large as his native place and boasted attractions far outranking his home town. More than 7,000 inhabitants claimed Budweis as their place of residence, but the population gave no indication of its importance in the area. It was the capital of the province. Situated at the confluence of the Malse and Vlatva Rivers, it was a busy port. Moreover, at the time of Neumann's stay there, it was connected by rail with the City of Linz in Bavaria, thus becoming the commercial center of southern Bohemia to which men and

women came from the surrounding countryside to lay in a stock of supplies not purchasable in the farmland areas.

Budweis was well laid out, had a beautiful public square surrounded by imposing buildings, the principal one of which was over a century old when John first saw it. The city was then highly Germanized, but that offered no obstacle, for John Neumann's basic culture was German. He spoke German in his home; his schooling was German, and he wrote his letters in German. Although he was at the time only passably acquainted with the Czech language, he later was to study it more intently and still later converse in it when opportunity offered. But the language dominant with him in those years was German. Budweis was also the episcopal see of one of the suffragan Bishops of Prague. Here John could view a prelate more often than the folk in Prachatitz, who within the memory of the oldest inhabitants of his day saw one only once, the day John Neumann was confirmed. There was likewise in this capital city a theological seminary and a philosophical institute, both of which John was to know better as the years advanced.²⁰

Since the pupils at the gymnasium did not live there but attended only as day scholars, arrangements were made with a friend of John's father, a Mr. Eberle, engaged in the same stocking-weaving business as the boy's father, to have the young pupil board in his home. It was a simple little two-story building on Linzstrasse, suitable enough but for the fact that John, in order to cut down expenses, shared his room with other boys, an arrangement that was not altogether satisfactory. He liked to be alone, especially when he wanted to study, and the others were bent on having amusement.²¹

The school where the gymnasium course was given was a former Dominican convent, hoary with age when Neumann took his place there with 400 fellow pupils. The edifice had been taken from the Dominican Fathers years before by the Emperor Joseph II and given to the Piarist Fathers for a gymnasium. Students here wrestled during the first four years with Latin, mathematics, geography, history and Christian Doctrine. The last two years were devoted to the classical authors, both Latin and Greek. Beginning traditionally on November 1, the school term continued until the following September, with midterm tests held in March and the final test at the end of the school year in the form of a public oral examination to which event the parents of the pupils

were invited. The class that Neumann entered had 103 scholars, though its large proportions were greatly trimmed at the end of the six years' course when less than fifty were on the roll call.²²

John Neumann's first encounter with higher learning was none too happy. To begin with, much of the subject matter offered had already been absorbed by the diligent pupil from Prachatitz while attending the night classes of Father Schmidt. Neumann felt that with a little coaching he might well have passed to the third year class at the gymnasium, but this was not allowed. As a result, John was not pressed by his studies; and with much time on his hands he went off on a long run of desultory reading, devouring every book he could lay his hands on. He felt that he was not advancing, even losing some of the ground he had gained at Prachatitz. The situation was not helped by the fact that the teacher, though old and genial enough, was given to imbibing too freely. The climax of the man's tipping came when he appeared before a public gathering clearly under the influence of liquor. He was dismissed forthwith, and a new professor came to lead the scholars in the middle of John's third year.

The new professor swept in on the pupils with a thoroughgoing zeal. He was, it appeared, bent on forcing the students to make up for lost time and endeavored to compress the work of one and a half years into six months. Moreover, he was very strict and a stickler for learning by rote, a system that Neumann never liked. The pace now set was too fast for many of the pupils, and about a score of them decided to give up any further efforts at education, some undoubtedly beset with the nightmarish spectre of failure in the final examinations.²³ Nevertheless, John passed his examination that year with a fair average, as he had the two previous years. Under these circumstances Neumann never really struck his stride at the gymnasium in those first years. He noted later on in life that the professor of religion during that time was dry and insipid.

The fourth year brought woe to young John. He was now boarding in Budweis with a woman named Rudlof, whose son disturbed him in his studies. A note of disgust crept into the life of the young scholar. There was a marked drop in his proficiency that year judging from his final report.²⁴ In Latin and in mathematics his marks were barely satisfactory, instead of good or very good.²⁵ The discouraged young man wended his way home with

misgivings and his mind half made up to abandon his studies as others in his class had done.

The change of attitude was not lost on his father, who, on reading the report, said, "John! You seem no longer interested in your studies. You may stay home and choose a trade!" Those vacation days in the autumn of 1828 were anything but happy for the lad from Prachatitz. While he was half-inclined to let his father's idea prevail, his mother and his sister Veronica put pressure on the young man to continue his studies.²⁶ The father's ideas underwent a change, too, when, after having the boy examined by a professor who happened to be on vacation in Prachatitz, he learned that his son really showed greater progress than his marks indicated.²⁷ Philip Neumann was satisfied that he could send his boy back to his studies without wasting his own money or his son's time. Moreover, a decision was reached to have the boy move to a new boarding house on Bischofstrasse in Budweis where he could have a room to himself to pursue his home studies in solitude, away from the noisy interruptions of less diligent fellow students.²⁸

John Neumann rebounded from the dejection that had threatened to cut short his scholastic career. There was a pronounced improvement in his marks, barring mathematics which at this time was his one weak subject. Otherwise the class curriculum, especially the humanities, he found very much to his liking, and he started to compile a series of anthologies which clearly manifested his keen interest in school work. One of these anthologies, the fourteenth in his series, has long passages from Sallust, Ovid, Vergil, Horace, and other classical authors.²⁹ The professor of the classical studies was even stricter than the second mentor, but he understood his pupils and he could inspire enthusiasm for his subject. Responding to the new system, John gained, during the final term at the gymnasium, the highest marks of his career up to that time.³⁰

If Neumann during those years had his setbacks in school work, his conduct was far above par. Under the system of boarding out in private houses the boys from outside towns, when not in the school, were without adequate supervision. Many of them wandered off to the temptations that offered themselves — dances, theaters, frequenting of taverns, and the like. The memory of the piety practiced by his family back home proving a steadying moral support for the youngster from Prachatitz, he rarely ever went out to social affairs.³¹ On one occasion when he could not escape at-

tending a dance, he knew he was out of place because he could not dance. Quietly he slipped away from the dance hall to a nearby room where refreshments were kept. Standing in the chilly place with his yellow jacket buttoned up to his neck, he calmly dispensed beer from a keg to the perspiring dancers. On being twitted the next day by a fellow student for not joining in the dance, he replied, "I was Saul holding the garments of those who stoned Stephen and thus partook of their guilt!" Though it was something of a custom with many, he was never known to take any intoxicating drinks, with the possible exception of a glass of wine on one occasion when he made the long hike from Prachatitz to Budweis.³²

At this particular stage of his career, Neumann's chief amusement was playing a linnet or guitar or making images with a pantograph. His outside activities consisted of long walks through the streets and suburbs of the city with two school friends, Anton Laad and Adalbert Schmidt. He would go out in all kinds of weather; heat or cold never seemed to bother him, and still less snow or rain.

One of his roommates wrote later how much he admired Neumann's strength of character, his invincible patience and power of will. Other eye witnesses, fellow students at the gymnasium, saw him as modest and humble without any brag or boast. His conversation was usually on some useful topic; when at times it drifted off into idle chatter, he would bring it back to a higher level. He had a calm and peaceful disposition. He was indifferent to any little advantage that a young man might seek from others, though he was ever ready to oblige his neighbors, sometimes lending a book, sometimes helping them in their class work. His quiet manner was not of the kill-joy type; he could make a witty sally when the occasion offered, though he seldom obtruded his wit on others. While not brilliant, his knowledge was wide and solid. Superficiality being distasteful to him, his careful methods of research enabled him to penetrate deeply into a subject. These varied qualities made it easy for his friends to approach him. His deliberate manner of speaking and acting, exactly measuring his words and weighing his actions, made one fellow student say that he had a mathematical mind. His room was neat as were his clothes, though his manner of dressing was just a shade behind the prevailing fashion.

Neumann's piety was neither striking nor eccentric. He went to church with the others, received Holy Communion once a month

as was the custom in those days, but he fulfilled his religious duties so exactly that he earned the respect and esteem of his fellow students. It was noted that he was never jocose with women; if in conversation with them, he briefly and politely answered their queries and under no pretext of piety or edification could he be brought to carry on further conversation. His companions knew he kept a strong watch on his eyes and were aware that no double-meaning words escaped his lips. Once while he was staying at the Novak house, where this widow had a young daughter, he happened to hear the daughter take leave of her suitor, a shoemaker by trade, in a very graceful manner. About to go upstairs, she said in vivacious fashion to the entire gathering, "Good Night, Ladies and Gentlemen!" John seemed amused at the manner of departure and related it to his friend Schmidt. Schmidt asked him whether this young lady and her shoemaker friend were not a source of temptation to him. Neumann gave answer that girls were like a beautifully bound book to him, a book which he never learned to read. His attitude never seemed otherwise to his fellow students; and while others gave their appraisals of girls, he never opened his mouth.³³

Young Neumann was not without affection for his family; he had an interest in the things at home, as a dozen extant letters to his parents manifest. These short messages have a newsy ring to them. He was now buying things for his mother and father, now sending home his linen to be washed and his clothes to be mended. Often he inquired for his younger brother, "little Wenceslaus," and even sent home to him juvenile pictures or drawings. Since it was agreed when he went to the Novak house to lodge that he would take only breakfast there, his family kept him supplied with food. Many were his words of thanks for these articles as well as for the boxes of sweetmeats and the money they sent him. Occasionally, his sisters, particularly his oldest sister, Catherine, would come to Budweis to make purchases for the family and to visit relatives and friends. They would see John, sometimes write home a joint letter; and, at least one of these sisters, Louise, spent some time living at the same boarding house. The coming of these sisters was fortunate as they readily gave the boy some money when his funds were low. Now and then he stayed over in Budweis after the school year to attend the fair in that city or to visit friends.³⁴ Most of his vacation days, however, were spent back home studying or reading or roaming

over the countryside, visiting shrines, of which there were a great many in the vicinity. He always read, even when eating, and he encouraged his sister to read too, though she cared very little about the things that interested him. Such a rapid reader was he that his sister told him that he was not reading but merely turning the pages. She was promptly informed that he was reading and knew what he was reading.

After finishing the gymnasium course in 1829, young Neumann began his studies in philosophy which were to continue for two years.³⁵ The course was taught in the same building in which he had made his previous studies but under different masters, the Cistercian monks of Hohenfurt. The presence of these monks at the Budweis Institute of Philosophy was another of Emperor Joseph II's arrangements. He permitted them to have their monastery in Hohenfurt on condition that they would provide five professors for the Philosophical Institute; otherwise the monastery would be abolished.³⁶ The emperor, contemptuously known for his interference in church affairs as "Joseph the Sacristan," was then long dead, but his arrangements still held. So Neumann had the good fortune to have these Fathers as his teachers during his philosophy course. John remembered those years under the Cistercians with evident pleasure as he recalled years later how upright and just they were, even though severe, particularly with those who cheated.³⁷

The philosophical course included philosophy, religion, higher mathematics, the natural sciences and Latin philology. How he fared in philosophy is best told by his marks which showed a better than fair average.³⁸ Only one indication exists of his grasp of the subject, a treatise on the knowledge of relationship between philosophy and religion which gives a clue to his handling of logic and his familiarity with the philosophers from Plato down.³⁹ In his room in those years, he had a number of non-Catholic works, wherein he tried to find the non-Catholic viewpoint. By studying the differences of the true and false doctrines, he endeavored to prepare himself in methods of refuting the false teaching. Presumably he had permission for whatever reading he did in them; for when he was beginning the study of theology later, the housekeeper asked him for these books, but he refused, and then saw to it that they were burned.⁴⁰ His marks in philology and in mathematics were equally good, and the earlier deficiency he showed in the latter branch was now overcome. He had a real liking for algebra, geome-

try, and trigonometry, a fact that surprised one of his fellow students who knew of the earlier difficulties he had encountered in this field. Once he brought a theorem to a professor named Anhofer; when Neumann asked about the solution of it, the teacher replied that he was unable to solve it. Pursuing the problem, the next day Neumann triumphantly reached the solution, which he confided to Karl Krbecek, remarking that Anhofer once wanted to slap him for his failure in such matters. Now things were different.⁴¹

But it was in the field of natural sciences that the young student merited recognition. His notes on biology, *Naturgeschichte*, give evidence of a thorough understanding of the general ideas in the field.⁴² While of no great value in themselves, these notes give sure indication that the mental traits destined to shine out in later life were already maturing — clearness, order, and a solid grasp of essentials, the *sine qua non* of a discerning mind.

How he delighted in the study of astronomy! In collaboration with some classmates he constructed a celestial globe. With this as an aid and with his telescope he studied the heavens with unwonted eagerness, going out on clear, bright nights until a late hour to view the wonders of the sky.⁴³ At this time he read Bode's meditations on the structure of the world, and so influential on his mind was this reading that Neumann claimed that this book led him to God.⁴⁴ With a microscope in his room he studied plant life and animal life down to its lowest forms. But it was in the study of ferns and flowers that he obtained eminence. He was reputed to know between 500 and 1,000 different ferns and flowers, an astounding knowledge for one of his age. Botany was a hobby that he continued for many long years afterwards, even as a missionary. To further his progress in the sciences, he formed with several other students what might now be called a study club, which held meetings during leisure hours. On recreation days each member proposed his findings in the natural sciences.⁴⁵

Karl Krbecek, a fellow student who had grown up with Neumann in Prachatitz but who had been separated from him during the gymnasium course, now became his fast friend. He long remembered how he would call on Neumann at the latter's lodging house, sometimes with a group of boys as companions. With a big, pleasant smile, John would receive them. Neumann would take the young lads and show them the wonders of his microscope and laugh heartily as they crowded around to get a favored position in the show. Or he

would allow them to play his guitar. Then he would go over to his big yellow trunk, take out some tidbits, home-made bread, crullers, or biscuits and give them to his eager, young visitors. After each had his share, Neumann would put everything back in order and start out for a walk with his hometown friend, keeping up the conversation on his laboratory experiments.⁴⁶

John Neumann found himself graduating from the philosophical course in the late summer of 1831 with a report of which he could be justly proud. Any twenty-year-old student would have been glad to show it to the neighbors. John was not so much interested in showing his marks as he was concerned with his future course of studies. The question confronting him was the selection of a career. Three professions were open to him—that of a doctor, a lawyer, or a priest. Previously in the back of his mind had been the idea of becoming a priest. However, the years had brought a cooling of his first ardor. He confessed that prejudice against theology and his liking for Schiller, Herder and the poets had led him to an attitude of mind that sought perfection in merely human things.⁴⁷ It gave him a distaste, if not aversion, for theology and the mystics. Since he had taken such a liking to the natural sciences, he seriously considered pursuit of the study of medicine. But he weighed all the circumstances. To serve God as a priest, his first love, appeared at the moment a goal beyond his reach. What seemed in addition to shunt his mind from the priesthood was the fact that the Budweis seminary was not easy to enter. There was a promise of taking in twenty new students that year, twenty from among eighty or ninety applicants. There was need, moreover, of testimonials from influential people. Neumann felt he had no one of influence to recommend him. Besides, his bent for sciences received a new support in the willingness of his father to see him through the necessary studies to become a doctor, even though the expense would be unusually heavy. Though not willing to force a decision, Mrs. Neumann showed some native shrewdness when John told her that he did not think that anyone of importance would reinforce his petition to enter the seminary where all expenses were paid. She knew he really desired to be a priest and that the lack of powerful advocates was holding him back. She sized up the situation accurately, however, and urged him to make application, testimonials or not.

Acting on his mother's advice, young Neumann wrote out an

application to enter the seminary and sent it by special messenger to the episcopal consistory at Budweis. To his own surprise he was accepted.⁴⁸ Thereafter he thought no more of medicine; physics and biology were laid aside. Although he kept up his interest in astronomy for a while, the study of botany remained a lifelong hobby. There was something of a note of regret in the way he wrote years later of the amount of time he had spent on astronomy and physics.⁴⁹ He looked back on these studies as beneficial indirectly, only inasmuch as they had kept his mind busy at solid study and away from trifles. He came to consider them at best as a negative preparation for the more serious study of theology.⁵⁰ One can hardly agree, however, with his appraisal of his studies in the sciences. His most successful studies to that time, they helped to develop in him the habit of approaching a problem that stayed with him all through his life—ability to sift essential from accidental, a steady, step-by-step investigation of the subject under study until he arrived at the truth which he was seeking. These were certainly something more than negative factors in his training. Thus, when he was ready to go to the seminary, he had a wide, deep, solid background of knowledge worthy of any ecclesiastical student.

Some well-meaning friends and relatives endeavored to shake John's resolution to study for the altar. Worldly wise, they pointed out how difficult, even dangerous, the life of a priest might be and how contrary to human nature. The young man smiled at these suggestions of earthly prudence and went right onward. His life goal was now set. He would be a priest. The seminary would fashion his soul for the great work ahead.



PORTRAIT OF JOHN NEUMANN ABOUT THE AGE OF TEN



PRACHATITZ, BOHEMIA. THE BIRTHPLACE OF VENERABLE JOHN NEUMANN

CHAPTER II

The Seminarian: 1831-1835

The diocesan seminary of Budweis had been established only a relatively short time when John Neumann entered it on November 1, 1831. The diocese itself had been erected in 1786, before which it was part of the Archdiocese of Prague. In the beginning the diocese continued to send its seminarians to be educated at the general seminary. When the repeated pleas of the suffragan bishops of the Archdiocese of Prague won permission from Emperor Leopold II to establish separate diocesan seminaries, the Diocese of Budweis began its own seminary in 1804, in two buildings offered by the emperor. The buildings, an old monastery and an older church,¹ were not too prepossessing. One was an ancient Capuchin monastery that had been suppressed by the ruthless decrees of Emperor Joseph II in 1786. For a time thereafter, it was nothing more than a warehouse, but in 1804 it was reopened to house the Budweis seminarians. The other building in front of it, the Church of St. Anne, dating from the sixteenth century, was to serve for religious exercises. Although the church had been altered and enlarged before Neumann went to Prague, it was not a beautiful structure and the whole seminary setup was far from the traditional type. No gardens or terraces surrounded it, as the front and side of the two buildings were close to the sidewalk on a narrow street. There was little to charm the eye in the seminary's outward appearance.²

With 140 students in the diocese, the old three-story monastery was not large enough to accommodate all the seminarians, so that only the students of the third and fourth years of theology could reside within the walls and those of the first two years of theology had to board out in private houses in the vicinity.³ Neumann returned to the small back room in the home of a widow named Novak. Her house stood opposite the episcopal seminary.⁴ Apart from the consideration of the time lost to the student in going back and forth, boarding out seminarians did not make for the best discipline. It allowed the seminarians time to go about the town; it necessarily obliged them to have outside financial transactions and served, moreover, as a temptation to the parents, especially

to those who lived in the country, to have their seminarian sons do city chores for them. More than one letter shows that John Neumann himself did such errands from time to time.⁵ The arrangement, consequently, did not afford the seclusion, the orderly round of prayer and study removed from the distractions of the world, necessary for the formation of the priestly character.

The number of the seminarians seemed large, considering the size and wants of Budweis. The diocese was well-supplied with priests at this period, so that it was apparent in a few years there would be more priests than occupations for them. At any rate, if the seminary lacked housing facilities, it had the prime requisite of a good training school for priests, a capable and efficient staff. With the exception of one professor, the faculty was sincerely devoted to the noble task of imbuing the young neophytes with the highest ideals of the clerical state. The exception was Dr. Francis Linhart, who taught church history and canon law, and who was infected with Josephism. This, young Neumann did not fail to note.

The testimony of his fellow seminarians as well as the marks he received give clear evidence that those days at the Budweis seminary from 1831 to 1833 were happy, stimulating days for John Neumann. He was inflamed with zeal both for study and for closer union with God. These first two years of Neumann at the seminary were the really brilliant portions of his student career. In spite of the heterodox views of Dr. Linhart, the course at the Budweis seminary was a delight to the heart of the young man. He later summed up his impressions of this house of studies by saying that the zealous priests who instructed him had taught him many useful things in a short while. Yet something more than excellent marks gave joy to the heart of the young student during those years. He found his spiritual life deepened and his will set firmly toward God.⁶

Two seminary companions, Karl Krbecek and Adalbert Schmidt, were beneficial influences on the life of his soul. Krbecek he regarded as one advanced in the life of perfection, and the brilliant Adalbert Schmidt became Neumann's confidant and adviser. But most of all, the reading of the Old Testament under the guidance of Professor Karl Koerner awakened in him religious convictions hitherto not realized. "The holy simplicity, the antiquity of the Sacred Scriptures and the purity of the morals portrayed there attracted me irresistibly," he wrote. His predilection for non-Catholic poets, like Herder and Schiller, and the low appraisal

placed on religious authors that characterized his earlier years disappeared. "My devout disposition," he declared, "became well founded." The marks he obtained in the study of ecclesiastical history, Biblical archeology, introduction to and exegesis of the Old Testament were the highest obtainable, *eminentem* in every single subject, including diligence and conduct. Little wonder the young seminarian felt elated. He was satisfied, and his professors were also, so much so, that at the end of his first scholastic year, he was one of the few men in his class allowed to take tonsure and minor orders.⁷

In the second year at Budweis, Neumann studied Biblical hermeneutics, philology, Greek, pedagogy, introduction and exegesis of the New Testament and canon law. The professor of canon law, Dr. Francis Linhart, whose history lectures Neumann found boring since the professor insisted on too much memory work, aroused no enthusiasm in canon law either, for he imparted doubtfully reliable doctrine as Neumann later attested. Aware of the preceptor's leanings toward regalistic doctrine, the student could not approve them. But the marks received during the second year were again very good, the highest obtainable with the exception of that in pedagogy during one semester when he received the second highest note. His conduct was close to perfect.⁸

But Sacred Scripture was now his interest par excellence. In his two years at the Budweis seminary, he made long and thorough notes on the Bible. They might very well astound modern seminarians, so much labor was devoted to them. The Scripture teacher, Professor Karl Koerner, had a way of inciting the boys to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Many of them learned extensive parts of the gospels and epistles by heart; and, while it is not known whether Neumann could overcome his repugnance to learning things by heart, we do know that thereafter he always had a Bible near him, and the Sacred Scriptures became his daily reading. The students had a way of asking about some Biblical passages or about some personages mentioned in the Bible, trying to see if they could trip their fellow students in their Biblical facts. Neumann excelled in these quizzes, and no one could easily succeed in asking a question he could not answer.⁹

In spare hours he had his Italian grammar close by to enable him to gain mastery of that language. He had studied Italian in the philosophy course and had given much time to it. Already he had

begun to study French, telling one of his companions that a student of theology should study French, if for no other reason, to give himself the benefit of the theological and ascetical works written in French. His Bohemian was not forgotten either; he sang hymns in this language in church and undertook to give one of his companions his guidance in Italian in return for the same service from him in the finer points of that Czech language. To further improve themselves, they exchanged letters in these languages.¹⁰

The acceleration in his study of languages was soon to become even greater; for during the second year at the Budweis seminary he began to read the *Leopoldinen Berichte*, or reports of the Leopoldine Foundation, a society which had recently been organized in Vienna through the efforts of Father Frederick Résé, the future Bishop of Detroit and at that time the vicar-general of Bishop Edward Fenwick, O.P., of Cincinnati. For all intents and purposes this society was a German division of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith that had begun in France through the urging of Bishop Dubourg of New Orleans and was pushed through to a successful issue by the holy and energetic Pauline Jaricot.

Coming back from America in 1829 to beg for funds in Austria, Father Résé had succeeded in getting the Emperor Francis to establish a missionary society and named it after the patron saint of the emperor's daughter. This society had begun to function at the time that Neumann was in the philosophy classes at Budweis.¹¹ Among its first benefactions it paid the traveling expenses to the Diocese of Cincinnati of the celebrated missionary, Father Frederic Baraga, the one-time penitent of the Redemptorist, St. Clement Hofbauer. That famous "Apostle of the Chippewas" started to send back long and interesting letters describing labors among the Indians on the American frontier. Quarterly reports by the Leopoldine Foundation graphically portrayed the drastic need of priests in the United States, especially for the neglected Germans. There were other letters from Father Résé, from the Redemptorist pioneers in the New World, Fathers Francis Haetscher and Simon Sänderl, as well as from Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, then the coadjutor to Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia. These letters had the effect of awakening a new zeal in Austria for foreign missions.¹²

Among those who were influenced by these missionary accounts was the young theologian in the Budweis seminary, who eagerly read the letters from overseas, particularly those of Father Baraga.

The spark that set off the pious thoughts into a flaming resolve for action was a discourse of the director of the seminary, Father John Koerner, when he lectured on St. Paul. The moving words of the Scripture professor narrating the eleventh chapter in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians told the dramatic story of how that apostle, who was small of body like Neumann himself and weak in health, was able to do so much for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.¹³ The discourse had an electrifying effect on Neumann and his fellow seminarian, Adalbert Schmidt. Both resolved to devote their lives to the missions after completing their seminary studies. Neither said a word to the other until Schmidt broke the news of his resolution to Neumann a few weeks later. Neumann smiled. For a whole month he joshed the budding missionary and then finally admitted, "I am going with you." Schmidt was beside himself with joy. Together the two of them made their missionary plans the topic of their conversations in their rooms and on their walks. Another seminarian, John Savel, was allowed in on the great secret and he, too, promised to be a missionary in America. Neumann asked that prayers be said to bring his own parents to make the sacrifice of their son for the missions. None but immediate friends knew of his resolve and each swore secrecy.

To prepare himself to be a missionary in America became the secret driving force of Neumann's life, and all his plans were made to converge upon it. More than ever he practiced mortification. His strict demands on his body astonished his youthful companions and classmates, Leonard Zdiarsky, a fellow seminarian at the time related. He denied himself in food; he stayed up entire nights, and even during the cool autumn months he spent the nights in the open air. Only afterwards did they understand the reason for these bodily privations. They were in preparation for the future missionary life. Self-denial would make him more rugged for the days when, in imitation of the diminutive, zealous St. Paul, he would go over the world's highways to labor for the salvation of souls.

Neumann had already been interested in the study of languages, but the tempo of study was increased. He withdrew almost entirely from social intercourse and used all leisure time for his books. He always seemed to have a book with him, even on walks. Certainly, Baraga had advised such a course, the acquiring of languages. Following the missionary's advice, he would acquire a better knowledge of Bohemian so as to have a key to the other Slav tongues.

He wished to study French, English, Spanish — he would become closer to God; he would do all things so as to be of service to all. His spirit was aflame with zeal for the salvation of neglected souls.

In order to be better placed to learn more languages, thereby enabling him to be a more capable missionary, Neumann planned a change during his second year at the seminary. The ability to speak English was absolutely necessary to anyone hoping to do effective work in the United States. Budweis offered no opportunity to acquire this indispensable language. The bishop of the Diocese of Budweis had the privilege of sending two of his seminarians to the archiepiscopal seminary at Prague each year. In the spring of 1833 Neumann successfully petitioned the bishop to be allowed to go there in order to prepare himself the better for the work which he visioned in America. At Prague he hoped to study French and, more important, English. It was one of the best planned moves of Neumann's life, but one that brought him keenest regret when the realities of Prague broke upon his soul. Buoyantly looking into the future, the young seminarian went off to the City of Prague in the fall of 1833, apparently accompanied by Laad.¹⁴

Prague was already famous with centuries of tradition when Neumann first saw the capital of his country. Situated as it is on the banks of the Moldau, with its many imposing buildings, surrounded by high hills crowned with the diadem of ancient castles, few cities of the old Austrian Empire compared with it for the artistic beauty of its surroundings. Besides the many massive buildings, fifty public squares added to the city's beauty. The streets of the older portion of the town were narrow and crooked, but the newer sections displayed broad, straight thoroughfares. The city's population numbered over 100,000 people, three-fifths of whom were Czechoslovakian and two-fifths, German. The Czech element was growing in importance and looking to a rebirth of national autonomy.

It was to Altstadt, the oldest portion of the city on the right bank of the Moldau, that Neumann directed his course in September, 1833, to the seminary connected with the University of Prague.¹⁵ A new, broader vision was opened to him. Whereas in Budweis the seminary and its church were two small buildings, in Prague the seminary was but one part of a great university; at Budweis he studied with hundreds of students; the University of Prague accommodated thousands.

The university had been in existence for over 450 years. It was internationally famous; at one time it was reputed to have 40,000 students on its rolls, though this seems exaggerated. In Neumann's day it boasted only 3,000 or more and four distinct schools: theology, philosophy, medicine, and law. The young seminarian matriculated with the theologians in the Clementinum, an imposing building that was larger than any other in the city with the exception of the Imperial Palace.

The Clementinum with a church and chapel attached had once belonged to the Jesuits, but it was now a part of the university. It provided spacious halls with broad corridors adorned with splendid mural decorations. It contained classrooms and living quarters for 140 theological students, besides nineteen who were not studying theology. There was one other feature added to this section of the university. It contained the university library with 100,000 volumes, particularly rich in Czech literature.

The university seminary began classes on October 8, 1833, and ended on the following August 7. Students attended lectures every day except Tuesday afternoon and Thursday, the recreation day, while Sundays and holy days were observed as days of rest. The special recreation days were marked out specifically: the day after Christmas, the day before New Year's Day, a week at Easter, from Spy Wednesday until the following Tuesday. Neumann attended classes that year, studying dogmatic theology from eight to nine in the morning and moral theology from nine to ten. A second lecture in dogmatic theology took place in the afternoon from two to three, followed by another class in moral theology for one hour.¹⁶

When Neumann asked for one of the scholarships at Prague University, he was motivated by the highest zeal; but, when he arrived there, he faced a sad awakening. The heavy hand of state interference was over the place. Here was, in fact, all that the named implied, the Royal University. Some of its teachers were badly infected with the Febronian doctrine, which held that the Bishop of Rome had only the same power as any other bishop in his diocese. Theses supporting this dangerous error were publicly defended by university scholars. How far the royal control extended in the university may be seen from the fact that, when a new set of statutes embodying a number of changes for the administration of the seminary was drawn up in January, 1833, these changes had to be approved first by the Emperor of Austria. More restrictive control

of the education of the priests in the empire is evidenced in the fact that no ecclesiastical student from Austria was then at Rome, studying for the priesthood. The course pursued in the Eternal City was not accredited in Austria. The royal supervision reached down even to the textbooks.¹⁷

The textbook used by John Neumann for moral theology was Ambrose Staf's brief *Institutiones Theologiae Moralis*. This work had been first written in two volumes, but it had been synthesized so that it could be taught during one year at the university. As a moral theology textbook, it had some serious deficiencies from the modern point of view. To begin with, the author treated the whole matter of moral theology from an ascetical standpoint, believing as he stated in the preface of the work that the people knew their obligations, but they needed an ascetical motive to urge them to fulfill them. There was nothing like casuistry, the case method of treating the subject. Human acts were passed over lightly. The matter on conscience was hurried into a few paragraphs, as was the whole of the vast field of moral questions that concern married life. However, much time was given to pastoral theology in those days. With this textbook a skilled professor might have been able to give a fairly good course to the seminarian.¹⁸ The trouble was that Dr. Stephen Teplotz, Neumann's teacher in moral theology, one time dean of the theological faculty, founder of the Cistercian monastery of Stein in Steyermark, and an examiner of the curates for benefices in the Archdiocese of Prague, was not in Neumann's judgment a good professor because he spent time on intricate, ridiculous difficulties. Also, he was so deeply philosophical in his explanations that the students were lost in a maze and could not understand him. Neumann said that it was hard for him to sit there two hours every day listening to Dr. Teplotz give these labyrinthine explanations. He was bored, moreover, by the professor's trite ascetical digressions.¹⁹

The lectures in dogmatic theology were not much better, though next to the Sacred Scriptures theology was the favorite study of young Neumann. Here again the textbook left something to be desired. Engelbert (Joseph Ambrose) Klüpfel's *Institutiones Dogmaticae Theologiae* had won much favor for its author. Indeed, it is the considered judgment of later theologians that the work was written by an author with merit and with sufficient learning. As a textbook of dogmatic theology, however, it had too great adherence

to Emperor Joseph II's novelties to recommend it. Having gone through a dry cleaning at the hands of Dr. Zeidler, the work had been epitomized by a Dr. Geis, but it still lacked solidity of doctrine and sufficient proofs for its statements.²⁰ This later, epitomized form was the textbook used by young Neumann for his two hours of dogmatic theology every class day of his first year at the University of Prague.

Doctor Jerome Zeidler, a Premonstratensian monk from Strahow, one time dean of the theological faculty, royal notary, and censor librorum was the lector of dogmatic theology; he was later to become a bishop in Austria. Of this professor Neumann said that Dr. Zeidler was more against the Pope than for him. Particularly did the young and earnest student fail to agree with his mentor on the question of papal infallibility, although there is no evidence to prove that he ever openly opposed him in the classroom. Dr. Zeidler erroneously contended that the more celebrated theologians were against that doctrine. Neumann said of this Josephistic teacher that he enjoyed too little a reputation with the students to do them much harm. His influence was decidedly neutralized in John Neumann's²¹ case, for this particular student always kept at his side the *Summa Doctrinae Christianae* of the celebrated Doctor of the Church, St. Peter Canisius, S.J., along with the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*. The extant notes of Neumann dating from this time show that he pursued the study of these volumes with more than usual alacrity. In fact, he wrote a treatise on the infallibility of the Pope based upon Canisius' work and sent it to an inquiring friend at the seminary of Budweis. Another antidote to the anti-papal doctrines was Neumann's attention to the catechism of the Doctor of the Church, St. Robert Bellarmine, S.J., to the works of the Fathers, particularly St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great. Little chance there was that unorthodox opinions would stunt the growth of a soul fed with such wholesome food, no matter what explanations the professor gave in class.²²

Unquestionably, despite these unpropitious circumstances, the time was utilized well by young Neumann while in the seminary. There had been considerable latitude during his first year about visiting and receiving visits, but new regulations from the government drastically tightened up the discipline for the theological students at the beginning of the fall of 1834. Henceforth, students were allowed out for walks only four hours a week, two on Tuesday

afternoon and two on Thursday. No outsider, not even a seminarian from the Budweis seminary, was allowed to stay in the seminary building at Prague.²³ These restrictions, even to such a persevering student as John Neumann, who certainly possessed *sitzfleisch*, made it a hard grind.²⁴

Nevertheless, the new regulations would not have disturbed him but for the fact that these rules also forbade the seminary students to attend the French classes conducted at the university. It was disappointing enough to Neumann when he discovered that English was not taught there, but here was a new setback; he would not be allowed to attend the French classes, and he had come to Prague particularly to study these languages. It was a bitter blow to his hopes of preparing himself for the missionary field abroad. Endeavoring to do what he could under the circumstances, he continued the study of English and French privately. For practice in the former, he utilized his leisure hours off the grounds by conversing with some English workmen at a nearby factory, while, for French, he studied privately and began to read a French life of St. Francis Xavier, S.J., sermons of Louis Bourdaloue, S.J., and other French works, from which he made long extracts for his anthology. There is some indication that he had begun to attend the lectures in French, but the new order reversed matters. At any rate at the end of the year he had progressed so far in this study that he presented himself for the examination in French. The professor asked him how he expected to take the examinations when he had not attended all the lectures. Neumann replied that he was ready, nevertheless. He took the examinations and passed them with a very high mark. After acquiring Arnold's English grammar, he proceeded to study English so ardently that in a year he could write a portion of his diary in that language.²⁵

One particular circumstance disturbed Neumann's peace of mind during those two years at the Prague seminary. He never was quite at home with the president of the seminary, Dr. Anton Rost; he always felt that the man did not understand him; and, try as he would, even to the extent of accusing himself in secret thought of misjudging the president, he never completely overcame this natural antipathy.²⁶

His own interior life was another cause of concern. However, there was no question but that he was grounding himself in solid ascetical principles, for he listened well to the Sunday sermons

given by various faculty members in the fine big church next door to the seminary, and he wrote out a digest of them every week. Moreover, he further enriched his soul with religious instruction by reading ascetical works, Luis of Granada's *Guide for Sinners*, a life of Catherine Emmerich, the life and writings of St. Francis de Sales, and St. Teresa's autobiography in Spanish. He copied down in his anthology long extracts from all these authors, particularly from St. Teresa, whose revelations he sketched out in German in seventy-four pages — sound spirituality by the highest standards.²⁷

With the new restrictions on the seminarians that year, 1833-1834, and John's distaste for the lectures of some of the teachers, he was anxious to get away from the place for his holidays at Easter and just as anxious five and one-half months later to take the month's vacation offered at the end of the summer.²⁸ He had spent a very laborious year at the books. His marks received at the end of the term, though not so high as they were at Budweis, were completely satisfactory. He received the mark *eminentem* in diligence for all subjects, 100 per cent. His conduct (*mores*) was *adprime conformis*, practically excellent, and his progress in dogmatic and moral theology was *primam*—fair. His friend, Laad, however, achieved *eminentem* in progress for both dogmatic and moral theology.²⁹

When he returned to class in October, 1834, Neumann began to write his journal. This remarkable day-to-day account of the soul of John Neumann is sometimes called a diary, though it is far more than that; it was what ascetics call an examination of conscience, undertaken for ascetical purposes to enable him to keep account of his spiritual progress as the days wore on. Nowhere in his writings is there such a remarkable close-up of the mind and heart and spirit of this man as in these pages. He continued to write it, with a few interruptions, until the period when he entered the Redemptorist Congregation as a novice in 1840. Once he started for America, and especially when in America, the entries were intermittent. Not like the usual run of diaries — descriptions of a man's external activities, of the places he sees and the people he meets — it was a deep soul-searching examination of conscience, interspersed with the most earnest prayers to God and His saints.³⁰

Because of its character as an examination of conscience, it is introspective in the highest degree, portraying the deepest thoughts of this young seminarian. Not all therein contained is rosy and bright, for the honest young man who never dreamed that the book

would be read by others wrote out each day's struggles in his soul — his joys, his hopes, his ambitions, his weaknesses and his temptations; he reveals, likewise, the means he employed to overcome himself. The so-called backslidings which appeared so great in his own eyes make the average reader wonder why he was ever troubled by them. The 468 closely written pages are a soul study of the highest value and the main source of material for the next five years of his life history. Indeed, one cannot read this diary without coming away from it with a feeling that the virtue acquired by John Neumann was won after a hard-fought struggle with difficulties of every kind. A battle all along the way, it was not apparent to the eyes of bystanders, but was fiercely fought, nevertheless, in the inmost recesses of his soul. Half of the diary was written in French, testifying to Neumann's knowledge of that language, and the second half was written in German, with about a score of entries in English. Although these efforts in French and English are well made, occasional lapses from correct idiom are discernible.³¹

Here in the pages of this diary is portrayed a soul tempted against faith,³² tempted against purity,³³ tempted to sadness at the thought that many won recognition beyond their merits.³⁴ Neumann considered pride to be the source of his trouble. A consciousness of his own sins filled him with dread that he was unworthy to aspire to an office that even the greatest saints hesitated to accept.³⁵ Adding to his anxiety was the realization that his family would be keenly disappointed to learn of his plan to be a missionary.³⁶ It was a pity that he did not have at this time a spiritual director in whom he could have placed his full confidence, someone to help him over his difficulties and save him so much anguish of soul.³⁷ Lacking human help, he placed his trust in God and persevered.³⁸ A strong faith was his mooring to the supernatural; a deep consciousness of his own shortcomings made him very humble. He prayed with the energy of one fully resolved to do the Will of God, come what might.³⁹ His prayers and affections, all written down in his diary at this time, sparkle with confidence in God, with trust in the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and in the intercession of the saints, along with contrition for his own faults. They manifest a full recognition of his helplessness without aid from his Creator.⁴⁰

The diary is a revealing story of a soul bitterly repenting of what he called the sloth and the negligence of his youth. He resolved to

pursue the paths of holiness above every other good.⁴¹ How the realization of his failure to come close to God pained him! The slightest imperfections in his own soul — giving countenance to others by joining in a laugh made at the expense of a professor,⁴² letting slip a remark that bordered, even distantly, on a criticism of the seminary authorities, his seeming to take complacency in his companions' remarks about the food,⁴³ his failure to use the time of devotions in a fervent manner,⁴⁴ his neglect to rise at the first sound of the bell,⁴⁵ the distractions he caused himself by playing music,⁴⁶ an undue excitement in a game of chess, the natural urge to win the game,⁴⁷ a drowsiness that occasionally made his study boring,⁴⁸ slight distractions while hearing Mass,⁴⁹—all these he considered inexcusable, foolish and inconsistent in the highest degree.

One day he bought some plums. When suddenly confronted by the president of the seminary, he was asked whether he intended to eat them all. He became a bit confused and answered that he was planning to share them with his fellow seminarian, Laad, as he actually did. But, because he had not had such a plan before the president asked him, Neumann regarded his answer as a lie and deeply repented of his weakness.⁵⁰ Then, again, two days before Christmas, while he was giving one of his first sermons before his fellows at the seminary, his mind suddenly went blank. Coming down from the pulpit, he declared, "I couldn't remember the German, but I had the Latin text down well!" Three times he repeated that excuse. That night as he examined his conscience he was not sure that he had known the Latin text any better than the German, and he regarded his hurried excuse as a transgression; he was so bitterly sorry at what he called a lie that he could not regain his peace and looked forward to the approaching feast with a heavy heart, as a sinner unworthy to celebrate the birthday of Christ in joy. His delicate conscience made the excuse seem a lie and his soul became so detestable in his own sight that he resolved to do penance for every similar transgression by fasting and by other acts of mortification.⁵¹

On another occasion he went to the Metropolitan Church to attend the Requiem Mass for the deceased Emperor, Francis I of Austria. After the Sanctus of the Mass the people stood up instead of kneeling, and he did likewise. Human respect he read into this and told his Saviour, "I still look more for the esteem of men than for Your honor, O God of mine, but I promise to be more watchful

in the future.”⁵² His every action he studied and saw frightful defects in each, though his companions saw in his conduct only an exact compliance with seminary rules.

Because he deemed himself neglecting the inspirations of God, only half attentive to God's grace and liable to err, he began to regard himself as a man heavily laden with sin, and a beggar pitifully asking for God's aid, crying out, “Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!”⁵³

Such a deep introspection might seem to be a morbid condition of mind to the casual reader, but there was nothing morbid about it. Deeply conscious of his defects as he was, he was even more deeply penetrated with the assurance that God, his loving Father, would help him to overcome them. He could never think of himself in any terms but those of a worthless servant; whatever good there was in him was due solely to God. Here was the foundation of his deep humility, the indispensable condition for perfection.⁵⁴

No one can peruse the pages of these diaries without being struck in a very forceful way by the determination with which Neumann undertook to live his spiritual life. First and foremost was the high resolve to seek perfection.⁵⁵ This will to make progress toward union with his Creator is strikingly apparent over all pages. Man is created to glorify God, he believed, and to seek any other end but the glory of the Creator is to betray the end of his existence.⁵⁶ With that thought deeply imprinted in his mind, he strove to give God everything that was in him. There was unction in the prayers he addressed his Maker. “Give me the graces which will aid me to obtain the perfection which You desire.”⁵⁷ “I will endeavor to perfect myself for such is Your Holy Will!” “Give light to my eyes, O my Jesus, that I may more clearly see the way to perfection!”⁵⁸ With the Mother of God he pleaded like a simple child, “Mother, I am a sinner but wish to perfect myself!”⁵⁹

It was not always easy to keep his mind steadily fixed on his goal, and he often reproached himself for even a slight deviation from his objective.⁶⁰ It seemed his failure to move more rapidly in the ways of the saints and his lack of sensible devotion, his outright disgust at times with spiritual things, was a sign that he was chasing a will-o'-the-wisp, and that the objective was too exalted for his attainment.⁶¹ But he rallied from every discouraging thought and held to his noble resolve with tenacious will throughout the whole course

of his life. How he pleaded with God to help him along the right path to perfection! The Blessed Virgin, Saint Teresa, Saint John Nepomucene, Saint Francis Xavier, and a score of others including his own Guardian Angel were enlisted in his cause. Whatever else might fail, his will to become more like Christ from day to day was a determination that never weakened.⁶²

The fourth year as a theologian saw Neumann taking pastoral theology, homiletics, pedagogy and catechetics. Judged from his marks, this scholastic year was the least brilliant of the four.⁶³ It may be that the struggle that was going on within the soul of the seminarian had something to do with this; certainly, he was not altogether pleased with his professors.

Maximilian Millauer taught pastoral theology; and, while the doctor had many scholarly titles, he was not the best of teachers in Neumann's estimation. The titles of Dr. Millauer were as follows: rector of the academic senate, doctor of theology, professor of pastoral theology, examiner of the candidates for the priesthood in the Prague archdiocese, member of the Bohemian Society of Sciences, dean of the theological faculty at the University of Prague. There were a few more titles following his name, but for all that Neumann declared that Millauer was a thorough Josephist. "It cost me a lot of work and self-restraint to study subjects, the folly of which I had already discovered," he said. "It is a pity that in lectures on these subjects, so much is done to give the impression of vast erudition rather than to spread good, Catholic doctrine and useful information."⁶⁴

The textbook used here was the pastoral theology of Reichensberger in Latin, a textbook well-written but leaving something to be desired from the strictly Catholic standpoint.⁶⁵ Dr. Millauer likewise taught homiletics, and in the diary at times Neumann was just as little enthusiastic about his homiletics courses as he was about the pastoral theology. Dr. Francis Czeschik, professor in pedagogy and in catechetics,⁶⁶ certainly instilled a thorough knowledge in the young man, using Peitel's *Methodenbuch* as a text.⁶⁷ In catechetics Neumann received the mark *eminentem*. He was very solidly grounded in this important, if underrated, division of theological study, and he was to use it all through his life with telling effect. Already he had learned the method of putting things clearly and concisely before the minds of listeners, and he carried this ability with him the rest of his days.

Neumann's final year at Prague, while good, was not a brilliant one.⁶⁸ Perhaps the real explanation of his drop in scholastic achievement was the uncertainty regarding his future. He was not certain that he would find a place for his priestly activity immediately upon completing his theological course and upon receiving holy orders. Not too many posts were open for a newly ordained priest in the Diocese of Budweis. One opening, however, he rejected. Neumann's ability in languages was well-known among the students. At this time there was a position open for a secretary in official government circles, and the offer was made to him to take the office after ordination. He was well-qualified and adapted for such work, eminently so, but he never dreamed of living such a life. His earnest endeavor to equip himself especially with the modern languages, six of them,⁶⁹ had not been taken to prepare himself for a secretaryship but to move out on the crossroads of life and save abandoned souls for Christ.⁷⁰

The thought of becoming missionaries had been kept a secret by Neumann, Savel and Schmidt. Soon, Savel changed his mind. On top of that came another disappointment. Neumann learned in October of the fourth year that his close friend, Adalbert Schmidt, instead of going to America, intended to join the monks of Hohenfort.⁷¹ He looked upon this young man as the one nearest to his own soul and saw in him a model. The news concerning Schmidt later proved to be premature, but the mere announcement of the report disturbed him. For days thereafter, Neumann wondered whether he might not achieve more surely his object of going to the United States by joining some religious order.⁷² He began to realize what it meant to live alone; and since at this time he was without a director, his sensitive soul was shaken to its depths by worries and doubts. He might have had some direction if he had sought it from the president of the seminary, but Neumann had something close to an aversion for this man. He felt ill at ease in his presence, thought him cold and somewhat erring in his teaching of certain doctrines, and considered him a man who would not understand.⁷³ Finally, in April, 1835, Neumann's friend, Anton Laad, who himself had entertained the idea of going to America but never committed himself, broke the news of Neumann's plans to the president.⁷⁴ The latter promised to place no obstacles to them, but he began to point out the benefits of becoming a Jesuit, an idea which Neumann had been considering for months.⁷⁵ Neumann

replied that he did not think that he was suited for membership in that illustrious society. The president answered that missionary life would be difficult.⁷⁶ As time went on, the seminarian tried to work up a warmer feeling for the president, but, if he succeeded, it was not for long. The president had told others that he wanted Neumann to have confidence in him. But the latter had conscientious objections.⁷⁷ Now eleven weeks away from the time of ordination, Neumann considered himself a great sinner unprepared for that great day.⁷⁸

John Neumann fully expected to be ordained by Bishop Ernst Rudzička of Budweis at the end of the scholastic year,⁷⁹ but by June 10 his prospects began to fade, for the bishop became seriously ill. A week later, though the bishop's condition was no worse, no date for the ordination was set. The young seminarian lamented the fact that he was not better prepared for ordination.⁸⁰ Without a director, his soul was tossed in misery — utter misery. How he prayed to God for help!

In the meantime, while Neumann studied at Prague, his friend, Adalbert Schmidt, who still planned to go to the United States with Neumann as a missionary, continued his studies at Budweis.⁸¹ It was a stroke of good fortune that the latter then had as his confessor a canon of Budweis Cathedral, Hermann Dichtl, a priest accustomed to magnificent plans and possessed of enough vision, zeal and energy to carry out his plans.⁸² Young Adalbert Schmidt informed his confessor of the project of going abroad with Neumann. Warmly approving the plan, from then on the confessor not only encouraged but bent every effort to aid them in their missionary design. Circumstances later forced Adalbert Schmidt to surrender his missionary resolutions, but Neumann persevered tenaciously.

Father Dichtl was receiving letters from Canon Andreas Räss, director of a seminary in Strassbourg, urging him to send young priests or theological students to America.⁸³ The Budweis priest had in mind to send young Neumann to the Philadelphia diocese in answer to the appeal for two German priests by Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of that see sent through Räss.⁸⁴ Since correspondence between America and Europe was slow, particularly when it had to pass through intermediaries, the matter was held up when no definite response concerning Neumann was received from Philadelphia. The seminarian was left in doubt regarding his call.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, the president of the seminary still continued to urge him to join the Jesuits.⁸⁶

After finishing his course at Prague, Neumann was obliged to go to Budweis for his canonical examination to the priesthood. He was eager about the plan to go to the United States, even though it seemed that ordinations were to be held up in his own Diocese of Budweis because of the continued illness of the bishop.⁸⁷ Very successfully, he passed the examination for the priesthood in Budweis, but no date was set for the ordinations to the priesthood. By July 3, 1835, he realized that the call to go to the United States might come before his ordination. Such a prospect was a blow to the young man who wanted to have his family at his first Mass. For years he had longed for the day when as a priest of God he could bend over his fond parents and give them the first priestly blessing with his freshly consecrated hands.⁸⁸ The fear of a delay in ordination gradually became a certainty. Budweis seminarians were not to be ordained at the end of the year because the diocese had more priests than it needed. Some of those ordained the preceding year were still without assignments.⁸⁹ John Neumann left Prague on July 2, 1835, — a disappointed graduate of the seminary. Not ordained, with some of his marks, chiefly one from Dr. Millauer, below what he had hoped for, he faced an uncertain future, resigned to God's Will.⁹⁰

CHAPTER III

En Route: 1835-1836

A feeling of frustration gripped Neumann as he trudged home to Prachatitz that July day in 1835. Nothing had succeeded as he had planned. He had not been ordained at the time he expected. Worse, the prospects for an early ordination were not bright since the bishop, now recovering from his illness, showed no great desire to ordain the latest class graduated from the seminary. There was a surplus of priests in the Diocese of Budweis at this time and there was no need to supply more soon.¹ The bitterness of Neumann's disappointment was not softened by the thought that the graduating seminarians from the dioceses of Prague and Königrätz were being ordained immediately even though these dioceses had a greater surplus of priests than Budweis.²

Moreover, the parents of John Neumann had no idea of what was in his mind concerning a missionary career in a foreign land. It would be hard to break the news to them, he reflected, and doubly hard to tell them that he might depart from his native land before he was ordained.³ The revelation of his plans would be a keen disappointment to them. He did not wear his heart on his sleeve. None the less, he had a deep affection for his family who had made so many sacrifices for him and he dreaded to give them pain.⁴ There was, however, some gleam of hope that he might be ordained soon, especially when the bishop hinted as much the day John went to visit him at Budweis.⁵

Annoying to him at this time was the fact that no definite arrangements could be made for the journey to the United States. His good and pious adviser, Father Dichtl, noted the young man's impatience to be on his way to the foreign land, but he warned him to take things easily, *festina lente!* The whole project was hanging in the air.⁶ More than that, serious doubts often came to plague the mind of the young volunteer missionary. At times he felt that his own knowledge was not sufficient for the great work ahead, and in his humility he asked God to give him true wisdom. There was a lurking suspicion, too, that the plans he had made would be too difficult to fulfill, but he relied confidently on the aid of Jesus

Christ, in whose cause alone he proposed to take the risk. Nevertheless, he begged his Saviour if the whole venture were not according to His Will to frustrate it.⁷ For his part he was willing to brave every danger to glorify God. The deep inner conviction that his virtue did not measure up to the ideals he had long ago proposed to himself filled him with a consciousness of his unworthiness, and with a ringing cry for help he pleaded with the Saviour of men to take his heart and make it over so that it would belong to Him alone. To every doubt that assailed him, he opposed his strong faith in the goodness and kindness of God.⁸

The first difficult task before him was to acquaint his family with his missionary plans. The announcement of John Neumann's intention to go to the United States struck his father like a bombshell. A sickly smile was on the face of the elder Neumann the day he heard the news. Taken altogether by surprise, he agreed reluctantly to the idea, however, because he would do nothing to thwart the Will of God. Although he was not so sure that the plan was the Will of God, he would not fight against it. Mrs. Neumann seemed less surprised; and, though willing to see her son launched on a missionary career if such was his vocation, she begged him to consider it from every angle. The sisters of the young seminarian broke down and cried.⁹ No one said anything to him outright to oppose his going, but they did not want to hear of the preparations.¹⁰ Sadness and disappointment were apparent in the household, and Neumann was keenly aware of it. The loneliness that now came over his heart was deep and painful. Even when the full plan of going to America before his ordination was divulged, the father of Neumann tried to put on a cheerful mien and agree, though he did think that there was some obligation on the boy to help his parents and his brother and sisters in temporal matters. He had expected that these things would receive the attention of his first-born son. Now even that hope was blasted.¹¹ There was some excuse for the attitude of the old man. He had given the boy every advantage in life in order to see him attain his goal — the priesthood. Missionaries from Austria were rare in those days, and John's father had not been prepared to be a pioneer in giving up his son to the missions. Moreover, the entire missionary project was not so clearly settled as to give reasonable assurance of success.

The whole plan of Neumann was at this time in a state of suspense. Besides the uncertainty over the date of his ordination, the

lack of a definite and direct call to Neumann from Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia had serious consequences. Who was to pay the expenses of the journey overseas? A plea to the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna received a negative answer, for the authorities of that missionary group felt that such a plea should come from the Bishop of Philadelphia rather than from anyone on the continent.¹² Moreover, the bishop and the members of the cathedral chapter of Budweis were not enthusiastic in their attitude. On just what their coolness to the plan was based is not certain. The departure of Neumann to America was only one part of the great idea entertained by Father Dichtl to establish a foreign mission house for America on the lines of the Paris Foreign Mission Society. It seems likely that Father Dichtl intended this house to serve as a base for supplying missionaries for the United States rather than for other lands, but at any rate the eighty-year-old Bishop Rudžicka was not in favor of the plan and he seemed uninterested in the first of Father Dichtl's recruits.¹³ The delay gave the twenty-four-year-old Neumann pause for reflection, and oftentimes he wondered whether he was doing the Will of God. But through it all he stuck fast to his resolution to be a missionary for the distressed souls calling from America.¹⁴

To awaken some of the piety which he felt had gone from his soul during the last years at Prague, he set out on a series of pilgrimages to the numerous shrines in the vicinity of Prachatitz—to Gojau, Strunkowitz, Podsrp, Klattau, Schwartzbach, Langendorf, and other places—journeying to them on foot, oftentimes in the most uncomfortable weather. Here he gave expression to his ardent desire for perfection; here he deplored his own relapses; here he received Communion after confessing his sins with a contrite heart. These visits to holy places were refreshing to his soul.¹⁵ Particularly was he anxious to go to confession in these days, for his exactness made it appear he was a very sinful man, so much so, that on some occasions he was much worried that he might die without the grace of God in his soul.¹⁶ On one occasion he could not bring himself to go to Holy Communion, for he felt that his soul was stained too deeply with sin for that tremendous privilege.¹⁷

The days at home were spent in diligence. He used his spare time to write up a whole new book of notes, several hundred pages, on the Old Testament.¹⁸ He translated a work from the French, *Reflexions sur la Miséricorde de Dieu*,¹⁹ and filled out the other

hours of the day with more religious exercises according to a fixed arrangement. During the very first days of his vacation he proposed to follow a *Rule of Life* published in French in 1828.²⁰ By November 1, he had drawn up for himself a detailed schedule of activities for every one of his waking hours from 5 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. The schedule ran as follows:

- 4:30-5:00 Rising followed by the recitation of Lauds — reading of Sacred Scripture.
- 6:00 Prime, followed by the study of English.
- 7:00 Translation work.
- 9:00 Terce, study of the Psalms, assistance at Mass, visit to the clergy or to sister, walk. Sext.
- 12:00 Dinner, followed by a study of the catechism.
- 2:00 Readings from anthology, followed by None and a walk.
- 4:00 Work at translation.
- 5:00 Reading aloud before and after supper.
- 8:00 Vespers.
- 8:30 Examination of conscience [writing of diary].
Compline, recitation of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, bed at 10:30 P.M.²¹

It was not always possible to observe that order to the letter, but Neumann adhered to it as faithfully as he could.

He was much encouraged by the local clergy, who backed his plan with enthusiasm. Besides reassuring words, they gave a practical turn to their support when they took up a collection to enable him to travel to his destination, the United States. The money collected was not nearly sufficient, but it was a help, and he was grateful.²²

Neumann was impatient to be on his way to work for souls. As day followed day with no definite word received concerning his ordination or of his call to America, he strove earnestly to sanctify himself by work and prayer.²³ One noteworthy incident of those months was his fast action in helping to put out a fire in the village of Pfefferschlag, a short distance from Prachatitz. One cold December morning at 4:30 A.M., the fire alarm sounded through Prachatitz. Springing from his bed and viewing the flames from his window, he hustled off to give aid. The people of Pfefferschlag were standing around helplessly when he arrived but he quickly rallied them by organizing a bucket brigade. The water was soon

flowing on the flames. He worked tirelessly, drenched to the skin, with icicles forming on his clothes, until he fell from exhaustion. The fire was held in check until further aid extinguished it.²⁴ The grateful town folk of Pfeffersschlag were delighted. They sent him a testimonial letter of thanks, which he deposited in his pocket without opening until feminine curiosity urged his mother to ask to see it. As he returned the letter to his pocket he said, "Very probably I'll never need this."²⁵

Through the weeks the preparations for his departure, the details of getting ready, obtaining the consent of his father,²⁶ securing the written permission of the dean at Budweis²⁷ and the annoying matter of passports were settled.²⁸ Now that no further hope of ordination for four or five months existed, John Neumann with a zeal worthy of the first Christian missionaries resolved to be off to America. Father Dichtl still had hopes of sending both Adalbert Schmidt and Neumann to the Diocese of Philadelphia; but when the money collected for the journey hardly sufficed for the expenses of one, Neumann resolved to go alone.²⁹

The actual leave-taking from home was a classic display of self-denial. His sister Veronica alone was told the secret of his impending departure in an upstairs room of the Neumann house the night before. Tears were streaming down from her eyes. His father had once said he never wanted to say farewell.³⁰ His mother never suspected that he would slip out without informing her; and when he did leave on the morning of February 8, 1836, she thought it just another of his journeys to Budweis. His destination was much farther. Without saying good-bye to his father and mother,³¹ John Neumann was en route for America. He explained his action in a letter written from Budweis, as follows:

DEAREST PARENTS:

By my sudden and unexpected departure, I have tried to lessen the mutual pain of separating from you, as much on my own account as on yours. Convinced that your parental blessing[§] will accompany me wherever I go, I did not ask it of you before leaving for the reason above stated. The expression by letter of the thanks I owe you, I feel assured, will be as acceptable to you as if offered by word of mouth. The career on which I am now about to embark, and which with God's help, I shall faithfully pursue, I am persuaded will bring spiritual blessing on you both.

You have, my dear parents, the right to lay claim to whatever affection I could possibly give you, and God knows, I have done my duty in this respect. But the unalterable resolution cherished for three years, now so

near being fulfilled in spite of many hindrances, the ease with which I acquired the necessary knowledge for my future career, and many other circumstances, combine to assure me that it is God who calls me to make this sacrifice, however painful it may be, for the sake of the ignorant and the abandoned. These considerations, added to the conviction that my sacrifice will be beneficial, not only to my own soul, but likewise to your salvation, has determined me not to give up the end in view. My dear parents, may you bear patiently the trial imposed on you and on me by God. The greater our sorrows now, the greater will be our joy hereafter. God would not impose such a sacrifice on us, did He not deem it salutary for us and were He not willing to impart the necessary strength. May His Holy Will be done!³²

In those brave words and with a line of thanks to all his benefactors, John Neumann was on his way to his missionary post; the home ties were cut forever. Never again in his life was he to see the mother he loved so fondly. He had a full sense of the sacrifice he was making, and the pain of it was not to leave him as he made his way across the Germanies into France and on the high seas to America. Although the loneliness of leaving home was often upon him, and the distress he had caused his folks bore down upon his soul, he would never allow them to interfere with his cherished resolution — the will to serve God.³³

The first step on his journey was to Budweis, where he visited Bishop Rudzička. The prelate blessed him but he gave no dimissorial letters, which Neumann was seeking. The bishop may have promised to forward the dimissorial papers, as some later statements in Neumann's diary indicate, or he may have hesitated about giving them until his graduate seminarian was assured of a field of activity in the Diocese of Philadelphia. Neumann was a bit perplexed at the proceedings but he felt no particular misgivings at the time, confident that the matter would be straightened out in due course. He was careful to bring to the bishop all his credentials, certificates of good conduct, proper clerical training and the like.³⁴ With these, the little missionary, five-feet-two-and-a-half inches in height, materially fortified with 200 francs (c. \$40) in his purse, with fairly shabby clothes and shoes that would soon be worn out by his journey across the western part of Europe, started for the promised land, the Diocese of Philadelphia.³⁵

The first part of the journey from Budweis was made with his bosom friend, Adalbert Schmidt. On the stagecoach they traveled along roads banked with snow fourteen feet high, making occasional

remarks concerning their mutual friends. Neumann's spirits were low at the time, and the fact that his close friend, Schmidt, was not coming to the United States, as they once planned in the enthusiasm of their seminary days, may have added a touch of sadness to their farewell. Schmidt, who now decided to remain as a diocesan priest in Budweis, took leave of his dear friend at Einsiedeln.³⁶

Neumann was left alone with his thoughts as the stagecoach moved across the countryside. The fact that he had not obtained the dimissorial letters allowing him to leave the Diocese of Budweis, the uncertain future and a deep conviction of his own shortcomings in his spiritual life brought ominous forebodings; but he prayed earnestly, particularly for his benefactors, though he felt that his unworthy prayers could hardly avail much for those who had been so good to him.³⁷ On the afternoon of February 16, he arrived in the City of Linz on the Danube River. It was Shrove Tuesday, and the disconsolate young man found his way to the beautiful parish church, where he poured out his soul in prayer amid tears. He needed prayer badly to uplift his downcast heart, for a letter from Budweis had announced to him that the *exeat* in writing had not been sent. He imagined that the refusal in itself indicated some form of suspicion concerning his plans, and he felt it keenly that the Budweis diocesan officials seemed to distrust him.³⁸

There was sunshine, however, in his hospitable reception at the seminary in Linz. The rector of the seminary, Canon Stolzenthaler, and his assistant waited on him like a father. They took him to the Benedictine, Bishop Gregory Ziegler,³⁹ who hailed his resolution to work on the American missions. In a kindly way the apostolic bishop asked him, "Have you the Holy Ghost who enlightens and teaches?" It was a cheering greeting to the budding missionary, who felt a hundredweight of fear tugging at his heart. A dinner with the bishop did much to encourage him; for the prelate, gracious and condescending, made no secret of his pleasure and admiration for the transatlantic missionary, and told him that help would be forthcoming should the need arise. The significance of this last remark was not lost on the young cleric as he realized that the Diocese of Linz was then contributing heavily to the Leopoldine Foundation, and a word from the bishop of that diocese would carry weight in the councils of the missionary group in Vienna. With hearty good wishes and a letter of introduction from the

bishop, Neumann took the stage to Munich on February 18 as night fell.⁴⁰

Early dawn of February 20 found him in Munich, where he sought out his cousin, Philip Janson. All around the city he searched for him and finally caught up with him outside the royal palace as Philip emerged in his brilliant uniform of the royal guards. So pleased was his Bavarian cousin with the news of Neumann's departure for the United States that he declared he was almost ready to go with him. After dinner John went off to the seminary in Munich and presented his letters of introduction, which he had brought from the seminary authorities of Linz.⁴¹

In Munich, however, Neumann received a severe jolt to his plans. He was introduced to an American missionary then in Europe after eight years experience on the American frontier in the Middle West, John Martin Henni, later founder of the *Wahrheitsfreund* and the future Archbishop of Milwaukee. Neumann naturally divulged his plans to him. Good Father Henni told him that a German priest was no longer required for Philadelphia. The bubble was broken! Neumann had been on his way to a diocese that would have no need of a German priest at that time. The news distressed him, though Henni gave him every assurance that there was a crying need for German priests in the great regions of the West. Detroit or New York or the Diocese of Vincennes would surely find a place for him.⁴²

However, Henni seemed a bit reserved with him. Dark thoughts welled up in Neumann's mind. How was he to get money to journey to America if he had no definite diocese to which he was going? Who would receive him, particularly since he carried no *exeat* in writing from the Bishop of Budweis? Henni advised him that it would be better to stay in Europe rather than arrive in America without dimissorial papers. God alone was his support and, though conscious of unworthiness, in fervent appeal Neumann besought divine help to surmount his difficulties. He viewed himself as full of sin, with not even the consolation of being able to say to himself, "My heart is pure." The fatigue of the journey was beginning to tell, but through it all he cried out, "O God, come and help me, for I am poor and weak! Jesus, my Jesus! Son of David, have mercy on me!"⁴³ The frequent entries in his diary at this time concerning the ill-success of his plans and about his own shortcomings and his alleged lack of correspondence with God's graces might easily be misunderstood. They indicate neither a peculiarity nor deficiency

in character, nor a warped, gloomy form of spirituality. All the entries abundantly suggest that he was passing through a stage in the development of his spiritual life through which all holy persons, even those temperamentally the most cheerful, pass; it was a spiritual cleansing, a kind of Purgatory which prepares the soul for a higher union with God.

Next morning there was a lifting of the clouds when he went to Professor Phillips of the University of Munich, a convert much interested in missionary work. Phillips advised him to remain in Strassburg and meanwhile to get in touch with the holy Bishop Bruté of Vincennes, Indiana, then in Europe procuring missionaries for his diocese. Bishop Bruté was in Rome at the time, but a letter could be dispatched to him and an answer received in Strassburg within the desired time. If Neumann were not accepted for the Diocese of Vincennes, he would perhaps have the opportunity of traveling with Bishop Bruté on the latter's return to the United States. After meeting Father Henni again, Neumann obtained from him the postal address of Bishop Bruté in Paris. A letter sent there would certainly reach that prelate at Easter time, when he was scheduled to be in Paris. One other item of importance was passed on to the young traveler; he was given the address of a German who owned a hotel in New York. But New York was a long way off, and much had to be done meanwhile.⁴⁴

Another situation discouraged John Neumann; not completely acquainted with church schedules, he could not get to confession and Holy Communion as often as he wanted. His conscience he examined rigorously; he beheld nothing in himself but sin and the sight filled him with horror. He was dismayed at his own lack of fervor. The difficulties he encountered he looked upon as a consequence of the abuse of graces. Obstacles without, failures within, he described his miserable condition as a state of perjury. He must make a sincere confession, something he had not done for three weeks. To resolve to serve God was easy, but he found perseverance difficult. Yet he decided to renew the struggle to give himself entirely to God, and now he was ready. The words he wrote in his diary seem to come from the depths of his inmost soul, "Ah Lord! Have mercy on a poor sinner. O God! Pardon me! Delay the punishment merited that I may be able to confess and amend. Lord your creature cries out to You. You should be and will be my God!" That was his hope — God. He continued, "Ah, Lord, the

greatness of my crimes and my contempt do not deter me.”⁴⁵

Having arrived in Strassburg at midnight, February 26, he hurried to the cathedral early in the morning to prepare for confession. To his dismay, priests were not in the confessional. Neumann left the church, but the darkness of his soul made him return. Later, he was able to confess, however, and the weight was lifted from his soul. A spirit deeply humbled and made resolute by contrition is discernible in the lines that he penned in his diary: “I am decidedly a coward in my good resolutions. My resolutions so often broken frighten me. But I will learn from You, my Divine Master; You have pardoned my perjury a thousand times, a sign that You do not wish to abandon me, as I deserve. O Jesus, now that You have again received me into Your favor, I will begin again to fight for You and for myself!”⁴⁶

At Strassburg he put up at the seminary and fared well enough. Canon Räss confirmed the story about his no longer being needed for Philadelphia. What was worse, he informed Neumann that the money that had been previously destined for him had been given to other missionaries from Alsace-Lorraine. The last was a blow to Neumann, as he had not enough money to carry him through his journey overseas. Räss had no money for him but he promised to give him an introduction to a rich merchant of Paris, who was greatly interested in missionaries and who would undoubtedly give him a considerable sum. Now that the promised missionary haven in the Diocese of Philadelphia was lost, the good canon, less enthusiastic than Neumann expected, promised to write to Bishop Dubois of New York to adopt the young Bohemian cleric.

Neumann could not quite understand the attitude of Räss, for he was cold and stiff and, moreover, a little hazy about the whole missionary affair; but he did make a present of many books to the young cleric. Neumann's own money was dwindling, and the books given him had to be transported at his expense. Yet he hoped in God and went forward, resolved to forego food on the way in order to keep his expense account within his means. He was advised to proceed toward Paris via Nancy. His departure for Nancy was made in double-quick time when he realized that he was an hour late. He had to leave Strassburg without saying good-bye to Räss, though he did leave a forwarding address for any communication that might be sent to him. Without assurance that he would be accepted by Bishop Bruté for the Diocese of Vincennes, and after

his experience concerning Philadelphia, he was not so certain that New York would receive him.⁴⁷

At Nancy he stopped off to see the Sisters of St. Charles, whom Father Dichtl had brought as novices from Bohemia, and who were destined to return as members of that order to their native land. It was a happy meeting; the young nuns were delighted to hear news of their native Budweis. His room in the hotel was not the best, and he missed dinner twice; but then, when he did eat, he felt that he had exceeded the bounds of temperance and begged God's pardon. His slender resources could not keep him from books, however; he bought his old favorite, *The Spiritual Combat*, for six francs and *Atala*, for four more—a very expensive purchase for one whose finances were so meagre. So delighted was he to receive Communion on March 6 that he made a vow to recite the *Horae Diurnae* daily. His French was a bit strange to native Frenchmen, and he had to struggle to make himself understood by the mother superior at the convent. Visiting the hospital, he struck up a conversation with the confessor of the sick, who promised to give him some relics of a French martyr of Cochin-China. This delighted him above measure. He was tendered a dinner by several of the priests, who approved of his undertaking, but who warned him how rash it was to start out to the United States without dimissorial papers. The whole business of getting his affairs straightened out was trying.⁴⁸

After four days in Nancy he set out for Paris by way of historic Chalon-sur-Marne and Meaux, made famous by the celebrated French ecclesiastic, Bishop Bossuet. Another missionary bound for the United States, Father [Albert?] Schaefer, was with him on the twenty-four hour trip. After they arrived the next day at Paris and cleared their belongings from the baggage office, it was too late to go to St. Sulpice, where they expected to lodge and thus save expenses. When they presented themselves at that world-famous seminary the following day, they were informed that it was not customary to receive strangers in the house, but the porter pointed out that they probably could get lodgings at the House of the Foreign Missions for 120 francs a month. The news was not encouraging to penny-pinching missionary travelers.⁴⁹ After repeated refusals an arrangement was made at length for them to have a room at the foreign mission house for twenty francs a month. Their meals had to be taken outside the seminary at a hotel. The need of petty bargaining surprised and embarrassed Neumann.⁵⁰

For a whole month he stayed in Paris, buying books and seeing the sights of the city, particularly the historic shrines of religious significance. On the fourth Sunday of Lent he was off to Notre Dame Cathedral to hear the brilliant young priest whose name was then on the lips of everyone in Paris, Henri Dominique Lacordaire. This young orator had risen from the unfortunate venture in the *Avenir*. When that ill-fated French journal to which he had been a heavy literary contributor was condemned by Rome, he turned to lecturing. He stood up under the criticism of early lectures which seemed to some too liberal and at the invitation of the Archbishop of Paris went to preach at Notre Dame Cathedral. In 1836 he was delivering his religious conferences for the second year in the clear vibrant voice that stirred to their depths the intellectual men and women of Paris. One had to arrive early to get a good seat in the great church, for not since the Middle Ages had such crowds gone to listen to sermons under the fivefold nave of Notre Dame Cathedral. Neumann arrived at eleven o'clock and was lucky enough to get in for five sous. Lacordaire was then thirty-five years of age, with sovereign poise, handsome, the paleness of his face set off with abundant black hair and piercing eyes that shone with a glance of mingled fire and gentleness. Once he, too, had planned to go on the American missions, but now he was the toast of Paris. What effect Lacordaire's sermon had on Neumann is not known, for all that the latter committed to his diary was the fact that he had succeeded in hearing him — the preacher who made it fashionable for young people to go to church.⁵¹

Other sights he saw in Paris, the Pantheon,⁵² where rest the heroes and heroines of France; Montmartre, the birthplace of the Society of Jesus;⁵³ the Louvre, where he studied the great art treasures, but with such freedom that he blamed himself in his diary for his lack of modesty in not restraining his eyes. Next time he was very careful with his glances.⁵⁴ He was forced to curb his passion for buying books. The little "bibliomaniac" of Prachatitz days had not changed his earlier ways.⁵⁵

Paris was a strange place to Neumann. His piety was shocked by the appearance of people in carnival dress riding on horseback and in carriages during Lent. Although he called it "Babylon," he recognized the faith that was then reawakening in the gay city. He was astonished that so many went to the churches daily in a metropolis with the reputation of Paris, not only the poor, but the well-

dressed people. Holy Week brought out the best that was in the city, and Neumann almost believed it was the style of dandies to visit the churches. They were not mere dandies, however, for at the elevation of the Mass he saw many falling on their knees and kissing the pavements. Furthermore, he had noticed the long lines at the confessionals and the many who crowded to the Communion rail.⁵⁶ The city, however, did not impress him as much as did Prague. Even the great Cathedral of Notre Dame seemed bare when compared with the palace church of Prague.⁵⁷ Indeed no church appealed to his taste so much as that in his own village of Prachatitz.

The only reason that he stayed in Paris was to have some definite answer to the question that was pestering him. What was his ultimate destination in the United States? Bishop Bruté was to answer the request of Schaefer. To Neumann's profound dismay, two weeks after his arrival in Paris, a letter arrived from the holy prelate of Vincennes in which Father Schaefer was informed that he himself would be accepted, but three other missionaries who had applied for a place in the Diocese of Vincennes were rejected. Nothing was said of Neumann. It was evident that his letter to Bishop Bruté had gone astray. Disconsolate, Neumann resolved to wait a little longer in the hope of better news or at least with the expectation of meeting Bruté himself when the prelate returned to Paris.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, he strove to make progress in virtue and useful knowledge. He recited the whole of the divine office. He said the rosary. He made frequent visits to the great churches of Notre Dame, St. Sulpice and St. Genevieve. He walked across the city to Montmartre, where he signed the *Protestation Authentique* of St. Francis de Sales on his own birthday.⁵⁹ He kept a careful watch over his senses and checked himself with frequent examinations of conscience. He cast the fervor of prayer over the activities of each day.⁶⁰ During Holy Week he was present at the services in St. Sulpice, where the Gallic liturgy did not appeal to him.⁶¹ Daily he practiced French, in which he was now more proficient than in Bohemian.

As the days and weeks moved on and Bishop Bruté did not come to Paris, there was reason for Neumann's uneasiness. His money was fast disappearing, and soon he would be penniless. The promised aid from the rich merchant in Paris, about which Canon Räss had given him such high hopes, never materialized.⁶² He had

to come to some decision and come to it quickly. The decision was soon made. Without waiting longer to hear from the Bishop of Old Vincennes, he resolved to sail for America since he felt sure that German-speaking missionaries were needed there. He was not so certain that he would be accepted into the Diocese of New York, to whose bishop Räss had written, but he was determined to go just the same. If there were no place for him in New York, he would travel to the dioceses of Vincennes or Detroit or St. Louis. If these efforts failed, he would return to New York and stay there until a place to work for abandoned souls was opened to him. It was a courageous decision. He even contemplated missionary work among the Indians. Despite the painful uncertainty, with a fine spirit of faith he said, "O my Jesus, praise be to You. It is Your Will."⁶³

When Neumann went to take the coach out of Paris on Easter Tuesday, he found that it had left five minutes previously. In order to overtake it and not to lose the twenty-four francs he had paid for the trip, he hired another horse and coach; but when they arrived at the outskirts of the city, the cabman refused to go further. So the determined young traveler could do nothing but take to the road with his bags and move along on foot. It began to rain steadily. He was thoroughly drenched as he trudged along through the night to Nanterre. He caught up with an omnibus and this carried him to St. Germain, where he arrived early on the morning of the next day.⁶⁴ As staying at hotels overnight was a bit expensive for his slender purse, he planned to do his traveling by night. He could not bear the delay of waiting until 9 A.M. for the stage, so he was off again on foot to Meulan. While walking along the muddy roads, he lost a little crucifix that he had purchased in Paris and some relics of the martyr of China, a loss that added to his disappointment.⁶⁵ Here at Meulan for ten francs he managed to get a seat up on the top of the stage behind the driver. It was not a very comfortable seat; his head ached, the sullen indisposition of the driver and the bouncing of the coach made it anything but a pleasant trip to Rouen. These inconveniences he offered up to God and prayed that he would be courageous for all the hardships ahead.⁶⁶ By 5:30 A.M. he was on the stage again from Rouen, and the horse and the coach jogged into the lively port town of Havre shortly after noon, April 7, 1836.

For the first time in his life he saw the ocean. Soon he was down at the wharves looking over the ships. The weather was bad, his

shoes were almost worn out, and his coat was shabby. The next day he was down at the harbor again, seeking out the *Europa*, the ship on which he planned to make the transatlantic voyage. He was told it would cost him from ninety to one hundred twenty francs, but he settled with the captain for eighty. To save himself the expense of lodging, and because his living quarters in the bustling little port town were none too comfortable, he was anxious to be aboard ship and on his voyage. But the captain of the ship, interested in selling every bit of available space to emigrants, was in no great hurry to depart.⁶⁷

It took Neumann four days to get aboard. The interval was well-used by the young cleric in praying in the parish church,⁶⁸ reading *Philothea*, for St. Francis de Sales' doctrine and his insight into human weakness was peculiarly suited to Neumann's needs.⁶⁹ He practiced his English with a boy in the neighborhood and enriched his vocabulary in French with words of every day use;⁷⁰ he bought a straw mattress and straw pillow for seven francs. Arranging with the steward of the ship to lay in some provisions for fifty francs, he paid his bill to the innkeeper and boarded the ship, April 11. He found himself without any privacy, without any determined place for his bed, and with a group of Alsatian-Germans who were far from companionable.⁷¹ But he was supremely happy, even though someone stole the only hat he had. He wrote home to his parents to tell them of his trip across Europe and enclosed a note for Father Dichtl.⁷² The captain of the ship, still intent on attracting more passengers to his vessel, put off from land only on April 20. With a bit of misgiving natural to first voyagers, Neumann began his ocean journey.⁷³

The *Europa*, a big three-master, 210-feet long with a sixty-foot beam, was the largest sailing vessel out of Havre, and Neumann had preferred it to other vessels, since it seemed less crowded with passengers.⁷⁴ At times the young man wished more privacy on the big vessel, for he was forced to write his diary in Latin before the curious eyes of some of the 210 German passengers from Alsace, the Swiss cantons and Baden.⁷⁵ With a German with whom he struck up a friendship and with a young Mexican boy on whom he tried out his Spanish, he was on fairly familiar terms, but the rest of the passengers seemed not to have been to his fancy.⁷⁶ He lamented in his diary that the morals of some of them needed reformation.⁷⁷ At any rate, for the whole forty days of the journey he seemed to

have kept pretty much to himself, reading the *Imitation of Christ* and *Philothea*, invoking the help of St. Teresa of Avila, penning his diary, and asking God in the most earnest manner to make him a good missionary.⁷⁸ He was no hand at conversation concerning worldly matters and he knew it, ascribing it to his own awkwardness. At the same time he realized that to converse on worldly topics would in the end make him something of a worldling — a classification he abhorred.⁷⁹ Sometimes the churlish manners of his fellow passengers led them to make fun of his piety and mock him at his prayers, but he passed off the ridicule silently. One particular day a Bavarian let him have a tongue lashing; and although he writhed interiorly under it, he managed to keep his patience and endure it like the apostles for the Name of Christ.

In his notes written on that sea voyage, one notices the simplicity of his purpose — his intense longing to form himself to the stature of Christ, especially by practicing humility, and a firm resolve to spend himself after the example of the Master, for the salvation of souls.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, the big three-master worked her way slowly across the Atlantic. There were days when the buffeting of huge waves made it pitch and roll on the high seas, much to the discomfort of the passengers. On one of the occasions when Neumann stood alone in the prow of the ship and while the vessel rolled and the surges of the heavy sea moved fearsomely close to the top of the prow, the young man heard an interior voice telling him to move away. Scarcely had he left the spot when a mast came crashing down upon the place where he had stood, leaving him in admiration of the providence of God.⁸¹ For three days Neumann himself was down with sea sickness.⁸² For three more days the ocean was becalmed and no progress was made in getting across to the port of New York.⁸³ At last the giant icebergs off the banks of Newfoundland hove into sight, striking the passengers with awe and wonder and sending a chill through the young traveler at the thought of what might happen should the ship crash into one of them.⁸⁴

As the April days gave way to May, his temporal situation, as Neumann viewed it, was not very satisfactory. His clothes were beginning to show tears and holes; his money had dwindled.⁸⁵ One possible escape from his uncertainty was cut off when he received word before leaving Havre that there was little likelihood of his being accepted for the Diocese of Vincennes.⁸⁶ He began to

fear that any chance of his being received into the Diocese of New York was slim.⁸⁷ By all odds he should have been downcast, but he was not. The clouds of his depression had lifted, and a resolute determination gripped him. He even contemplated with something of pleasure the worst that might befall him — failure to be accepted in any diocese and remaining without ordination. He courageously resolved, should that come to pass, to lead a life of solitude away from men.⁸⁸

Soon the telltale strips of seaweed were seen floating on the sea and birds appeared in the air, giving the weary travelers every assurance that they were once again nearing land.⁸⁹ It was high time they were. For the forty days that they had spent aboard had exhausted the provisions of many, and the drinking water had become foul-smelling and full of worms. The passengers first caught sight of land in misty outline on the eve of Trinity Sunday, May 28, 1836. The next evening they were anchored off the shore about an hour's distance from New York. Everybody who could stand went out on deck, singing and shouting and making revelry, unmindful of the heavy rain that was pounding down upon them. There only an hour's distance away was the promised land. What did they care for the rain? It only made the green fields brighter. The gayly painted houses in their light red colors and the spires of churches made their hearts warm and their voices gay. But Captain Drummond was in no mood for hurrying into port. There were some sick aboard who would need care before they could be landed; otherwise the quarantine officials might make the captain return them to Europe. Besides, the heavy winds off the coast made the entrance into the harbor more difficult.⁹⁰ So they stayed outside the New York harbor for three more days while the bad weather continued. Neumann was impatient to be off the ship. Six times he asked the captain and six times he was refused, until finally he was let off in a rowboat on which he went to Staten Island.

Several hours later he had negotiated the distance to New York in the small steamer *Hercules* and landed in lower Manhattan. It was the feast of Corpus Christi, an hour before high noon, when he first stepped ashore.⁹¹ With only a dollar in his pocket and his clothes and shoes in tatters, he hurried off in spite of the downpour of rain to find his goal in the land of his dreams.⁹²

The City of New York, in those days the Island of Manhattan, was a busy, thriving metropolis of 300,000 inhabitants. It stretched

from the Battery a mile northwards. It had already surpassed Philadelphia as the leading city of the nation, but it was only beginning its gigantic growth. Even its main street, Broadway, extended no further than the present Twenty-fifth Street, though that was far out from the rest of the town.⁹³ The population was centered in the lower end of Manhattan Island, where people of every land and every condition were crowded together. A number of its thoroughfares were illuminated by gaslight, though that form of illumination was far from common. Drinking water was carried through the streets in barrel-shaped wagons to be peddled to the various buyers. Cobble stones were the usual pavement for the more traveled avenues.⁹⁴ At this time the city was recovering rapidly from a disastrous twenty-million dollar fire that had ravaged seven hundred buildings in December of the previous year. On every corner were to be seen newcomers from Europe speaking their babel of tongues and generally wondering what they were going to do now that they had reached the promised land with their money exhausted by the long journey from Europe. Native-born Americans on their part were incensed at their coming.⁹⁵

Up the busy, crowded streets of that city walked John Neumann that afternoon of Corpus Christi. He had no idea where he was going, though he was looking for a Catholic church. He trudged the whole afternoon in the rain along the seemingly endless streets. He saw some churches, but he had to exert all his linguistic knowledge to try to find out from the passersby what they were. Then he found them closed. Most of the churches had a weathercock on them; and though some had a cross, the inevitable weathercock crowned them, much to the astonishment of the newcomer. He passed one open church, but it proved to be a Wesleyan meeting house, out of which men strode with their hats on their heads and cigars in their mouths. Wearily he turned to the tavern of a Swiss innkeeper for a night's rest. His funds were so low that rainy night that now he could say he was really poor. He could cast himself upon God in loving confidence and address Him with St. Francis, *Il Poverello*, "Our Father, Who art in heaven."⁹⁶

Thanks to his innkeeper host he found the address of a Catholic church. It was Christ Church, lately bought from the Protestants. His heart was thrilled when he recognized the cross that surmounts every Catholic edifice and knelt in the Real Presence, indicated by the flickering, ruby sanctuary lamp. The pastor, Dr. Joseph

Schneller, gave him the address of Bishop Dubois and of the German pastor, Father John Raffener, the vicar-general of the Germans in New York, to whom Neumann hurried with keen expectancy.⁹⁷

The days of uncertainty were over when Raffener hailed the new arrival. Joyfully Neumann heard the news that the offer of his services for the Diocese of New York had been accepted three weeks before, and a note to that effect had been hurriedly sent to Canon Räss in Europe. Unfortunately, it had not arrived in time to remove the uncertainty in Neumann's mind. Together they went to the two-story, rented home of Bishop John Dubois, the ruler of the diocese, and himself once a refugee from the terror of the French Revolution. A Negro porter led them into the prelate's presence. At no time was a German priest more welcome to that bishop than at that very moment. The old bishop had been at his wit's end trying to supply two or three German priests for parishes that had been beseeching him for pastors. With a good warm welcome the New York prelate greeted Neumann and, having sufficient guarantees of his ecclesiastical training in Europe, he told him to prepare for ordination immediately. The suddenness of the move brought joy to the heart of the young man who a few hours before wondered what the future held in store for him. He informed the prelate that he had no dimissorial papers yet and that he needed a little time for immediate preparation. The bishop was going off on a visitation and willingly granted the young man his request. As for the dimissorial papers, he swept that difficulty aside with the words: "I can and must ordain you quickly for I need you."⁹⁸

Raffener, the foremost organizer of the German Catholic groups, through whose exertions nine German national churches were being erected,⁹⁹ took the cleric to his own church, St. Nicholas' on Second Street. The good German priest set Neumann to work teaching the young children catechism as a preparation for Holy Communion. It was a task dear to the zealous young cleric, for by nature he was specially endowed with a talent for explaining in clear, simple language the great truths of faith. For two weeks he worked at his new task,¹⁰⁰ taking time off to visit some of the Catholic churches in the neighborhood and endeavoring to hear the great American preacher, Bishop John England, at the mother church of all the New York churches, St. Peter's on Barclay Street. In this he was not successful, for the church was closed when he got there. He took this as a sign that God did not want him to be so eager.¹⁰¹

Bishop Dubois called Neumann for ordination seventeen days after his arrival. On June 19 at St. Patrick's, the elegant Gothic church on Mott Street, then the cathedral of the diocese, he was ordained subdeacon. The reception of the first of the major orders spurred him to greater effort, which was shown in the new vow he took to say the Rosary every day of his life, so grateful was he to the Virgin Mother who had brought him through all the storm and worries of life. Even though someone remarked that John had small talent for singing the ecclesiastical chants, the new subdeacon managed to be very happy about everything and prayed to God: "Purify and sanctify me, High Priest! . . . Enlighten me that I may announce Your Holy Word in truth. If aridity and humiliation are more wholesome for me, then Your Holy Will be done!"¹⁰²

After the order of diaconate had been conferred on Friday, June 24, the great day of young John Neumann's life, ordination day, June 25, 1836, dawned at last. Again the place was old St. Patrick's Cathedral, and again the ordaining prelate was Dubois. The services began at 7:30 A.M. If the tiring eyes of the seventy-eight-year-old bishop could have looked down the years ahead, he might have singled out that morning as a landmark in his life. Because he was not a seer, nor could he know the full interior life of John Neumann, the ordination was in no way unusual. But it did warm the prelate's heart to know that he could dispatch a priest to the spiritually bereft German people who cried for one. It was a great hour for the strong little Bohemian exile who had studied and prayed and longed for it so ardently, but few outside the Germans at St. Nicholas' noted it. Even the Catholic paper of New York gave no more than two lines to notice it, at that misspelling his name, Newman.¹⁰³

The next morning, Sunday, June 26, when the young priest sang his first Mass in the little Church of St. Nicholas on Second Street, heart of the German district, the edifice was crowded to the doors. Cheering to the celebrant was the presence of the little children whom he had prepared for First Holy Communion. Kind Father Raffener was in the sanctuary and preached for the occasion. After the Mass the little children came up to thank the new priest while their parents crowded about him with gifts for his work on the missions.¹⁰⁴

For eight days he had felt his soul flooded with God's graces, but deep down in John's heart there was a silent yearning for his

loved ones. How he wished his parents and sisters and brother could have been there! Silently he prayed for them and offered the sacrifice of their absence to God. The day after his ordination he penned the lines: "Oh Jesus, You poured out the fullness of your grace over me yesterday. You made me a priest and gave me the power to offer You up to God. Ah! God! This is too much for my soul! Angels of God, all you saints of heaven, come down and adore my Jesus, because what my heart says is only the imperfect echo of what Holy Church tells me to say." How warm were his words of thanks! How strong the resolution made: "I will pray to You that You may give to me holiness, and to all the living and the dead, pardon, that some day we may all be together with You, our dearest God!" That was his life hereafter, to bring all closer to his "dearest God."¹⁰⁵

CHAPTER IV

Diocesan Priest in New York: 1836-40

Father John Neumann was now a member of the secular clergy of the Diocese of New York. That diocese was then leading all others in the United States. Embracing the entire State of New York and the upper third of the State of New Jersey, it formed the fastest growing portion of the Catholic Church in the United States, principally because its chief city, the metropolis of the same name, was the receiving depot of ever-increasing numbers of poverty-stricken emigrants from Europe.

This last matter was the hope and despair of Bishop Dubois. Irish tenants, oppressed by their landlords and later driven from Erin by famine, and Germans from all parts of central Europe, glad to escape the periodic social and political discontent of the continent, swarmed across the Atlantic in miserable quarters as steerage passengers on the liners. On arriving at New York, they were usually too poor to go further inland and sometimes too sick even to have the will to live. The result was that, while they swelled the number of Catholics in the diocese, these immigrants could do little to build badly needed churches. Even with the best of good will, Catholic pastors found themselves severely handicapped. The land was expensive in the City of New York; and since Catholics had been excluded in pre-revolutionary times by the anti-Catholic English laws, most of the city property was in the hands of non-Catholics, who were selling only at high prices. The consequence was that, while the diocese needed eighty-five churches, it had but thirty-three and several oratories. Fifty private houses served as temporary places of worship for lack of more appropriate accommodations. The City of New York itself had six churches, but it needed twelve more because more than half the people were forced to stand outside to hear Mass on Sundays.

By far the greatest need of the New York prelate was more priests. All over the diocese the want of a sufficient number of priests was heartbreaking. The village of Williamsburg across the East River on Long Island was growing rapidly; the Germans in Harlem lacked a pastor; the congregations of Germans in the

villages and hamlets up the Hudson River and Mohawk valleys at Utica and Rochester were crying for priests who could understand them and serve their spiritual needs. There were thirty-six priests, thirty-one of them Irish and only three German, in the diocese under the valiant old French bishop, altogether too few for the 200,000 Catholics in his spiritual domain. He needed at least fifteen more priests. Immigrants were coming in boatload after boatload without clergymen to serve them. The Catholic population, forced to work long hours, could not readily get off from their labors to go to church except on Saturday night or on Sunday morning. They came in such crowds at these times that the priests were too few to hear many of the confessions. After waiting long hours, disappointed penitents had to return home without receiving sacramental absolution. It was a trying situation for the hard-pressed bishop though he rejoiced heartily at the financial aid currently extended to him by the Leopoldine Foundation.

Bishop Dubois saw no way to remedy the situation other than by beginning a seminary from which new priests would go forth to the parishes of the diocese. The prelate had already started such a seminary at Nyack, New York, but for lack of funds it was left in an unfinished state. Dubois, therefore, asked for more priests from Europe. When the letter from Canon Räss arrived informing him about the young seminarian from Prachatitz who wanted to work in America, the prelate accepted his services immediately. It is not known whether Räss' offer of the services of the seminarians, Schmidt and Savel, had been accepted by Bishop Dubois, but the old prelate had expected three to come and was somewhat disappointed that only one arrived. Still, one was better than none at all, particularly when his German parishes were growing too quickly for the trio of German priests in the diocese.¹

The best known of the German priests was the great Father John Raffener, who ministered to the Germans in New York City at St. Nicholas' Church on East Second Street. The restless zeal of this distinguished priest sent him all over the state as far as Rochester seeking the stray flock.² Another was old Father John Nicholas Mertz, then seventy-two years of age, the first resident priest in the Buffalo district, a hard-working and humble man who had built the first church in Buffalo. For over thirty years he had been in America, but his advancing age was telling on him, and his insistent pleas for help had impelled Dubois to look for more priests.³ The old man

had received a new assistant a year before, Father Alexander Pax, whom he called affectionately his "Blooming Youth."⁴

After the ordination of Neumann, the good bishop appointed the young priest immediately to the Buffalo district to aid Pax, who was at that time alone in his vast field while the aging Father Mertz was away in Europe on a well-earned holiday, if, indeed, one could call his begging tour a holiday. Aside from the enthusiasm of the parishioners in the parish of St. Nicholas, New York, there was not much ado made about the young missionary who was scheduled for a far-off post in the Buffalo region on the northwestern outposts of the diocese. With new clothes given to him by Raffener and funds for his traveling expenses to his mission donated by the zealous old bishop, Neumann left early on a Hudson River liner, from State Street, New York, on June 28, 1836, the second morning after his first Mass.

After a twelve-hour run up the beautiful Hudson with its large landed estates banking the river here and there on the way, he arrived after an uncomfortable trip in the City of Albany. He was met by Father John Urquhart of St. Mary's Church and given the courtesies of a brother cleric. The next day for the first time he said Mass without assistance. The young priest was happy in the thought of his new field of work. "How I rejoice, how the more frequent reception of Your Sacred Body and Blood will purify, justify and sanctify me!" he wrote in his diary. He was preparing himself for every eventuality as he prayed, "Deprive me of everything, my God, but not of the desire to unite my will to Your Will in perfect resignation!" It was evident that the soul of the missionary was clearly in focus with God's radiant grace. Anxious to be at his post, Neumann was off the same day by rail to Schenectady and from there on the canal boat *Indiana* to Rochester.⁵ For four days the boat was pulled along the waterway by horses on the bank at the rate of four miles an hour. A damask curtain separated the sexes as they slept in segregated quarters. As the boat was slowly towed into Rochester he could hear the cannons roaring as the people joyously celebrated Independence Day, July 4, 1836.

Much as he was anxious to continue his journey and to assure himself that his baggage was safe in Buffalo, the young priest was ordered by Dubois to stay in Rochester temporarily to assist the German Catholics there.⁶ The Rochester Germans had services in St. Patrick's basement under the direction of Father Bernard

O'Reilly; but since most of the Catholics in that neighborhood were Irish, the Germans, because of the language difficulty, preferred to have their own independent church, St. Joseph's. The Redemptorist, Father Joseph Prost, who had visited them on his way to the West in October of the preceding year had urged them to get busy gathering funds if they wished their own church.⁷ This church was in process of erection, and half of the \$1,600 expended for it was still owed when Neumann arrived. To satisfy the immediate needs of the people to whom he intended to send the Redemptorist, Father Prost, in the near future, the bishop instructed the newly-ordained priest to stop off for a while at Rochester.

The German people, then in disagreement with the Irish, were delighted at the arrival of the new priest who could preach sermons in their native language. Some of them planned to write immediately to Bishop Dubois to ask him to leave the young priest with them. Neumann was perfectly indifferent as to where he would be sent, even though his distaste for traveling might have made an order to stay in Rochester acceptable at the time. The very day after his arrival he got to work and rounded up the young German children to teach them catechism. These he found sadly neglected, able to speak neither German nor English correctly, but only a sad mixture of both. He lamented the fact that there was no German school for these German Catholic immigrants and that, when they became a few years older, they would have to go off to work in a very indifferent world where their faith would surely be imperiled. As he faced rugged missionary life, he prayed long and ardently before the Blessed Sacrament for the young children: "My Lord and my God! Have mercy on me and those sheep who, for the time being, have been entrusted to me. Give to my tongue words of life. Purify their hearts and make them heed all sound advice and every admonition. Your grace must do everything because I can do nothing but sin—Oh, Jesus, my Redeemer, I am taking Your place. Let me be a redeemer for this parish!" Again, before the Blessed Sacrament he went down on his knees as he prepared his first sermon as a priest and begged God, "I beseech You to enlighten my mind. Give to my words power and unction that like a two-edged sword they may penetrate deeply into the hearts and minds of my hearers." Much to his satisfaction, his first sermon was well received.

But a note of misgiving crept into his mind. It was not so much the fact that he had made some mistakes in saying his divine office

or had mixed up the orations in the Mass, for he had resolved promptly to prevent their recurrence, the first by making out an ordo, or directory, for saying the office, and the second, by quietly noting his mistakes and putting himself on guard to avoid them in future. A more serious doubt began to assail him during his stay at Rochester. He had been speaking with Father O'Reilly and some other priests concerning the fact that Bishop Dubois had ordained him without having obtained dimissorial papers from the Bishop of Budweis. The opinion of these priests that his ordination had been illicit made Father Neumann tremble with fear. Scruples assailed him as to whether he could continue his pastoral activities without sinning. It was a paralyzing doubt to an exact young priest, and no one seemed to be able to give him a definite answer to the question whether he could conscientiously exercise the faculties obtained in New York. One thing he resolved to do, to secure immediately his *exeat* in writing from the Bishop of Budweis. That would settle the matter decisively. Meanwhile, he lingered in painful doubt. He was glad, however, to know that, according to the moral theology of Blessed Alphonsus Liguori, he could act with a safe conscience in exercising his office because he had no doubt about the lawfulness of Bishop Dubois' action when he was ordained. On top of that, he prayed heartily to the Mother of God, his sure refuge in all doubts, to banish from his mind this disturbing fear . . . and went ahead. His first administration of the sacrament of baptism brought sheer gladness to his heart, and joyfully he wrote in his diary, "If the child I baptized today dies in the grace of this sacrament, then my journey to America has been repaid a million times, even though I do nothing for the rest of my life."

A rude shock was given to the young missionary when he was told by one of the domineering trustees that someone other than a young and inexperienced priest was needed at Rochester. The remark hurt, but Neumann concealed his feelings and prayed that he might become acceptable to the people there. The prediction of the same all-knowing trustee that nobody would go to him to confession was a little premature. The second sermon that Neumann delivered on his first Sunday in the ministry went off fairly well. He felt consoled. The acceptability of the young priest was put to no further test, however, for Prost, the Redemptorist, came that very night to take charge of the parish.⁸ Prost so immediately impressed himself on the young priest that he excited in his heart a desire to join

him as a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. A passing thought, yet it was destined to return later during the trying days ahead. So, with a hope that the people of the Buffalo district would not be looking for a more experienced priest, he moved out with kind regards for his friends at Rochester on July 11, on a canal boat, bound for his mission in the Buffalo district.

The sun was far to the west in the evening sky on July 12 as Neumann first greeted Buffalo from the deck of the canal boat.⁹ He saw a boom town rising before him in the sunset. The Erie Canal, "Clinton's Big Ditch," finished four years before, had lifted this former frontier town with its small population to a new eminence; 16,000 people had taken up abode in this half-way stop to the West. Many of these, particularly a large number of Alsatians, had been forced to stay because lack of funds prevented their going further inland. The town was growing fast. It already had many substantial dwellings neatly spaced along the streets. Four horsedrawn omnibuses made hourly trips through the town, while a passenger vehicle on rails pulled by a horse gave warning of the advent of horsedrawn street cars in city transportation.

The women were wearing calico dresses and bonnets; and, when occasion called for style, the more well-to-do came out in silks and satins and velvets and furs and enormously large muffs. Men of the higher class were not to be outdone in fashion; on occasion they wore otter seal furs, high hats and frock coats with trousers strapped down to the shoes. Buffalo already boasted a theatre. The second story playhouse having become outmoded, a new building served for entertainments, and advertisements announced "gorgeous scenery," "expensive properties and new attractive corps de ballet." Yet, there was only one street paved, a fifth of a mile long, and only three streets possessed sewerage. Kerosene lamps on posts, called oyster cellars, lighted the thoroughfares at night. Water came from public and private wells situated at inconvenient distances. Those living too far from the wells could purchase their drinking water from the spindle-wheeled wagons freighted with hogsheads of the liquid, which plied the streets.

Thousands of immigrants passed through Buffalo in those days on their way to the West. One could see the so-called Pennsylvania wagons drawn by four to ten horses, loaded with wares and merchandise, while more of the people going west availed themselves of the larger boats that shuttled back and forth on the Great Lakes from

this eastern terminus on Lake Erie. Boom-town expansion was everywhere. Buffalo was filled with men and women thinking of new homes and land and pleasure.¹⁰ All this was lost on the young priest as he made his way out to the Catholic rectory on Lewis, later Edward Street, where he was greeted warmly by Father Pax. To be sure, the pastor was glad to see another priest, for his own health at the time was failing.¹¹ He was threatened with a complete breakdown because of the overtaxing work of the large mission field in the Buffalo district. The parish church erected four years before, thanks to the generosity of the famous Catholic, Louis Le Couteulx, was a small structure, somewhat shabby in appearance. A low building without a steeple or spire, it was called the Church of the Lamb of God. This was the mother church of Catholic Buffalo. Old Father Mertz in 1829 had worked magnificently to establish this place. But at best it was a make-shift affair that soon was to give way to a more imposing edifice.¹²

Mertz had been insistent in his call for more clerical workers for the field as he well realized that he could not care for the Catholics in both the city and the settlements rising up around it. Shortly after Bishop Dubois had sent him Alexander Pax in 1835, Mertz left for Europe to collect funds for the growing congregations under his care; and Pax remained, trying to do the best he could to provide for the faithful. It was a superhuman task even for that prodigious worker. He in turn pleaded with Bishop Dubois for an assistant. It was under these circumstances that Father Neumann arrived at Buffalo. So grateful was Pax to welcome a helper that he offered Neumann any position in the district that he cared to take, whether in the city where the faithful were many and concentrated or in the country areas where Catholics were fewer and much more scattered.¹³

There were four unfinished churches in the district around Buffalo: eight miles north of the city a church at North Bush built of untrimmed logs like a blockhouse; eight miles to the northeast a stone church at Williamsville; a wooden church at Cayuga Creek; thirty miles south at Eden was a wooden church which had been started by the aged Mertz.¹⁴ It was generous of Pax to treat the newcomer with such consideration. Young Neumann saw that Pax himself was without adequate means and often in want of the necessities of life in his Buffalo rectory. Living might be less certain out in the mission stations to the east of Buffalo;

but, after all, he argued, working in the country was more becoming for a priest ordained under the title of an American missionary. So with the advice and under the guidance of the older priest, Father John Neumann went off to his long-sought missionary post in the country.¹⁵

Williamsville, the most central of the mission posts, was chosen as headquarters. The village had a nucleus of four houses; and, since there was no pastoral residence available, the newcomer took up lodging with the Catholic family of Jacob Philip Wirtz. His mission territory radiated in a wide circle some twelve or fifteen miles from Williamsville; 400 Catholic families, 300 of them German and the rest, Irish, French, Scottish, made up the personnel of his parish. For the most part, they were recent emigrants from Europe with only two or three years of residence in the neighborhood. Obligated to cut away the underbrush before any ploughing and seeding could be done, they suffered pitifully from a want of money and lack of food. Living two or three miles from one another, they had to push through muddy swamps in the spring, while hordes of mosquitoes plagued them in summer, and heavy snows and sub-zero temperatures often penetrating to the marrow of their bones brought hardship in winter. The journey from house to house was hard and unstable, for but few roads were built and those were the wooden corduroy roads that strained the springs on every passing wagon and jounced the life out of every rider.¹⁶

One thing distinguished these parishioners, their pronounced love of freedom in the United States. That civic freedom had lured them from their homelands, but only too often it made them intractable in religious matters. Like the non-Catholics in the neighborhood, they wanted the Catholic Church governed not in the traditional manner, dating back to apostolic times, but in the spirit of the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century. Trustees, not the pastors, were to rule. Neumann found them much more voluble on questions of government than on religious practices and more intent, like the Yankee oldtimers, on acquiring riches than on working out their eternal salvation. The riches were slow in coming, however, for it took two or three years before the brush and tree stumps were sufficiently cleared from the land; and after that it took several years of growing potatoes and barley before wheat could be planted. Such was the mission field, 900 square miles of territory that stretched before the little priest when he first went out that July

day in 1836 to work in the ministry. Pax would attend to Buffalo, where he was overwhelmed with work, and Neumann would shepherd the souls in the rural districts.¹⁷

At Williamsville Neumann found the church in the process of erection but still far from completion. Years before, the land there had been given to the Catholics on condition that they would build a stone church, 115 feet long, thirty feet high, and twenty feet wide, a stipulation that was hard to fulfill, considering the poverty-stricken condition of the parishioners. Nevertheless, Mertz had attempted it; and, after making a house-to-house canvass of the neighborhood, he collected \$400 and a promise of seventy loads of stone from the people. Stone cutters from the neighborhood had been persuaded to come to the place and contribute their days' work, and Jacob Wirtz was induced to lend some \$400, after having made an outright gift of as much more. Money was borrowed from other neighbors, and little by little the four walls of the church had gone up. But that was as far as the construction of the church progressed. When Neumann first said Mass in the roofless structure, Yankees of the neighborhood threw stones into the church, one of which landed on the altar itself during the Holy Sacrifice.

Father Neumann soon put energy into the proceedings and completed the structure. Tactfully he induced Jacob Wirtz to withdraw his claim on the building, which the good man did on condition that a memorial Mass be said for him every year after his death.¹⁸ Although the parishioners promised to build a rectory after completing the church, their sanguine hopes were doomed to failure. One writer assured Bishop Dubois that the new pastor's income would be between \$240 and \$300 per year, not counting perquisites for baptisms, marriages and funerals. The estimate turned out to be a gross exaggeration as events proved, but excusably so, because people thought that Williamsville, since it was on the main line from Rochester to Buffalo, was destined to become a large city.¹⁹

A little school was conducted in a neighboring house by a lay teacher in Williamsville at the time, an appointee of Mertz. Many teachers on the frontier and in the semi-frontier neighborhoods were addicted to excessive drinking. There is no certain proof that this teacher imbibed too freely, but his behavior otherwise was so unsatisfactory the new pastor quickly dismissed him. The parish being poor, Neumann took up the burden of instructing the little children himself, two hours in the morning and two hours

in the afternoon, until he got another school teacher seven months later. Neumann had a gift for teaching children. Especially did they like his stories in catechism class, and long years afterwards they remembered them. If they could repeat the lessons he taught them, he would reward them with a little holy picture the next day. More than that, he taught them to sing at the divine services. Those who slyly complained of sore throats were lured back to their choral efforts with rock candy. The children remembered that his pockets seemed to have an inexhaustible source of candy, and they had their "sore" throats accordingly.²⁰

The hardworking priest, ever on the alert to have the children attend school, saw to it that the classes were properly conducted. After 1837 when he moved his headquarters to North Bush, a little east of the present town of Kenmore, he again had a school for the children of the neighborhood. He was erecting a third school house at Lancaster by December, 1839. The burden of teaching and supervising the schools was a heavy task, and Neumann found no one to help him in the newer schools until he induced his younger brother, Wenzel, to assume the rôle of schoolmaster in the fall of 1839.²¹

For over four years the little priest journeyed up and down, over and across his parish, visiting the sick, aiding the dying, baptizing the newborn, instilling faith and fervor into the backsliders. Although his three principal parishes were Williamsville, Lancaster and North Bush, he soon was caring for Transit, Sheldon, Batavia, Pendleton and Tonawanda. He was constantly on the move, traveling on foot often over swampy ground, from station to station, from house to house, in the biting cold of winter and the heat of summer. One has only to look over the registers of the baptisms and marriages to learn how often he made the circuit of his district. It was not so much that he baptized many and married many, for in the three main churches under his care the baptisms averaged sixty-five a year and the marriages, eight; but the distances traversed on foot, with a heavy pack on his back containing his vestments for Mass and other church services, were considerable. The nearest outmission was two hours away; the furthest, twelve hours. Added to that, he returned home to headquarters almost every night as there were no accommodations at the outposts.²² Besides, before September, 1839, when Wenzel came, Father Neumann's work in the classroom called for his daily presence at the home base.

The figure of the short-statured man of God was familiar to all the countryside. Out of pity for his exhausting labors they soon induced him to take a horse. This was a great help even though the little priest was to have more than one mishap with the unco-operative beast. Once he found himself unceremoniously tossed off his back. Again, on several other occasions when the horse wanted to rid himself of his rider, the animal made hurriedly for the nearby fences and brushed the legs of the young priest so violently against them that the cleric fell ignominiously to the ground. Thereafter, until he learned to control the balky creature, Neumann led him along by the bridle. But he did learn to ride, not in the manner of an expert but as a fair horseman. He and his horse eventually became great friends, even though on one occasion the voracious animal ate a precious quantity of botanical specimens the missionary had collected to send home to Bohemia.²³

One thing Father Neumann learned early in his missionary labors — patience. The bickerings of various groups within his parish soon broke out. Each group wanted to have things arranged according to its particular customs in Europe. Endless complaints of one group against the other would come to his ears. While the young priest had a way of listening quietly to them, before doing so he would first ask the complainants to pray a while with him. "Let us first say the stations of the cross or the rosary and then we shall talk over the matter." It was an effective way of diminishing the grumbling, for not many had the ready will to pray for the ten or fifteen minutes required; those who did very seldom returned with baseless grievances.²⁴

Another of his difficulties was with the trustees. The general purpose of having trustees in a parish is to aid the pastor in the administration of the parish temporalities. There was nothing inherently wrong with the system of having trustees. Most of the earlier churches in the United States had them. But when turbulent elements with distorted ideas of "liberty" came to power, grave disturbances resulted. The trustees, in whose hands was irregularly placed the legal title of many parishes, oftentimes sought to act independently of the pastor and contrary to the traditional administration of parish concerns. The abuse is called trusteeism. No one acquainted with the history of the church in this republic can fail to recognize the grave evils which hindered its progress throughout various parts of the United States. By law such a

system is still in vogue in many states, but today the two lay trustees form a minority. The bishop acts as president of the parish corporation, his vicar-general or another appointed by him is the vice-president, and the pastor of the parish is the treasurer. In the early days, the lay members formed the majority of the parish corporation. Often a controlling group of these trustees acted in an arbitrary manner, sometimes opposing the pastor out of personal pique, even going so far as to demand his recall by the bishop or resorting to the civil courts to vindicate their personal plans. The resulting dissensions and refusals to obey ecclesiastical authorities caused several decrees to be issued by the Holy See to safeguard the rights of the church. The plain declarations of the supreme pontiffs helped to check the evil, but it took long years to eradicate it completely.²⁵

The trustees of the parishes Neumann attended were a power to be reckoned with. As one of his contemporaries described them, they were *the* important people in the parish. One could tell them by their magisterial manner and pontifical way of talking. The men of the parish doffed their hats to them, and women made a respectful curtsy, while the pastor knew well the importance of being on good terms with them; otherwise he would soon be made aware of the fact that in many things he could do only what the masters, the trustees, had condescendingly approved. Under the circumstances, consummate prudence was required of Neumann to run his various parishes. Carefully, he refrained from open arguments with contentious trustees. Some of them overstepped their proper bounds and needed to be warned in no uncertain terms, but that was not Neumann's way. No matter what they said to him, he bore it cheerfully and said nothing. He knew well the potency of tactful silence, coupled with prayer, to right wrongs and correct abuses. His calmness and silence being baffling at times, more than one inflated trustee stalked off feeling that the priest's silence was contempt and high treason against a great and mighty office.

One of these trustees in the Buffalo outmissions, resentful at times, once resorted to a diabolic measure to show his resentment. This particular individual was jealous because Neumann lodged with the Wirtz family. It was pointed out that, after all, Wirtz's place was over a tavern and, what was worse, the room in which Father Neumann lodged, could be entered only by going through the room of a young servant girl. Whispering tongues soon began to

wag, and it was cleverly insinuated that all was not well in the Wirtz household. The gossip filtered down to the markets at Buffalo and came back to Neumann by way of the North Bush parishioners. The matter was brought to a head when a group of trustees met in a solemn conclave in the tavern below Wirtz's house to determine whether old Jacob Wirtz should be obliged to dismiss the servant girl. Father Neumann was called down from his room to the meeting below and informed of the nature of the meeting. Astounded though he was, he did not flare up into vehement denials of his guilt but gave his auditors nothing except a wry smile and then a quiet disavowal. The trustees were quickly convinced that the bashful and holy priest was entirely innocent and put the blame for the story on the jealous neighbor who wanted the pastor to board with his family. Soon the man lost prestige in the neighborhood for all his elaborate scheming.²⁶

The danger of such gossip was not lost on Neumann. Quietly he moved from the Wirtz house to North Bush in 1837, even though the church was not nearly so good as that of Williamsville. He accepted free lodgings with a friendly Catholic, John Schmidt. The new domicile was a mile and a half from the church, forcing him to walk every morning over an almost impassable road to say his daily Mass.²⁷

The change of residence from Williamsville to North Bush came at a time when the whole region was sunk in direst poverty. President Andrew Jackson had deprived the Bank of the United States of its charter, and a monetary disturbance followed. The big depression of 1837 was on. The great financial crisis sent the best business houses of the nation down in ruin. The Catholic churches, all heavily mortgaged, found themselves in a precarious position. If the money owed them was not forthcoming, hard-pressed creditors saw nothing else to do but to foreclose on them. Since practically all Catholics belonged to the laboring classes engaged in the coal mines, digging canals, and building railroads, many were without work and often without food and could give little or nothing to support the church. Some farmers in Neumann's parish, forced to barter their crops, never handled so much as three dollars in currency that year. Money was so scarce that one could not get a loan even if he offered twenty per cent interest.²⁸ The shortage of currency brought in a countless series of banknotes, the value of which

fluctuated so widely that as a result many lost all their personal savings in accepting them.

During this period little money came to Father Neumann. The people of the three parishes had promised him \$400 for his sustenance, but he received little of it. "If you want to be a missionary, you have to love poverty," he wrote a fellow priest in Europe, "and be entirely disinterested." That he certainly was, and amid the general cry of want he remained cheerful. Even if he did find himself eighty dollars in debt at the end of his first year, he was satisfied that despite the general hardship he did not starve. The people gave him corn and potatoes, which he cooked himself with somewhat dire consequences to his stomach. Later, when his brother arrived in 1839, Neumann was relieved of this domestic chore.

Shortly after Neumann took up his residence at North Bush, old Bishop Dubois came on a visitation tour of the district. It was a red letter day in the history of North Bush. As the horses and carriages came swinging along the bumpy road, Neumann's parishoners, acting as escorts, shouted in joyful welcome as they pranced around on horses that splashed in the mud. Such a scene the native Yankees had never witnessed before, and they fancied that some long-sought prisoner was being hauled off to justice. The old bishop was delighted. Particularly was he pleased with the meal the village folk prepared for him in their simple manner. It was more simple than the prelate imagined, for the people were not blessed with an oversupply of crockery. In order to serve the second course at dinner, they had to run out and wash the dishes of the first course. At Williamsville and Lancaster Dubois was given similar hospitality. Noting the improvements in the parishes, the more advanced stage of the buildings, the schools, the careful attention to the sick and dying as well as the weekly, even daily, rounds of the parish made by the young pastor, the octogenarian prelate was pleased. And he was gracious enough to say so.²⁹

The zeal of Father Neumann never allowed him to rest. Going far and wide over the district to aid any Catholic in the neighborhood, he wandered northwest to Niagara Falls, east to Batavia, and to each and every little group that called for him. Ten, twenty and forty-mile trips he made and then returned that distance. In one place an Irishman gave him two acres of land for a new church, and in North Bush the people got together and bought five acres of land with their hard-earned money to present him with a place

on which he could build a rectory and grow some vegetables for his own support. He worked at times on this and other buildings with his own hands, and little by little the structure rose.

It was a happy day for the weary pastor when he could move into his own two-room log-cabin parish house, for now he had what he wanted, a place of his own. He rejoiced that he was near the Real Presence, where he could pour out his soul to his Saviour residing in the Sacred Host of the Tabernacle. The parish house itself was not a pretentious structure. Its entry was so low and narrow that a tall man had to bend to get through it, though Father Neumann's five feet two inches found no difficulty in this particular. The furniture consisted of four chairs and two battered trunks. Now that he had his own house, he cooked his own meals. Indeed, he missed many a meal. Once he went for four weeks living on bread alone. Folks began to notice that smoke rarely issued from his chimney, a telltale sign that the cooking stove was not in operation. He would eat left-overs from the last meal or omit eating altogether. They noted, too, that he never asked for a meal when making the rounds of the parish. If it was offered, he took it, but he was careful to make calls as little burdensome as possible, a wise move for any missionary who would like to see the welcome smile of his parishioners ever there to greet him on his visits.³⁰

The pastor's eagerness to help others was not confined to his immediate jurisdiction. As soon as he learned that many of the Catholics along the St. Lawrence River were in a state of spiritual abandonment, he planned immediately to help them, even promising to go over the border as far as Guelph in Ontario. Unfortunately, no record of any such journeys to Canada can be found.³¹ Nevertheless, seeing that no one priest could even start to carry on the country work as it should be done, he dispatched pleading letters to his clerical friends in Bohemia and in Germany to come to the United States to help the distressed and scattered Catholic families deprived of the means of eternal salvation. In fact, he had been considering a plan to establish a seminary for German-speaking priests in the Buffalo district. He broached this matter to Canon Räss and to Father Dichtl, begging them to use every influence to send over young men who might be trained for the ministry of neglected Germans.³² He even obtained permission from Bishop Dubois and from his successor as head of the Diocese of

New York, Bishop John Hughes, to bring in badly needed priests. Even if German priests planned to come over to work for the Indians, he pleaded, they could get a good apprenticeship while ministering to the Germans in his districts. The plan to open a German seminary had no immediate result, but years later the idea was taken up in German circles in Europe, and a project to have such a seminary at Altötting in Bavaria evolved at least on paper.³³ The changing conditions of the American church, however, then called for other methods.³⁴

Many anecdotes were told about the little priest in those days. Once a Protestant preacher who gave him a lift in his wagon from Buffalo, on discovering the identity of his passenger, tried to convert him. As it was the era of public debates on religious questions, naturally enough, a discussion ensued. In the manner of ever so many preachers of that day the minister openly challenged the priest to debate the religious issues in public. Father Neumann took up the challenge, much to the dismay of some of his parishioners who threatened to kill him when they heard the false rumor that he was quitting the Catholic faith. The debate opened in grand style, with the preacher insisting upon the importance of the Bible. The priest interrupted by asking his opponent from whom he obtained his Bible. Following up the question, the priest wanted to know how his Protestant friend could be sure he had the right Bible. The debate was stymied because the clever questioning of Neumann confounded the preacher. No one challenged Father Neumann to debate thereafter, and the Catholics were proud of their pastor.³⁵

Some of the people who had the habit of getting into controversies could not understand the steady reluctance the young pastor showed to enter into them. On one occasion an over-eager partisan, anxious to get Neumann to listen to his heated arguments, saw him continue on his way apparently unconscious of the speaker's presence. Striding up behind the priest with drawn pistol, the would-be debater screamed, "You damned priest, if you don't turn around and talk with me at once, I'll shoot you." The priest, who was self-possessed in such situations, quietly continued, as if oblivious of the threat to his life. There was no shooting.³⁶ On another occasion an insane individual locked Neumann in a room, from which he escaped by climbing out a window.³⁷

Though Neumann was not successful in bringing other missionaries to North Bush, he did succeed in bringing his only brother,

Wenzel, across the Atlantic to help him in his missionary work. How careful he was about the whole journey! He wrote explicit directions for traveling through Europe, wholesome advice to take an American ship since the American clippers were then the blue ribbon ships of the Atlantic. Moreover, he sent money ahead to New York to aid the traveler from that port up to Buffalo.³⁸ It was a glad day for the young missionary when his brother arrived in September, 1839. He had always loved this little brother, whom he styled "Little Wenzel." Now he would be his co-worker. The latest information about their family back home he eagerly heard, for by a singular stroke of bad fortune he had not received a letter from his family since leaving Europe. John Neumann loved his family intensely even though he had left it hurriedly to be a missionary priest overseas. Wenzel with news of that family was as welcome as the morning sun after a stormy night. His coming to help him was a godsend.

With his brother around, hardships were alleviated. Neumann could leave the post of teaching to his younger partner in the missionary field. Besides being a teacher, Wenzel did the chores around the house, aided in constructing the various church buildings,—two new ones which were in the course of erection,—and in putting up small schoolhouses and rectories. To prepare each of his mission places for a separate pastor was the aim of Neumann. To each he brought many church vestments and ornaments and did everything possible to make it a self-sustaining establishment.³⁹

While this constant activity was going on in the district, an attempt was made to relieve Neumann of some of his work. A Father Lutche from Alsace was given charge of Williamsville and Sheldon, but in a few weeks this cleric's intemperate manner of speech, together with the fact that he consorted imprudently with anti-Catholic members of the neighborhood, brought down on him suspension by the church authorities. Neumann was ordered to take over Williamsville and Sheldon again, but the incumbent refused to move. Being a man of considerable oratorical attainments and blessed with a good singing voice, which Father Neumann lacked, Father Lutche was popular with some parishioners and he felt that he could remain secure with them in spite of the orders of his ecclesiastical superior. The disobedient priest even went so far as to say Mass without the essential altar stone. Fathers Neumann, Pax and Mertz, the latter having returned from Europe,

hurried to Williamsville, and the three priests addressed the assembled Catholics in such strong terms concerning the duty of obeying ecclesiastical authorities that Lutche had to depart from the scene.⁴⁰

Despite all his constant external labors in this missionary field, Neumann was careful to nurture his own spiritual life. True to his promise on the day he took the office of subdeacon, he sketched out an order of the day for himself so that his inner life would not be lived haphazardly. In his first order of the day, planned five weeks after he arrived in Williamsville, he proposed to rise early and spend time before Mass in prayer and meditation. Two hours from nine to eleven were to be devoted to teaching in school, and the hour after he agreed to spend in the company of the little children he loved. The time immediately following lunch was to be given to the preparation of sermons, after which school was to be taught from two o'clock until four. In saying his divine office, he scheduled the recitation of matins for the time before going to bed, lauds in the morning on arising. Prime was to be said before Mass, and terce after it. The hours of sext and none he said in the church at noon, and vespers and compline in the same place at six in the evening.⁴¹

Other resolutions he formed as the days passed. He wished to make a vow to say the litany of the Passion on every Friday of his life at 3 P.M.⁴² He resolved to aspire to holy silence, to sacrifice all sensible pleasures, so that he might become more saintly and that his preaching might be more readily acceptable to his hearers.⁴³ He proposed to make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament every afternoon, to speak only when necessity and charity urged it, to guard against lying and vanity, to watch over his senses and his thoughts and to eat only twice a day.⁴⁴ While St. Francis de Sales was to be his guide in these matters,⁴⁵ no one's life-story inflamed him more with a desire of God's love than that of St. Teresa of Avila.⁴⁶ He understood the value of mortification, and his self-denial was such that it approached starvation. On some occasions when unusual physical exertion was called for, his bodily strength gave way and he fainted.⁴⁷ He was careful to keep a check on his eyes. He resolved to have all his parishioners recite the rosary in public often. Much to his joy, there was noticeable improvement in their conduct.⁴⁸

Now that he was handling money, he was careful not to let his anxiety about temporal things produce in him a species of greed for it. Once when he felt a bit elated at the returns from the collections,

he deliberately gave away a fifty-cent piece to the altar boys and promised himself to do it again when his exultation over big returns seemed to indicate a growing fondness for treasures.⁴⁹ In the end he wound up by taking a vow of poverty, to have nothing more than bare necessities for his life. It was typical of the man of God who would cut through any obstacle to keep close to his Maker.⁵⁰ He chided himself on the wretchedness of his sermons and resolved to put more and more care into their preparation.⁵¹

His spare time was diligently occupied, now brushing up his mathematics, now pursuing his botanical interests, now teaching a young man of the neighborhood astronomy in return for some lessons in English, the finer points of which he managed very well. He translated Blessed Alphonsus' *Way of Salvation*, which helped to keep him aware of the eternal truths. On his long trips through the country Neumann carefully noted the flora of the district. He often gave good descriptions of them to his family back home, collected specimens, and sent them to Bohemia.⁵² Neumann's confessor at this time was Father Pax in Buffalo. Indications are that the zealous German priest did not coddle his penitent, though he did warn him about overexerting himself and bringing on a physical breakdown. At times the corrections went deep into the soul of the holy penitent, and at least on one occasion Neumann wondered whether he really could open his soul to Pax. But he quickly overcame the temptation to seek other counsel and continued to confide in the hustling pastor of Buffalo.⁵³

Despite his progress in self-denial, the soul of John Neumann was not at peace in those days. He feared he was growing less and less fervent. He had long periods of disgust and aridity. His daily examination of conscience was written down only intermittently. In fact, there was no entry for one whole year. The few entries at this time showed him still battling valiantly to keep close to God; every failure in himself he regarded as treason to the Most High. He was troubled about his own salvation, and worry ate into his peace of mind. There were days upon days when he doubted whether he was in the state of grace. He saw so much pride in himself, when everybody else said he was humble; he thought he was slothful, though people around Buffalo said long after that he had burned himself out making the rounds of his parish.

The temptations that beset the soul of every man were not unknown to Father Neumann's inmost self. The slightest appearance

of pride in his work, the smallest failure in parochial activities, the semblance of resentment against unjust critics were great defects in his eyes. Deeply, penitently, often with tears streaming down his face, he deplored his own deficiencies and begged God ardently to help him. Such sincere sorrow gripped him on one occasion that he almost lost consciousness, and constantly, day after day, he asked to be made holy, holy with a rich burning love of God. So vivid was his consciousness of his own shortcomings, though no one else spoke of them, that he once felt he was unworthy of his office, and the thought came to him that it would be better to resign and retire to some spot in the wilderness, where he could apply himself with less distraction to the purpose of his existence, union with God. He rejected the temptation readily enough. By his departure many people would be deprived of spiritual help. It might appear that he was fleeing from hard work, that his coming to America to seek abandoned souls had been an imprudence. These thoughts kept him from seriously entertaining any such move. Nevertheless, they did show the state of the man's spiritual disquietude. Like the saints, he was sublimely dissatisfied with his own spiritual progress. Added to that, the good he effected in his parishes was far short of what he wished to achieve.⁵⁴

In the summer of 1838 he was called upon to go to Rochester to help the Germans of that city who were without a pastor since the Redemptorist, Prost, was absent once more. As a matter of fact, having had much difficulty with the Germans of that parish, Prost had gone away advisedly since the trustees of the place were not in a very cooperative mood. The one thing that Neumann noted about the German Catholics of Rochester was the spirit of piety that had come over the place since he had last been there. It was the Bohemian priest's first contact with tangible results of the activity of the Redemptorist Fathers. He was delighted with what he heard and saw.

Moreover, about this time he spoke to Prost about his own spiritual difficulties, and the latter wrote to him after he had gone back to North Bush that living alone was difficult. "*Vae Soli*" ["Woe to him who is alone!"] was the way the Redemptorist put it. Deep in his heart Neumann agreed that his lonely life was not satisfactory to him, no matter how advantageous it seemed in many other ways.⁵⁵ Often he revolved that thought in his mind, especially in the summer of 1840, when his health broke down completely and

he was unable to do any parochial work for three months. Fortunately, no one died in the parish during that time, a fact which Neumann attributed to the kindly providence of God since there was no one available to comfort his flock by administering the last rites of the Church, the sacraments for the dying. As the weary days of convalescence followed, he thought of Prost's scriptural maxim, *Vae Soli*, with renewed force. Neumann declared that he had an intense longing to be in the company of priests. Frequent consultations with his confessor, Father Pax, followed, and after a long time, apparently more than a year, the latter advised the young priest that it was his vocation to become a religious.⁵⁶

The idea of becoming a religious had not germinated overnight in Neumann's mind. He recognized an inclination toward it in his seminary years. Even when he had planned to go to the United States, he had not fully determined at first whether he would do so as a secular priest or as a priest of a religious order. At different periods he considered the thought of pursuing his own sanctification and the salvation of souls in the Society of Jesus or in the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, being drawn particularly to these orders because of their reputation for regular observance and strict adherence to their rules. That was what Father Neumann wanted, to follow out a daily program of action under religious discipline.⁵⁷ His desire to be of immediate help to the abandoned immigrants in America had made him resolve to accept the offer of Canon Räss to go there and work as a diocesan priest. Even so, his first few years in that field of activity had shown him the advantages of community life. On September 4, 1840, Father Neumann wrote to Father Prost, the Redemptorist superior in America, then in Baltimore, asking for admission to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. His motives, he later explained in a letter to his parents: "I think this is the best thing I can do for the security of my salvation. The constant supervision of religious superiors and the good example of fellow religious . . . spur one to lead a life more pleasing to God than one can lead in the world."⁵⁸

Prost, who saw in the young priest an excellent subject for the struggling Redemptorist communities in the United States, declared, "I could not refuse such a petition." Receiving a favorable reply from Prost on September 16, 1840, Neumann immediately wrote to Bishop John Hughes, then administrator of the Diocese of New York, acquainting him with his resolve to enter the Redemp-

torists and asking the prelate to send one or more priests to take the parish outside Buffalo. Since the bishop was on visitation, which Neumann did not know, no answer was forthcoming. Leaving the negotiations with Bishop Hughes in the hands of Prost and Father Pax as they advised, he departed from the scene of his first labors on October 8 or 9, 1840.

Bishop Hughes, well aware of the superior work done by the priest at North Bush, was not at all inclined to allow him to depart from his diocese. Because of this, as Father Prost wrote in his *Relations*, "A disagreement arose between me and the bishop . . . I appealed to canon law and pointed out that I could not refuse to accept him, even if I wished to. The Most Reverend Bishop was obliged to yield."⁵⁹

Although his confessor, Pax, approved of Neumann's joining the sons of St. Alphonsus, he was sorry to see him go, saying: "This separation from my dearest friend was most painful to me, for we were one in heart and soul." The people, too, felt his departure keenly. His brother, Wenzel, stayed on to gather up the few belongings that Father Neumann possessed in the various mission stations. Wenzel himself also resolved to follow his brother and become a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.⁶⁰

CHAPTER V

A Redemptorist Novice: 1840-1841

Although Neumann was evidently in a hurry to be with the sons of Alphonsus, he had to wait in Buffalo until October 13 before securing passage on a small lake steamer bound for Erie. On the boat, already overburdened with more than 400 immigrants, the priest could not even obtain a place to sit down, much less to lie down for the ninety-mile overnight run on the lake. The vessel weighed anchor at nine o'clock; by midnight a fierce lake storm had arisen. The overloaded craft was tossed about so badly it made no progress; and when morning came, the frightened passengers saw themselves not in Erie but just outside the harbor of Buffalo. After the storm abated, the captain put in for another load of coal. He set out for the southwestern port once again, expecting to reach his destination by noon, but the heavy, rough weather so slowed the ship that at two that afternoon it was only outside of Dunkirk, N. Y. Here a passing steamer gave the distressed vessel more coal. Again, while it headed south on the night of October 14, the sea became so rough that the captain, afraid of the sand banks in the neighborhood of Erie, changed his course, only to return to Dunkirk once more, twelve hours after he had left it. But on the third attempt the skipper managed to bring the steamer into Erie at 2 P. M. on October 15. Fifty-three long hours to make ninety miles! The passengers had not taken any provisions with them, for they never expected an overnight trip to lengthen out into more than two whole days. They were hungry. Some were seasick; some prayed, but no one had rested or slept.

As the clouds cleared, Neumann made his way to Father Ivo Leviz, a Franciscan then in charge of a little German Catholic congregation in Erie. He rested there a day, took the stagecoach on October 16 and after a two days' journey arrived in Pittsburgh on October 18, 1840. Neumann found shelter with the Redemptorists at last.¹

The religious Congregation which Neumann was entering, popularly known as the Redemptorists, had been in America only eight years. Founded by the great Doctor of the Church, St. Alphonsus

Liguori, in Naples in 1732, the Redemptorists had grown slowly during the lifetime of their founder. When death called him fifty-five years later, the Congregation numbered scarcely 300 priests, clerical students, novices and lay brothers in the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies.² But an Austrian priest, Father Clement Hofbauer, now honored as St. Clement Hofbauer, carried the torch of Liguori across the Alps, where for over thirty years he struggled and consolidated the Redemptorists. The Napoleonic wars and the encompassing restrictions of the north European governments forced him and his companions from place to place. When Clement died in March, 1820, he left only two foundations, one of which was in an unstable condition. But he had reared in the Congregation of Saint Alphonsus a group of energetic, apostolic men destined to bring the transalpine Redemptorists to new heights of glory.³ Chiefly instrumental in the growth of the Congregation thereafter was the Venerable Father Joseph Passerat, who for twenty-eight years ruled the transalpine sons of Alphonsus (1820-1848), while their houses multiplied in all parts of Europe and America.⁴

It was this same Father Passerat who sent the first Redemptorists to America in the spring of 1832. Such a move had once been visioned by St. Alphonsus himself and later planned by St. Clement, but it was Passerat who executed the plan when Father Frederick Résé, vicar-general of Cincinnati, later Bishop of Detroit, sought missionaries for the Diocese of Cincinnati, then under the able direction of Bishop Edward Fenwick, O.P. As a result of that appeal, three Redemptorist priests, Fathers Simon Sänderl, the first superior; Francis Haetscher and Francis Tschenhens, and three lay brothers,—Aloysius Schuh, James Kohler, and Wenceslaus Witopil,—sailed from Trieste for America, where they landed in New York in June, 1832.⁵

Since they were German-speaking missionaries, their presence was a godsend to Fenwick, into whose diocese so many Germans were then migrating. Bishop Dubois would willingly have kept them for New York; but, since they had been brought to America to serve in the Diocese of Cincinnati, they were soon on their way to the Midwest.

No particular house had been established for them. The three missionaries and the three lay brothers were scattered in various parts of Fenwick's diocese. This division of forces, while necessary at the moment, worked hardship on the Fathers and Brothers —

left without a regular canonically established foundation and the benefits of community life. For seven years they wandered over the countryside without gaining their first permanent abode, so that even the stout-hearted Passerat began to have his doubts about the success of the whole venture in America. They did finally get a foundation in the City of Pittsburgh in April, 1839, taking over "The Factory Church," St. Philomena's, where the trustees had been at loggerheads with the pastor for a long time.⁶

Another foundation came a year later at St. John's in Baltimore under practically the same circumstances. There had been, too, an in-and-out offer of another charge in Rochester, New York, where the second superior of the Redemptorists in America, Father Prost, had been as early as 1836. Other Redemptorist Fathers came to help him there, but due to that recurrent trustee question the foundation was not canonically accepted until 1840. It is a strange truth that many of the foundations the Redemptorists received in those early years came as a result of the fact that the trustee trouble existed in the parishes before they took them over. Anxious for the salvation of the neglected German immigrants, the American bishops were only too glad to let the Redemptorists have the places, thus ridding themselves of many of the annoyances and vexations growing out of trusteeism.⁷ In due season trustee troubles were ironed out, sometimes by persuasion, sometimes by threats to leave the place, and, in one particular instance at St. Nicholas' parish on Second Street in New York City, by building a new church on the neighboring Third Street.⁸

The bishops liked the way these Fathers handled the problem. Being Germans and knowing the obstinately wilful character of the men they were dealing with, the Redemptorists bested them with very successful strategy. So great was their success and such were the headaches of the bishops with some Germans that Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore, the leading prelate of the Catholic Church in the United States in that day, went on record in 1841 as favoring the transfer of all the German congregations in the United States to the care of the Redemptorists. The proposal was not put into effect; in fact, it could hardly have succeeded, but the archbishop's suggestion was a tribute to the sons of St. Alphonsus.⁹ When Neumann joined them, the Redemptorists had but four foundations in the United States: St. Philomena's in Pittsburgh,

St. John's in Baltimore, St. Joseph's in Rochester and St. Alphonsus' in Norwalk, Ohio.

It was a Sunday morning when the young priest from Buffalo hurried to St. Philomena's Church, where Father Francis Tschenhens was temporarily in charge. Although the newcomer received a gracious welcome, the Fathers lost no time in putting him to work; that very first morning he was invited to sing the High Mass and preach, which he promptly did, despite the fatigue of his long, eventful journey from Buffalo. That was Neumann's introduction to the novitiate. Now that the matter of dimissorials had been straightened out with Bishop Hughes of New York, Prost hurried to Pittsburgh to invest Neumann in the habit of St. Alphonsus. As this was the first investiture of a Redemptorist in America, the Fathers wished to make it a solemn affair. Unfortunately they did not have the ritual for the prescribed ceremonies and prayers, for their only copies of these had been destroyed by a fire in New York. From the memory of their own investitures they made up a ceremony and proceeded to clothe him in the Redemptorist habit.¹⁰

Glad to be a novice, Neumann hoped to come to a place of quiet and regular prayer where his soul might commune in peace with God. He soon learned that it was to be a novitiate of quite another kind — work, ministerial work, shifting from place to place under obedience. Since he was the first American novice, and there was no regularly established novitiate in this country, he had to be content with making the usual meditations with the Fathers, saying his rosary, making short visits to the Blessed Sacrament, and then taking his share of parochial work.¹¹

To be sure, he had a quasi-novice master, Father Peter Czackert, and later Father Tschenhens, who took care to see that the young priest was exercised in the humility proper to novices by giving him an occasional rebuke or by testing his determination to become a son of Alphonsus, telling him that he would never do for the Redemptorist life, that he had better leave. One such test is recorded in detail. During recreation the young priest related that he had had a dream in which some bishop wished to raise him, willy-nilly, to the episcopate. In the dream he resisted being made a bishop, but the more he resisted the more the prelate tried to raise him to the episcopacy. Czackert, who had listened to the recital of the strange dream, caustically remarked, "Since you dreamed about it, were you thinking of such things? Wait a while until you

have made your novitiate and all these proud thoughts and fancies will disappear." That terminated the novice's recital of any more episcopal dreams.¹²

Pittsburgh in those days was a bustling town of 50,000 people, some 5,000 of them Germans. The foundries and mills that were to win for it the name of the "Birmingham of America" were already flourishing, for ore was plentiful and could be transported cheaply and coal could be mined in the area of the mills. The church where Neumann functioned was an old factory converted into a sacred edifice to serve as a parish church until some more appropriate structure could be erected. In this Church of St. Philomena, the mother church of the Germans in western Pennsylvania and the scene of so much trouble in the immediate past, the young priest labored. He came into a relatively new parish, where the Redemptorists had been stationed only a year. Many had had doubts whether the Redemptorists could succeed. When these priests came to the place in 1839, people shrugged their shoulders and ominously whispered that they, the newcomers, could not control the quarreling trustees who had been causing the disturbance with other priests in the past. Calming the church wardens was an impossible achievement.

But it was achieved. Prost, the new pastor, was quite a speaker when he warmed to a subject, and he was glowing now. He gave the congregation a series of sermons on the Christ Child and followed them up with two sermons each week during Lent. These broke the opposition. In five months this priest had the warring factions controlled and working in peace and harmony. The English-speaking people were astounded. The church services were regularly conducted, more numerous confessions were heard than previously, and the altar rail was crowded with communicants.¹³

When Tschenhens was called to work in the new Redemptorist house at St. John's, Baltimore, and Czackert went out daily among the people of St. Philomena's parish, the young novice had always to be ready and prepared to preach or to give catechetical instructions at any time and on any subject. The people had the habit of bringing in their children at unpredictable intervals for baptism, and Neumann was constantly at their service. Neumann's brother, Wenceslaus, came from Buffalo to Pittsburgh in November, 1840, and began to serve as a lay brother with the Redemptorists. As Brother Wenceslaus, he was to live a humble and very

serviceable life until death closed his long and pious career more than a half a century later in New Orleans. The Redemptorists were delighted with Brother Wenceslaus, while they styled Father Neumann a "born religious." The active, learned novice priest gave edification in every respect.¹⁴

The Fathers went out on horseback to the neighboring towns and villages,—Butler, Pine Creek, McKeesport and Wexford,—called Schaeffer's Station. Bishop Francis Kenrick of Philadelphia was pleased with their zeal. Apostolic work it was in every sense of the word, yet it meant that Neumann was to be alone much of the time, for the only priest at this period besides himself was Czackert, who had to be out on his rounds of the mission stations.¹⁵ Neumann himself did parish work, administering the sacrament of baptism fifty-four times in six months.¹⁶ On some occasions he was out in the country as the baptismal records show.¹⁷ The situation was anomalous. He expected in the Congregation to devote himself to the interior life and with prudent direction to have the assurance that he was making progress in virtue in community life. Instead, he was busily occupied with parish affairs and to a large extent alone, a condition which Prost sincerely regretted, but which, under the circumstances, he could not remedy.

To make matters worse, Neumann was transferred from place to place. In March, 1841, more Redemptorists arrived from Europe, among them the new superior of the American Redemptorists, Father Alexander, to supplant Prost in the direction of the Fathers and Brothers in this country. Since the house of Pittsburgh was very small, Neumann was ordered in May, 1841, to report to the Redemptorist house in Baltimore, St. John's. Archbishop Eccleston had recently given this to Redemptorist care for the German Catholics in the city at the suggestion of its pastor, Father Benedict Bayer.

In Baltimore but three days, he was informed that he was to go to New York to help out Father Nicholas Balleis, O.S.B., then in charge of St. Nicholas' Church on Second Street. Two weeks after his arrival in New York he was ordered to report to Rochester. There he was to continue his novitiate under Tschenhens. The prospects now seemed good for obtaining the seclusion and direction that would bring the peace of soul which the novice priest so avidly desired. As events turned out, he was allowed no such spiritual luxury. Scarcely was he in Rochester with Tschenhens when he was

again separated from his novice master, who was ordered out to Norwalk, Ohio, by the new superior, Alexander. Since schism had broken out in the German parish in the Ohio town, Tschenhens, who had formerly done successful work there, was earnestly requested to return. After two months without his novice master, the novice priest had to go to Buffalo, New York, to assist Father Pax, his former confessor, who just then was very sick and coughing so badly that people thought he would soon die.¹⁸ Pax was delighted to have once more the indefatigable Neumann working at his side in the Buffalo parish.¹⁹

Unfortunately, circumstances soon changed for the worse. On arriving at Norwalk, Ohio, Tschenhens walked into a hornet's nest. The fighting factions of the parish there began to blame all their woes, unjustly but vociferously, on the novice master, and his role as a conciliator was short-lived. Alexander thereupon called on Neumann to leave Buffalo and go to Norwalk, where, as a newcomer, he might be more readily received and bring peace to the contending factions. Dismayed at the thought of losing Neumann, Pax wrote to Prost in Rochester to have the departure of the young priest from the Buffalo area deferred. The latter, having been superseded as superior of the Redemptorists in the United States, no longer had power to accede to such a request.²⁰ The whole situation was distressful to Neumann. Was his change from place to place a sign that he was unwanted?

Moreover, something else had occurred to mar the peace of Neumann's soul. Following the change of Redemptorist superiors, a misunderstanding occurred between Fathers Alexander and Prost over property deeds of the Pittsburgh house. Prost was peremptorily removed from his post as local superior in Pittsburgh.²¹ It hurt the sensitive Neumann to see his well-beloved friend, Prost, so quickly deprived of authority. Prost sensed the young priest's thoughts. Fearing that his own embarrassment and the orders and counter orders to Neumann might dampen the spirit of the novice priest and perhaps kill his desire to be a Redemptorist, Prost wrote a letter of fatherly advice to his protégé:

MY DEAR AND REVEREND CONFRERE,

Obedience is always safest, even if it sometimes appears to be the opposite. To follow one's own opinion is always dangerous, and what will Your Reverence say in defense, if you remain in Buffalo and the schism in

Norwalk continues, where through your presence so great a scandal could be removed?

Then coming to the point that might have been a source of discouragement to the young priest, Prost's own abrupt dismissal from the office as general superior of the American Redemptorists, he touchingly declared:

I earnestly beg Your Reverence not to be led astray by the recent occurrences in our little Society. God permits some things to humiliate us to save us through humility. . . . There is not a single Order in which no faults occur, but in a religious society the fault is recognized sooner and therefore corrected sooner. The exhortations, the meditations, and the like do not permit the fault to become rooted. Then, too, we religious have an opportunity of practicing patience and self-abnegation. It is for this reason that we became religious.

Also sensing the fact that the frequent changes might have a bad effect on the young priest who might consider himself unwanted, Prost went on:

My dear confrere, do not think that you are a burden. On the contrary, you are universally loved and cherished. On account of the present misunderstanding between me and the present Father Superior, Your Reverence had to leave Pittsburgh, but not because you were not wanted there. On the contrary, I was sorry you had to leave Pittsburgh and all were sorry; we all loved you dearly. Those in whom one places greatest confidence are most exercised in obedience and sent most often from place to place. Do not forget when you answered at your investiture. We do not enter the Congregation to be honored, but to become like to Jesus Christ, who was unjustly judged, calumniated, persecuted and finally crucified.

The whole letter was an endeavor to conquer any indecision in the mind of the novice priest occasioned by the disagreements and the mistakes of the Redemptorists in the United States. Such did occur. It was almost inevitable that they would, for it was difficult for a group of European priests accustomed to strict community life in the Old World to adjust themselves to the gruelling work of the growing American parishes in the 1840's. Time would straighten out these difficulties. The mistakes would make for humility and thus lay a foundation for a great future. The candor of Prost in acknowledging his own mistakes was disarming. He did not want the young novice priest to suffer as he himself had. So he continued:

Since I went through the school of trial, I know, too, in what danger you are, and Your Reverence will pardon my anxiety. Because God assisted me in my weakness, I wish to assist others in my littleness, so that they may be free from the anguish that so bitterly tormented me.

Next, the experienced missionary touched on two other points troubling the mind of the young priest, the expenditure of money on so much travelling and the abandonment of the ill Father Pax.

So have courage. Go to Norwalk. Rev. Father Pax can rely on our help as soon as he asks for it. It is better that money be spent in travelling than to be disobedient. Even if you must return, you will not only then be free from reproach on the part of your conscience and on the part of your superiors, but you will also have the reward of your good works in heaven.²²

So Neumann took the long trip to the little log cabin rectory in Norwalk, where his flock consisted of 300 German Catholics.²³ Serious misgivings, nevertheless, were in John Neumann's mind all that time. Undoubtedly Prost's subsequent troubles at Rochester, which resulted in his uncanonical dismissal from the Redemptorists by Father Alexander, had a discouraging effect on the novice priest. Passerat in Vienna was to overrule the dismissal, but Neumann knew nothing of that at the time.²⁴ He wondered whether he were taking the right step in entering the Redemptorist Order, which did not seem to be on a firm footing.²⁵ The situation was ironic. He sought the company of priests, yet he found little of it. He looked for stability, but found turmoil. Ordinarily, life in the novitiate is a time of retirement from the world, but he was rushed into parochial and missionary activities. He wanted nothing but peace, but his soul was disturbed. The flotsam and jetsam of immigration in the "Roaring Forties" had consequences on his individual life never anticipated. One of his confreres, Father Joseph Fey, described him as a young man full of talent, humble and very much inclined to the interior life.²⁶ The interior life! . . . a novitiate that saw him changing his abode eight times in a year, baptising constantly, preaching incessantly and travelling 3,000 miles through New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, on horseback, on bumpy stagecoaches, on single track railroads or small steamers and canal boats crowded with raucous immigrants going west. It was a novitiate for which Neumann had never bargained. Years later, he wrote to his nephew, John Berger, then a novice in the Redemptorist novitiate at Cumberland, Maryland:

I myself was never a real novice, for when I entered our beloved Congregation, it had neither a novice master nor a novitiate in America. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, I am not without my share of experience. I passed through the numerous temptations with which the evil spirit is accustomed to try the recruits of St. Alphonsus.

What those temptations were, he enumerated in detail:

This novice imagines himself deficient in physical strength; another deludes himself with the notion that things would go more smoothly in another Order, or that he could possibly do more good for the honor of God while living in the world. Sadness and melancholy seize upon some while others are beset by a love of their own ease. Some are attacked with homesickness, or other temptations born of self-will, disgust for prayer, want of confidence in their superiors, and so forth. The temptations of the soul are doubtless as numerous as the disorders of the body, but to remain steadfast and to persevere in all this turmoil of spirit, there is no better remedy than prayer to the Blessed Virgin for the grace of perseverance. At the same time, immediate disclosure of the temptation to one's director is absolutely necessary.²⁷

Many a novice since Neumann's time has read those words and taken comfort in the knowledge that others before him had those same old doubts and knew how to conquer them, by prayer to the Mother of God for perseverance and an immediate disclosure of their difficulties to their directors. With Neumann the trouble was that his director was not easily accessible. Although he was accustomed to ask advice, he was not always able to seek counsel from his spiritual mentor who was far away. He was really in need of advice, too. He had no Redemptorist novice rule to help him, for there was no copy in America. Years after, he was to take the Redemptorist Novice Rule and translate into German the fifty-five pages of Italian, the precious words of direction for the use of novices.²⁸ In his own days of trial, without such a guide, his doubts plagued him. In agonizing suspense, he penned in his diary:

What will my future be? I am thinking of that continually without really wanting to. A year ago, I took a step forward indeed, as I believed, but perhaps without sufficient reflection.

Clearly doubting the wisdom of his choice in becoming a Redemptorist novice, though still conscious of his desire to do the Will of God, he wrote:

You know, O Lord and God, that in my way of thinking and in my will, I submit to Your Holy Will unconditionally and will ever persevere in this holy Order if it please You.

Neumann wondered whether some of the annoying ideas entertained against his vocation were not exaggerated. To pay any attention to them might occasion the loss of the grace he was seeking and greater perfection in the Congregation of the Most Holy Re-

deemer. The troubled novice was badly in need of direction. Unfortunately, Tschenhens' absences continued, and Neumann's doubts remained unsolved. Should he then listen to others? Everyone seemed to advise against his becoming a Redemptorist. Uncertain whether their advice was good, he revolved their arguments in his mind. In sheer distress he asked God, the All-Knowing Guide:

O my God! You know my blindness! Do not permit that I alone must choose; arrange the influences that bear upon me so that if it pleases You, no doubt may remain about my vocation or lack of vocation. But if, my Lord, it is Your Will that I remain in doubt and be uneasy, then may Your Will be done until death! You are the supreme, all-knowing, and good God. I am Yours; save me!²⁹

His confessor, Tschenhens, regarded these doubts at first as idle fears arising from listening too much to his own temptations.³⁰ As time wore on, however, the older priest realized something would have to be done to save Neumann for the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Tschenhens thereupon advised Father Alexander to bring Neumann quickly to Baltimore to finish his novitiate, allowing him to give missions to abandoned Germans here and there on the way. The idea was immediately seconded by Alexander, so Neumann was ordered to Baltimore.³¹

Taking the open stagecoach in pouring rain, John Neumann reached Canton, Ohio, on November 19, 1841, where he met Bishop John Purcell of Cincinnati and his vicar-general, Father Henni. The final assault on the soul of the young priest was occasioned by a rumor, the result of loose talk, that the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer was on the point of dissolution in America. Both Purcell and Henni urgently invited the harassed priest to join the Diocese of Cincinnati. Although it was a temptation that came at a time when his soul was shaken to its depths, the young priest met the test and refused.

Meanwhile, he did accede to the request of the bishop to go temporarily to Randolph, Ohio, in order to settle a quarrel among the German Catholics there. This was no easy task, for such bitterness had resulted between two rival factions in the little town that one party added to the spiritual desolation by burning down the local church.³² For ten days Neumann stayed in that town, preaching twice a day to the people. The children were instructed daily and the rosary said every evening for the conversion of the sinners of the parish. The grace of God worked wonders in that mission.

In spite of the bitterly cold weather, the people came enthusiastically, almost all of them, to hear him; and, what was better, 300 confessions were heard and almost all in the parish crowded to the Communion rail. A delegation of the people even went to Purcell and asked pardon for their quarrelsome conduct.³³

After this successful mission, worried Father Neumann again started for Pittsburgh via Wheeling, West Virginia. The bumpy open stage sickened him so quickly that he had to get off ten miles from Steubenville, Ohio. He found rest in the home of some strangers, an American family which carefully nursed him for two days. The hosts of the missionary had no interest in organized religion, but they practiced the corporal works of mercy and Neumann appreciated their charity.

This was a trying period. Just six weeks before his profession as a religious, Neumann wondered whether he was doing the Will of God in joining the Redemptorists, but he persevered in prayer. He helped the Germans in Steubenville, with whom he had become acquainted while working out from Pittsburgh, then rode the stage to Wheeling, thence to Frederick, Maryland, and finally by rail from that home town of Francis Scott Key to Baltimore, where he arrived on December 8, 1841.³⁴ Here at last, he was given a real, if short, rest from work. For over a month he could commune in quiet with God. He was delighted. A spiritual retreat of fourteen days at the opening of the new year 1842 climaxed the novitiate. He made his profession—the first Redemptorist to do so in America—January 16, 1842. The punning chronicler of the house recorded the fact, saying, “A new man has entered the Congregation.”³⁵

John Neumann's hesitation was settled for all time. Writing to his parents of his entrance into the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, he said:

I now belong to it body and soul. The mutual bodily and spiritual help, edification and good example, which one has around him till his death in such a spiritual society, make my life and my office a great deal easier for me. I also confidently hope that death in this society will not be unwelcome to me, as is generally the case with people of the world.”³⁶

Never did he weaken in his loyalty to the Congregation throughout all the remaining days of his life. Busy and soul-trying days began immediately after his profession, when he was quickly thrust into the missionary work of the Redemptorist Fathers in Baltimore.

CHAPTER VI

Missionary and Rector: 1842-1847

Six weeks of real novitiate life was all the Redemptorists could give Neumann prior to his profession. He seemed surprised at the suddenness of the event, as he wrote to Tschenhens.¹ The urgent need for active priests to help the ever-increasing number of Catholic Germans in Baltimore would not allow longer time for the hidden life. There was a lot of bustle in the parish of St. John. The Germans of the whole State of Maryland had been placed in the care of the Redemptorists since there were too few German-speaking secular priests to cover all the German settlements. Baltimore had 4,000 German souls, mostly Bavarians from the region of Wurzburg, Aschaffenburg, Stockstadt, Waldstadt, with a few from other localities in Germany. Although a sprinkling of Bohemians were here, too, they were not at this time very much attached to the Catholic faith or its practices. The greater number of the Germans were recent immigrants who had spent most of their savings in making their way to America. Because of their unfamiliarity with the English language, work, and various types of occupations and business methods of American cities, these poor Germans remained idle for a long time before finding employment. As a consequence, many of them were soon in dire need.²

To round up these souls and save them for the faith, Archbishop Eccleston looked to the Redemptorists. They quickly saw that the little Church of St. John would never do as a permanent house of worship for the Baltimore Germans. With liberal monetary aid from the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna, they planned a new structure, the spacious and artistic Church of St. Alphonsus. Meanwhile, the old church had to be torn down. The Baltimore prelate generously offered to them another parish, St. James' on Aisquith Street, then being vacated by the Vincentian Fathers for a new St. Vincent's Church.³

Neumann entered the community established at St. James' while the Redemptorists were building a new St. Alphonsus' Church to replace old St. John's. As an assistant priest at St. James', he found himself drawn into the vortex of the many parochial activities of this

fast-growing parish. To keep intact the faith of the immigrant was the major objective of the Fathers. The records of the parish, bleak jejune figures though they are, give ample evidence that young Neumann was a mighty aid in the work. During his first year he baptized ninety-four in St. James' Church alone.⁴ Furthermore, a reduced personnel at St. James' threw greater burdens on his shoulders. After seven months the new foundations begun by the Redemptorists in other parts of the country—New York, Buffalo, and St. Mary's in Elk County, Pennsylvania—reduced the priests in the parish to exactly two, Fathers Fey and Neumann. All the preaching, catechizing, and instructing of converts had to be carried on by these two. Few Sundays went by without witnessing the baptism of one or more converts; and at times twenty to thirty were under instruction simultaneously.⁵

Over and above that, the Germans in the scattered, outlying districts had to be cared for as much as possible. The spirit of German rationalism and Methodism was making inroads on their faith. Due to lack of German pastors, thousands of these Catholics had been lost to the church, and grave fear was entertained for the perseverance of others. Alexander, the vicegerent, declared that the most spiritually destitute class of people in the United States at that time was the German immigrants. Of those who had gone off to the farm lands outside the centers of population he said :

Most of them arrive in their new homes without money or goods. They give little thought to their religion or priests, for they live scattered in the forests or in the existing German settlements, where they eke out a miserable existence. In consequence of their isolation and poverty they drift into a state of religious indifferentism, or, as frequently happens, fall victims to the proselytizing of heretical sects. This deplorable effect of emigration from Europe is an historical fact.⁶

Young Neumann's letters echo the same regret—there was a crying need for German priests. The few German-speaking priests already in the country were not nearly enough to care for the constantly increasing arrivals. What was worse, the German missionary had to contend with a lack of financial support; he had to face pride, indifference, envy and jealousy in many of those he served. His only consolation was the knowledge that his efforts would be repaid in heaven. Even in the established German settlements there was insufficient spiritual care of the Germans, so much so, that in many of them the people had not gone to confession for years because

they could not reach the priest on his annual or semi-annual visits. Boys and girls and youths up to their fifteenth and twentieth years had been baptized but had received no religious instruction and none of the other sacraments. Many of the settlers in the country districts, isolated from English-speaking people, were fifteen and twenty years in America without knowing a single English sentence. Since the Irish priests in the populous centers could not speak their language, the plight of the Germans was pitiful.⁷

The plea of the bishops to the Redemptorists in Baltimore to aid these scattered Germans in the country districts was soon answered. As in Pittsburgh and New York, a circuit of mission stations was established and visited periodically by a missionary from St. James' at least every four months. East Hartford, eighteen miles out of Baltimore, with its forty German Catholic families, was soon organized into a parish. A Catholic church was quickly built at Strassburg, now Shrewsbury, Maryland, where thirty families were kept together in the fold. The seventy-five German Catholics of Frederick, Maryland, begged for the visit of a priest, and their call was heeded. Further on in York, Pennsylvania, the Fathers organized a German congregation among the abandoned seventy-five German Catholic families. Ranging further west to Cumberland, the 200 German Catholic families there rejoiced to see one of their own priests among them; and, though they did not have a church or a school at the time, the fervor they displayed after the Redemptorists visited them soon gave promise of better things. Then down 150 miles into Richmond, Virginia, the Fathers travelled to revive the faith of a forgotten German group. If strong religious sentiments of German Catholics in these regions persist today, no small part of the credit for it comes from the fact that in the trying days of their need when they landed in America, German-speaking priests, sons of St. Alphonsus, came out of Baltimore and Pittsburgh into the hinterlands to save their wavering faith.⁸ Into every one of these towns, John Neumann rode to bring the message of salvation. Whether he ever went to western Virginia, as his confreres did, is unknown. A circuit missionary like the rest of the Fathers at St. James', he worked long and zealously, though few significant details have come down of his individual journeys.⁹

Neumann noted with alarm the growth of anti-Catholic, secret societies in the United States—Red Men, Odd Fellows, and Free

Masons. Societies that offered advantage for social improvement exercised a magnetic attraction for the unwary German immigrant, particularly in the big centers of population. These societies rarely attracted the Germans in the country. On the other hand, the assemblies of a literary or political nature did. The Germans had a bent for joining societies; and, as only too often happens, the contacts brought a weakening, if not positive loss, of the faith. Many of the gatherings of non-Catholic societies—anniversaries and burials—were held in Protestant churches, where Protestant Bibles were used and Protestant sermons preached. The Protestant viewpoint that the Bible is the sole rule of faith was heard and approved. Some Catholics whose knowledge of the faith was superficial and whose practice of it was weak joined these groups and were easily led into error by heretical teachings. They learned to interpret the Sacred Text according to their own inclination. The result, Neumann described:

The childlike faith which a Christian must have in order to become holy is lost little by little. Such Catholics, who through ignorance or curiosity or even pleasure, have listened to the Protestant sermons, then expect the priest to propose the Bible not as an article of faith, but as an intellectual study, offered for their appraisal and approval. All they want him to do, is to forget the purpose of his calling and endeavor to confirm their intellects in their errors, excite lovely pictures in their imagination and awaken pleasant feelings in their hearts.

He feared general fraternization with heretical or irreligious people would soon rob the immigrants of their faith. The errors of Luther, John Wesley and Calvin would ensnare them if more German priests did not soon arrive from Europe.

To ward off these evils from the faithful, to root them out, or at least to render them harmless, the German missionary, he declared, needed great constancy and prudence. An avoidance of these secret societies and fraternization with irreligious groups and the perusal of Protestant publications and even a horror of these dangers was best obtained, Neumann thought, by orderly and devout participation in the ceremonies of the church, the introduction of religious societies, the distribution of good books, and more particularly the frequent reception of the sacraments and the practice of daily prayer.

With keen joy he saw the change for the better among the Baltimore Catholics. The small St. John's Church at first had only been half filled on Sundays and holy days; many German Catholics went

to the other half dozen Catholic churches in the city, although they could not understand the sermon which they needed badly. The majority of the immigrants had either failed to go to church or had given up going to the sacraments. Within two or three years a metamorphosis was effected. Weekly, hundreds came to the sacraments; various societies like the Society of a Good Death, the Sacred Heart Society, the Living Rosary Society and the Blessed Sacrament Society were introduced without delay with gratifying results. This increase in the number of the German Catholics was the factor that determined the Redemptorists to build the large Church of St. Alphonsus on the site of the former St. John's.¹⁰

Seven months after Neumann arrived in Baltimore, the Redemptorists laid the cornerstone of the great Gothic church which still stands today. Canon Joseph Salzbacher, the European visitor who has left an account of religious life in America of that day, was the preacher on the occasion.¹¹ Rapidly the construction of the church proceeded; and, when Baltimoreans saw the building, a majestic structure, with clear, graceful lines, they were astounded. For many years it was known as the German Cathedral of Baltimore. In fact, on account of its size there were some unfavorable repercussions in Vienna, where the directors of the Leopoldine Foundation were a bit perturbed because so much money had gone into one building when so many other parishes were in need of help. They were mollified, however, when it was made known that this Baltimore church was no simple parish church, but a great center from which German missionaries could cover the surrounding territory.¹² The rectory was none too large, for it was planned as a seminary where young Redemptorists could be educated for the ministry; and, for a time at least, it served in that capacity. As for the size of the church, the crowds that later used the sacred edifice for services amply justified the large expenditure. Archbishop Eccleston, to whom the problems of St. John's had been so troublesome previously, now rejoiced at the fervor shown by that congregation. Other parishes commented on its spiritual ardor with something like pious envy. All this transformation Neumann witnessed with his own eyes, and he heartily rejoiced that he had a part in it. Moreover, his work at Baltimore under the guidance of the more experienced Fathers was good training for his labors in the days ahead.¹³

Almost at the same time that the cornerstone of St. Alphonsus' Church was laid, the foundation of another large church under the

care of the Fathers in Pittsburgh, St. Philomena's, was begun by the Redemptorist, Father Louis Cartuyvels.¹⁴ Unlike the Baltimore church it had only a small financial contribution from the Leopoldine Foundation. Because of this and the poverty of the Pittsburgh Catholics, the construction advanced slowly, so slowly that the pastor was relieved of his position by Father Alexander. The successor of Father Cartuyvels, Father Fey, likewise asked to be relieved of the overwhelming task. Looking over the field of men suitable for the assignment, Alexander chose as superior of the Redemptorists in the Steel City the little priest who had worked so successfully in that parish before. So in March, 1844, Neumann was on the road to the fast-growing metropolis of Western Pennsylvania.¹⁵

The outlook in Pittsburgh was not so inviting. The diocese was a new one, having been partitioned off from that of Philadelphia less than eight months before. Its first bishop, the learned and energetic Michael O'Connor, had already distinguished himself in ecclesiastical circles. After a brilliant course at Propaganda College in Rome, this young Irish churchman came to America in 1839 at the invitation of his friend, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Philadelphia, who appointed him president of the diocesan seminary. Four years later O'Connor was chosen to govern the new Diocese of Pittsburgh,¹⁶ which roughly comprised the western half of the State of Pennsylvania. The task of the thirty-three-year-old prelate was no simple matter; for, in truth, he was called upon to create a diocese rather than to govern one. Besides having neither a college nor a seminary in the territory, he had only twenty-one priests for the 45,000 Catholics making up the small Catholic population of a district where 800,000 people lived.¹⁷

When Neumann arrived in Pittsburgh, he was faced with difficulties. The young bishop was dissatisfied with the Germans because he felt they were unwisely tenacious of their European customs. In 1840 a very violent attack on the Irish bishops of the American hierarchy was sent to Europe, alleging neglect of the German Catholics in Pennsylvania. Nobody knew the name of the author of the diatribe,¹⁸ but the Bishop of Pittsburgh became suspicious that the sons of Liguori had encouraged the complaints voiced in its pages.¹⁹ To make matters worse, Cartuyvels of St. Philomena's had fallen into disfavor with the people of the parish. Under these circumstances the known sentiments of the prelate boded ill for the incoming

superior. But the first meeting of Neumann with the prelate cleared the situation considerably. The bishop was appeased and saw in Neumann a good pastor for his German flock. Here was a priest well-equipped by his knowledge of English, German, Bohemian, French, Spanish and Italian to care for the numerous European immigrants who had settled in "The Smoky City" and its environs.²⁰

But the big problem immediately facing the new superior was how to collect funds for the completion of St. Philomena's Church. The walls were only half built by the time he arrived there. While there were 6,000 Germans in the city, and double that number in the diocese, they were of the poorer class. In spite of the fact that many of them, unable to give financial help, contributed their time and labor gratis, a debt of \$17,000 contracted for the purchase of land, building materials and temporary quarters, already faced him. While horses and wagons and shovels were not needed, more money had to be raised before the church could be completed. Immediately Neumann began a Church Building Society. Special collectors were appointed and their names placed on a tablet in the rear of the temporary church so that no one could be defrauded. Each parishioner was asked to contribute at least five cents a week toward the fund. The sum was small enough. The pastor wisely refrained from asking more generous contributions, foreseeing that a vigorous pushing of his humble appeal would bring greater results in the long run. It did. But it was a trying task for the superior, busied with the individual contracts, since in those days the system of engaging a general contractor to complete the task was not in vogue.²¹

Some funds were collected by Father Czackert in New Orleans; for the rest Neumann borrowed from the local Catholics at a fixed rate of interest.²² At times the good man was at his wits' end with payments' falling due. "Often on a Friday," said his companion, Father Francis Seelos, "he never knew where he was going to get the money for the payroll on Saturday." But somehow the money came in, and the hardworking pastor's firm trust in God's help was repaid.²³ The disastrous five-million dollar fire that swept Pittsburgh in 1844 was no help to a rector looking for funds. The raging flames destroyed over 1,000 private dwellings, laying waste one-third of the city in a few hours. Poor as he was himself, Neumann ordered a special collection in his own temporary church to help the victims of the disaster.²⁴

One incident of those building days shows the shrewdness of Neumann. A parishioner of St. Philomena's who had loaned a large sum of money to the Fathers suddenly became alarmed about his investment when rumors were circulated that it was not safe. Hurrying to the rectory, he demanded his money. The brother porter at the door hastened with the dread news to the almost bankrupt superior. A crisis it was indeed, for the news of failure to pay the loan promptly would have created a run on the rectory by others who had made loans, and this would have brought financial ruin. Neumann was equal to the occasion. With a bland smile he inquired of the creditor, "Do you wish your money in gold or silver?" "Oh, if that's the case," said the lender, "you can keep it, for it will be safe with you."²⁵ And the depositor went away contented.

Little by little the large and stately Gothic Church of St. Philomena went towering into the sky. How the building operations were continued in the face of discouraging economic conditions was a mystery. Clever management of the finances by the pastor promoted the construction under difficulties that would have dismayed many another, and Bishop O'Connor used to say in after years that Father Neumann had built a church without money.²⁶

It was a jubilant occasion for the parish when the great structure of St. Philomena's was dedicated in November, 1846. The Catholics marched in public procession from St. Paul's Church to the new building. Bishop Richard Whelan came up from Wheeling. The Mayor of Pittsburgh was on hand despite the anti-Catholic sentiment of the times. With every seat in the church occupied and all the available space in the aisles filled and even a crowd outside who could not gain admittance, the happiness of the faithful beamed in their faces as O'Connor dedicated the sacred edifice.²⁷

Although the church was completed, there remained another construction task for Neumann—the erection of a suitable rectory. Difficulties confronted the rector, but with a vim he continued at his building program in 1846. Before his three-year term of office was finished, the rectory was well on its way to completion.²⁸

Still more important than the brick and mortar advance was the energy infused by the new superior into the spiritual life of the parish. Here he had an opportunity to bring into play his ideas for saving the faith of the newcomers to American shores. They liked societies, so he supplied them. Pious associations,—the Confraternity of the

Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the Confraternity Bona Mors, the Confraternity of the Rosary,—were established and developed with vigor, with fixed hours for their meetings, special prayers, and sermons adapted to the needs of the members. These societies were of untold value in knitting the parish together, welding what was once a disjointed group of Catholics into a united congregation.²⁹

The little school that had been in existence in the basement of the old rectory before Neumann's advent was carefully conducted. But there were three schools in the parish. Where scores had come before, children were coming in hundreds.³⁰

Meanwhile, the apostolic work in the surrounding districts suffered no interruption. To every one of the German mission posts the Fathers went regularly, establishing new units and preparing the way for fifteen future parishes. Neumann himself went to the out-missions. The parish registers of St. Philomena's testify to his presence at McKeesport, Riceville, Birmingham, Sharpsburg, Bayardstown, Allegheny, Pine Creek, Stewardstown, Sligo, Cross Mill, Crawford City and other places.³¹ McKeesport, Sharpsburg and Greensburg were under regular care. At McKeesport and Greensburg churches were begun in 1846.³² Less frequently, but at regular intervals, the Fathers strove to aid the struggling Germans in Steubenville, Ohio, in Washington and in Wheeling in the western part of Virginia.³³

In the home parish, Neumann was indefatigable, spending many hours in the confessional, taking more than his share of baptisms, weddings and sick calls. Urgent night sick calls he preferred to answer himself. When other Fathers of the community wanted to take them, he would tell them to go back to sleep as they were in need of it.³⁴ Similarly, he took his turn at preaching with the rest, and the list of sermons shows that he had a preference for topics of a serious nature—the malice of mortal sin, the motives for hope in God, the faith of the Magi, the obligation to serve God everywhere and at all times, the sanctity of matrimony, the virtue of patience, the necessity of self-denial, the reason of Our Lord's Ascension, the great value of the Mass, due preparation for death, the continual remembrance of God, the need of thanking God for the gift of faith. Solid sermons, they were carefully worked out and logically arranged, calculated to impress the minds of his listeners. Thanks to his omnivorous reading in bygone days and to his meditations on the eternal truths, his well-

stocked mind paid rich dividends. Furthermore, to avoid repetition in preaching on succeeding Sundays, Neumann had his assistants record a short sketch of their sermons in a special book to be consulted by all the priests of the parish.³⁵

The good superior was fortunate in the assistants he had at St. Philomena's. One was Father Francis Seelos, a priest whose piety and ardor were of such renown that initial steps have been taken to raise him to the honors of the altar.³⁶ In later years Bishop O'Connor seriously thought of proposing the name of Seelos to Rome as his coadjutor, though the holy man shrank from such a dignity.³⁷ Another of Neumann's subjects at that time was Father Joseph Mueller, a proverbial hustler.³⁸ As a matter of fact, the people of Pittsburgh referred to them as the "Three Saints of St. Philomena's,"³⁹ and the bishop was heard to say that they were all saints at St. Philomena's.⁴⁰ Father John Hotz, who came later, measured up to their lofty standards.

Although Neumann's time was largely taken up with the construction of the church, he still found opportunity to give a retreat to three Pittsburgh seminarians preparing for the priesthood.⁴¹ Accompanied by Seelos, he gave a very successful mission at Youngstown, Ohio.⁴² Seelos had occasion to remember that mission, for on the return journey they were obliged to seek overnight lodging in a country inn. Since no bedrooms were available, they were shunted to the main hall, where they slept on a hard bench. Neumann gave his coat to his companion to lie upon while he himself spent the night in prayer.

Seelos often heard Neumann praying softly far into the night in the rectory in Pittsburgh. The house was poor, and so pressed were the Fathers for space that Seelos and Neumann lived in the same room with a curtain separating them. Young Seelos often wondered how his superior could carry on his duties with so little sleep. Neumann was the first to awaken. With his usual thoughtfulness he brought up coal and lighted the fire so that the rooms would be warm when the others arose.⁴³

Under the guidance of Neumann his assistants gave their all; the work went ahead steadily, and the people noted it. The trust and confidence of Bishop O'Connor in the superior led him to think of making Neumann his vicar-general. But the superior would have none of it.⁴⁴ Even the European superior, Father Frederick De Held,

provincial of the Belgian province, noted his achievements. In the United States on a visitation of the Redemptorist foundations in the year 1845, De Held declared Neumann was a holy and prudent superior. It was high praise from a man of the stamp of De Held, who was an exact observer of the rule and a most energetic worker.⁴⁵

Many stories are told about John Neumann's stay in Pittsburgh. Once the sister of Bishop O'Connor went to the confessional of Neumann to receive the sacrament of penance. Since there was a prohibition at the time against hearing confessions in English in the German church, the good priest explained to the young lady that he was not permitted to hear her confession. She replied that the prohibition did not hold because she had the permission of her brother, the bishop. Neumann, however, replied that the prohibition allowed exceptions only when the permission was given in writing. So the young lady went off without confession and reported the incident to her brother, the bishop, who was highly edified.⁴⁶

An impoverished Catholic who had outwardly joined a Protestant sect in order to secure help for his starving family was passing St. Philomena's one Sunday morning. When he heard the strains of the organ and the words of the Kyrie Eleison, he felt an irresistible urge to enter. Neumann was singing the High Mass. Before long the man found a place near the Communion rail. As Neumann was breaking the Sacred Host, the unhappy renegade uttered a loud cry, sank to his knees and wept bitterly. After the Mass he hurried into the sacristy and went to confession. He then declared that he had come to confession because he had seen blood dropping from the Sacred Host in Father Neumann's hands.

And there were less edifying anecdotes. Once a man who had imbibed too freely came to the rectory and told Neumann in insulting terms what he thought of him. After listening patiently to the outrageous language, like a private under the tongue-lashing of a top sergeant, the priest calmly asked, "Have you anything else to say?"

"No, I've said enough!" said the astonished drinker.

"Well, you can go home now, and I'd advise you to sleep off your drink!"

It turned out that the rage of the tipsy one was meant for Father Mueller. By accident it was vented on the pastor. Neumann laughingly told his confrere, "You better watch out when you meet this

man, for he has it in for you!"⁴⁷ Coming to his senses later, the offender humbly begged pardon.

Another story came from the lips of a Redemptorist lay brother long after Neumann's death. Once Neumann was called out on a feigned sick call by a non-Catholic whose wife had gone to confession to the pastor and had been given advice that enraged her husband. When the unsuspecting priest went to the house of the couple, the man seized him and pummelled him vigorously until his rage was satisfied.⁴⁸

For many Catholics in the United States these were trying days because the growing forces of anti-Catholicism were beginning to be organized and were joining with the Bible societies and nativistic forces to combat Catholicism, which they regarded as a growing danger to the American way of life. In many places throughout the Union clashes and conflicts occurred, some of them sinking to the level of mob violence. Pittsburgh had its share of them. One church was burned down. For a time the Fathers of St. Philomena's feared for the safety of their own parochial establishment, but nothing harmful ensued. However, they had to be on the alert. Once in the middle of the night, someone started a fire in the school. Had not a passing Catholic noticed the fire and aroused the priests, the plant might have gone up in flames.⁴⁹ Glad to have escaped such a disaster, the good superior pointed it out as a new reason for trust in the providence of God. He had an unbounded trust in God, so much so that one confrere said, "Father Neumann has accomplished with his trust in God what the rest of us thought impossible."⁵⁰

Here as in every other place the keynote of Neumann's life was work—long, hard work. The parish church was practically completed, work on the new rectory was going forward, the three schools were increasing in the number of their pupils and the outmissions were developing. The work was showing results.⁵¹ And he was not easily deterred from work. The cautioning words of his confreres to take things easy went unheeded, even when the superior's coughing and spitting of blood began to arouse their suspicions that his health was not so strong as he pretended it was. Reluctant to go to a doctor, he would parry words of warning with "it will be better," even though he kept after his subjects to attend to their own bodily ills. His confreres, therefore, felt obliged in conscience to inform Father Czackert, who had succeeded Father Alexander as the general

superior of the American Redemptorists in 1845, with the facts of the case. A peremptory order came, commanding the sick man to consult a doctor. Alarmed at the state of Neumann's health, the physician declared that the worst was to be feared unless immediate remedies and rest were taken.⁵² Czackert sent the following letter to Mueller, Neumann's assistant:

I am very sorry that your otherwise praiseworthy superior has ruined his health through his indiscreet zeal. I do not think that I am doing him any particular injustice when I say so, because even the best and most beautiful virtue loses its worth if it is exercised without regard to time and circumstances. Without doubt there are still many souls to be converted in Baltimore, Pittsburgh, etc., but there is also no doubt that it is not the Will of God to lead them on the way of piety and the fear of God, regardless of prudence and one's spiritual welfare. Since the indisposition, or more correctly, the sickness of Father Neumann seems to be continuing (when I left him he was sick) and since his three-year term of office has already passed, I wish accordingly that Your Reverence inform him that he is to leave Pittsburgh as soon as his health allows.

It was a rebuke, but prompted by solicitude for the priest who had struggled so long and so hard to save souls. As if to soften the message, Czackert added the lines:

I hope he will not take this announcement as an insult, but as a real act of sincere charity. I am doing only what is necessary. Without doubt, if he continues as he is, he may have to face an early death.⁵³

With his head bowed in total submission to the will of his superior, Father John Neumann was on the road to Baltimore, one week later.

CHAPTER VII

The Redemptorists on the American Scene

Father Neumann had been in St. Alphonsus' Church, Baltimore, but a few days, recuperating from his recent illness. He was apparently set to spend the next few years as a subject rather than as a superior, when he received a message that took him and the other Fathers wholly by surprise. By order of De Held, the Belgian provincial to whom the American houses were then subject, Father John Neumann was made vicegerent or general superior of all the Redemptorists in the United States.¹

The news struck with lightning-like suddenness. Neumann was stunned. Father Czackert had been in office only a year and a half, and normally he would have continued as vicegerent for three years at least. But, having incurred De Held's displeasure by failing to harmonize with the provincial's views on the acceptance of new foundations, he did not complete his term as general superior. This change of superiors was a typical move of the strong-minded ruler of the Belgian province. It was incomprehensible to John Neumann.² It was not so much that he had not considered himself suitable for the office of vicegerent, he never considered himself a candidate at all. Moreover, so many difficulties at that time were confronting the one assigned the duties of a vicegerent that any prudent man would have to weigh the matter seriously before assuming the office.

The greatest and most far-reaching of these difficulties was the relationship of the American houses, and particularly of the vicegerent of these houses, to the European superiors. This was important because with it were interrelated the other difficulties of the Redemptorists. To understand this properly, one has to know what had previously transpired in the United States. That story is somewhat involved. When the first Redemptorists came to America in 1832, these Fathers and Brothers and the foundations they obtained, were directly subject to Father Passerat, the vicar-general, in Vienna. For the effective government of the individual houses in the various countries except Italy, one of the Fathers on the scene was named as vicegerent of Passerat. Thus it was that Fathers Sänderl, Prost

and Alexander had successively ruled the American Fathers for twelve years. Aside from the difficulty of establishing foundations in a new country like the United States, where conditions were quite different from those Redemptorists met in Europe, these vicegerents had found their powers of administration too narrow, as confining as a strait jacket.³ Yet, they worked as well as they knew how, not, however, without being overruled in some instances by the vicar-general and his consultors in Vienna.⁴

This same condition of affairs existed in the various European countries until 1841, when, mainly through the energetic action of Father De Held, at that time vicegerent of the Redemptorists in Belgium and Holland, the Holy See divided the Redemptorist houses into six provinces, each with a provincial at its head with wider powers of administration.⁵ While this form of organization promoted more efficient government of the northern European houses, it had no effect on the American houses, which had a vicegerent named by the vicar-general. The Redemptorists in America still remained immediately subject to the vicar-general in distant Vienna. Their vicegerent enjoyed too little freedom of action and too little canonical authority for his work.

Because of this hampering arrangement the third vicegerent in America, Father Alexander, sent to Europe Father Benedict Bayer, one of his American subjects, to seek wider powers for the vicegerent in America. The journey was made to obtain monetary aid and more missionaries for the struggling American houses, but one of the main objects was to get greater powers of administration.⁶ It might have been very fortunate if at that time the houses in the United States had been erected into a separate province or, for that matter, a vice-province with increased power for the Father chosen to rule it. Much, however, could be said against such a change since these lately acquired foundations all needed the help of more missionaries and more money from Europe, not to mention the steady influence of their European brethren.

This steady influence was all the more necessary since the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer in America was expanding rapidly. It was suffering growing pains. Rochester, Pittsburgh and Norwalk were the only houses established by 1840. In the next five years while Father Alexander was vicegerent, the number of houses in America tripled. Foundations were accepted in New York, Phila-

delphia, Monroe in Michigan, a second foundation in Baltimore, St. James'; another in Buffalo, N. Y., and one in St. Mary's, Pennsylvania.⁷ The Norwalk foundation had been dropped;⁸ but another, St. Mary's, Detroit, was soon staffed by Redemptorists.

The conditions under which the Redemptorists worked and the difficulties they encountered were carefully noted by the saintly Father Passerat. It was no fault of theirs that they labored under circumstances new to them and hard for their brethren in Europe to appreciate. They were endeavoring to establish nine national parochial centers with the necessary outmissions, frequently in the face of the opposition of stubborn trustees. This pioneering involved heavy spiritual and temporal cares. Though these houses were understaffed, the Fathers were pushing out in ever-widening circles to round up the German and French immigrants so long neglected spiritually in the smaller towns and settlements out in the country. The pleading cry of neglected Germans and Frenchmen recorded in the annals of the Propagation of the Faith published in Lyons and Munich and in the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna only too well mirror the sad conditions of the emigrants from Europe.⁹

Still, the aging Passerat knew that the acquisition of many new foundations in such a short time carried with it the danger that the work would be beyond the physical strength of the Fathers. With so much activity, prayer and recollection would be somewhat neglected. As a result, their religious spirit might be weakened, perhaps irretrievably lost.

The holy vicar-general had warned the American Fathers in a very touching circular letter of the necessity of holding fast to the inner spiritual life while exerting themselves so strenuously in their external activities:

I say to you, beloved confreres, may you work with zeal for the salvation of souls. It is your vocation to serve abandoned souls. Great will be the merit and reward of this work if your own salvation is not thereby neglected.

Repeating to them the words of St. Bernard to his illustrious disciple, Pope Eugene III, he continued:

It is wiser that you withdraw yourself from your activities for a time than to allow yourself to be drawn where you do not wish to go. Do you ask whither? If you give yourself entirely to these things, you will

be drawn to a hardened heart. And do you want to know what a hardened heart is? You have it when you no longer fear and tremble!

"The Apostle of the Gentiles," continued Passerat, "said the same thing when he advised Timothy, 'Take heed to thyself and to doctrine; be earnest in them, for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.'"

Becoming more specific, the exhortation of the vicar-general continued:

Work in itself, even the holiest work, can neither sanctify nor save us if one does not preserve and increase the fervor of charity by the exercises of the spiritual life and, indeed, through the exact observance of the prescriptions about such matters given in the holy rule. A Saint Francis Xavier, a Saint Francis de Sales, and a Saint Vincent de Paul certainly worked much for the salvation of souls. But did these men while doing so much work feel themselves free from the exercises of the spiritual life? . . .

I know your good will, and I think it is superfluous to remind you of the duty of reciting completely the Divine Office, to urge you to approach the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with reverence, or to hold up to you the importance and the duty of preaching, of visiting the sick and instructing the young people. But I beg of you constantly and pressingly in God, and I warn you not to give up the meditations prescribed for us, the spiritual reading of ascetical and biographical books, the frequent examination of conscience, including the Particular Examen, the visits to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Blessed Mother of God, the rosary, the monthly day of recollection, the annual ten days' retreat, weekly confession and the choice of a regular confessor and director of conscience!

By doing these things, Passerat insisted, they would be fortified against the world, the flesh, and the devil. It was a ringing call to unite the spiritual with the temporal, the active with the contemplative, given to the American Fathers by the holy veteran who had wandered over Europe at the side of the saintly Clement Hofbauer during the stirring, soul-searing days of the French Revolution and the ensuing Napoleonic nightmare.¹⁰

In addition, there was a further complication. The Austrian government was interfering with the authority of the vicar-general, prohibiting him from governing subjects in non-Austrian domains. As a result, permission was obtained from Rome in November, 1844, to place the American houses under the supervision of the Belgian provincial, De Held. The latter having had long experience in solidifying the work of the Redemptorists in new fields, it was thought

that he was the best man to control the situation. Father Alexander as his vicegerent would rule on the scene in America. While this arrangement did not give the American vicegerent wider powers, it did place him nearer to the man who had them.¹¹ Now that the American houses were immediately subject to De Held, the energetic Belgian provincial decided to conduct a visitation of his new charges, much to the delight of Father Passerat. It was the first check-up on the missions in America.

Leaving Liverpool, the provincial with four companions, three of them Redemptorist missionaries for the American houses, experienced a very dangerous time on the steamship *Hibernia*. Bad weather, three fierce fires below deck, and peril from icebergs made him glad to step ashore at Boston on May 5, 1845.¹²

To the visitor the political and social conditions of the new country were startling. The prevailing spirit of so-called liberalism, the excesses committed by native Americans in its name, the spirit of enterprise, the eagerness to build, the boldness in planning and carrying out new projects, and the readiness to assume the risks connected with them were something new to a European priest, even one so well-traveled as De Held.

From May until August, 1845, the Belgian provincial made a thorough visitation of the houses, using the occasion to give in his strong, piercing voice the morning and evening meditations prescribed by the rule. Accompanied by the famous European missionary as his socius, Father Bernard Hafkenscheld, the provincial went into as minute an examination of all matters as his time allowed. What impression was left on De Held, who temperamentally was actuated by a love of regular observances and a glowing zeal for the welfare of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer? As he finished the visitation that summer, he had one overpowering conviction—the great expansion of the earlier years of the “Roaring Forties” had set too fast a pace for the good of his beloved congregation and its members in the United States. The Fathers, he found, were so overwhelmed with external activities and interests that often they were obliged to curtail their spiritual exercises and sometimes to omit them altogether. When epidemics or sickness occurred or when a church had to be built or some other project required numerous workers, not enough Fathers were on hand for the task, and all the burdens in consequence fell on a few priests who had to focus their

entire attention on them. Under such circumstances the spiritual welfare of the confreres and ultimately that of those under their care was imperilled. He was fearful, too, lest the prevalent license of thought might infect his subjects. Moreover, he was none too pleased with the size of the debts, amounting to about \$100,000, contracted by the American confreres.

Particularly was he irritated with the amount of money that Father Alexander had invested in the unsuccessful German colony at St. Mary's, Pennsylvania, money that could have been better used in assisting the crying needs of some of the poorer houses.¹³

Chiefly in order to escape the anti-Catholic attacks on their faith, a number of German families in Baltimore and Philadelphia had organized a colony in Elk County, in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania, in 1842. The tract of 35,000 acres of land they purchased was named St. Mary's. Here they hoped to establish a purely German Catholic community. The idea was well-intentioned, but the land they bought was none too productive, and it was off the main highways, so that practical difficulties threatened to ruin the project during its first year. The interest of the Redemptorists in the colony began with a desire to help it spiritually. Sanderl was sent there to enable the people to fulfill their Easter duty in the spring of 1843. When Alexander inspected the colony personally, he favored it enthusiastically. He invested \$10,000 in the project. A church and school were built, and a Redemptorist community established. Alexander went out himself and did the surveying on land donated to the Redemptorists in return for maintaining the church and school. As one of Alexander's consultants, Neumann was non-committal on the wisdom of going into such a venture. The obstacles to success arose early, and only by generous outside aid, notably from King Ludwig of Bavaria, was the colony maintained. But Alexander kept on, hopefully looking forward to better days.¹⁴ De Held was not entirely convinced of the practical value of the place but was willing to continue with it.

However, to correct any tendencies to further expansion, the determined provincial resolved on some radical changes. He replaced the vicegerent in America, Father Alexander, whose apostolic fervor he admitted but whose daring, he thought, endangered the temporal welfare of the Congregation in the United States. Father Czackert was raised to the position of temporary vicegerent in August, 1845.¹⁵

Besides giving specific orders to the individual houses and changing a number of local superiors, De Held left a long list of regulations for the Fathers. Looking back after one hundred years, one can see nothing startling in most of these regulations, but some were very rigid. One of them blasted the hopes of those who sought a school for aspirants to the priesthood in the Redemptorist Congregation. It took twenty-odd years for the plan to revive. Another forbade the vicegerent to spend more than one hundred dollars without permission from the provincial in Belgium. A third put restrictions on making journeys, which must have seemed cramping to the superiors who wanted to make imperative begging tours to collect funds for their hard-pressed establishments. But the chief regulations laid down were two which stringently interdicted the acceptance of any foundations or the construction of new buildings or extensions of old ones without the written permission of the provincial, in this case, Father De Held himself. In the last paragraph of the regulations, De Held said :

Finally, I beg and beseech in the Lord the local superiors and especially the vicegerent of the provincial to have primarily at heart the salvation of the souls of their subjects and of the souls entrusted to them by God and by their higher superiors; and this, indeed, not so much through the outer splendor and the construction of beautiful churches and buildings, as by the sanctification of themselves by the exact observance of our holy rule; also by fostering piety and fear of God in the people and the confreres entrusted to them. This they will obtain by thorough instructions, the frequent reception of the holy sacraments and through the introduction and promotion of good schools.¹⁶

A number of De Held's statutes were, in the opinion of some of the Fathers, somewhat severe. They did not take into full consideration all the complexities of Catholic life in America. It was said that the regulations might have been even more severe had not the prudence and foresight of the socius of the visitation, Hafkenscheid, restrained the Belgian provincial from more exacting prescriptions. But one thing was clear, De Held did not want any more foundations and buildings in America until the foundations already taken could be strengthened with more men, and debts upon them reduced.¹⁷

So firmly convinced was De Held that the solution to the problem of bettering conditions in America lay in supplying more priests and more financial assistance that he readily went to the greatest lengths to achieve these twin aims. When he arrived in Vienna to

give a report on his visitation, he was shocked to hear that several American bishops were prevailing upon Passerat to take two new foundations in the United States—in Texas and later in Oregon. This could lawfully be done by Passerat and his consultors since the Belgian provincial was subordinate to the vicar-general. Nevertheless, De Held strenuously opposed any such move even though the missionaries had already been chosen for these two new stations. They were needed for the foundations previously accepted, he declared. The many small foundations were the root of the trouble in America which threatened to bring in dangerous irregularities. So strongly presented was his opinion on the matter that the acceptance of the new stations was postponed.¹⁸

Similarly persuasive were his views on the need of financial assistance. He went before the Council of the *Ludwig Missionsverein* in Munich and argued successfully for financial support of the Redemptorist houses in the United States. In effecting this, he opposed a plan that had been drawn up whereby a German seminary was to be erected at Altötting, Bavaria, under the direction of Redemptorists to supply German missionaries to the United States. De Held declared that the objectives of such a seminary could be better obtained by strengthening the Redemptorist house in Baltimore, where a seminary for German missionaries was beginning to operate.¹⁹ This latter move shocked the vicar-general, Passerat, and his consultors in Vienna, for in their opinion it was shortsighted.²⁰ The American bishops themselves do not appear to have favored the plan of a European seminary, for just five years previously they had gone on record as opposing a similar design; hence Father De Held's opposition could hardly be said to be without reason.²¹

In this effort to bring more men and more financial aid to the Redemptorist foundations in the United States and forbidding further foundations until the houses were strengthened, it was evident that De Held's viewpoint and that of the vicar-general's consultors in Vienna did not harmonize.²²

There was a danger then that, in trying to get out of their difficulties, the American Fathers, especially those who might favor new foundations, could win the support of the higher authority in Vienna over the head of De Held. An added complication was the fact that De Held started to work to have the American houses erected into a separate province with their own provincial on the scene to direct

affairs at first hand.²³ His proposal for a new arrangement was known in America. Under such circumstances no superior knew just how long he would be held down to De Held's regulations. After being appointed the superior of the Rochester house, Father Tschenhens, finding himself in heavy financial difficulties because of the debts that had accumulated on the Redemptorist church and rectory there, appealed directly to Father Passerat for a few thousand dollars to help him out of his predicament. Should that not be forthcoming, he asked for permission to go to Europe to get a loan of money at a lower rate of interest than the seven per cent under which he was then burdened. He never went to Europe. His letter, however, is interesting for what it reveals of the American scene at this juncture. Father Tschenhens continued:

Our condition and circumstances here at present concerning the authority and the prohibition to go to Europe are rather critical and dangerous. Reverend Father Czackert, our former superior, whose power is said to be only delegated and provisional, complained to me himself that under such circumstances things can not go well. Some superiors favor Belgium and Father De Held's administration, others Vienna. In this matter I am quite indifferent if only peace, unity, cohesion and love reign and if only we are not cast off and left to our own devices, for the wagon is now deep in the mud and it can scarcely be drawn out. It seems to me to be a hard trial for us to be under such uncertain authority that one can scarcely know where or who is Pope or Emperor. How I always dreaded to assume the office of a superior because the excessive assumption of debts seems to increase and bring anxiety! Then the choice fell on me to come to unhappy Rochester at the very worst time! My only consolation now is that, externally at least, I am certainly not guilty of bringing on any monetary debts or of party leanings.²⁴

De Held was true to his word that he would send more and more missionaries to America. After opposing the foundations in Oregon and Texas for a whole year, he finally won consent to dispatch priests to the United States to the houses already accepted. Moreover, he succeeded in having money sent from the *Ludwig Missionsverein* to America. Unfortunately, much of that money, something like \$20,000, by direction of the Munich authorities, went to pay the outstanding debts of the colony at St. Mary's. A total of about \$3,000 went to Monroe, Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Philadelphia. Obviously the help that was coming was not properly distributed. St. Mary's got the lion's share. The colony might bring great benefits in the future to all Redemptorists in the United States, but the immediate needs of

the other foundations were pressing. From this it can easily be seen that without any lack of religious respect some of the Fathers might look askance at the system of disbursing monetary aid employed by De Held.²⁵

Moreover, other matters that caused difficulties for the preceding temporary vicegerent, Father Czackert, remained unsolved. Bishops of three dioceses were soliciting him to take houses in New Orleans, Detroit, and Washington, D. C. The New Orleans offer had been made as early as 1843, when Czackert first went there on a tour, begging funds for the Pittsburgh house. Bishop Anthony Blanc was delighted with the work of this priest; and when Czackert returned north, the bishop had a church erected for the Germans which he promised to hold for the Redemptorists.²⁶ Father Alexander, the vicegerent of the American Fathers at the time, obtained permission from Vienna in 1844 to accept the foundation. In fact, Czackert was already prepared at that time to return to the Crescent City, but Archbishop Eccleston demurred since he did not want his diocese to lose a man of Czackert's ability. So as not to offend the Baltimore prelate who had been instrumental in furthering the work of the Redemptorists, the return journey was delayed.²⁷ But Blanc continued to clamor for the return of Czackert. While the latter could not go now that he was vicegerent, he promised to send someone when that could be effected.²⁸ With De Held's restrictions on the acceptance of new foundations this could not be done.

The Washington foundation was still another problem. The Redemptorist, Father Matthias Alig, who had been relieved of his position as superior of the Buffalo foundation, was sent to Washington in December, 1845, to take care of the neglected Germans there. Ordinarily, sufficient care could have been given to them by a week-end trip from the Redemptorist house in Baltimore, but Alig stayed permanently.²⁹ He moved ahead so speedily that the cornerstone of St. Mary's Church in the Capital of the nation was laid in April, 1846.³⁰ With a permanent parish actually established, misunderstanding arose about the position of Alig. Archbishop Eccleston evidently took his continued presence there as an acceptance of a foundation, while no such thing seems to have been understood by De Held.

Still another question was hanging in the air. Plagued with trustee conditions in St. Mary's parish in Detroit, Bishop Peter Lefevre

listened to the plea of the Germans in that city to have the Redemptorists take care of it. A Father having been sent there, later a contract was drawn up between the bishop and the Redemptorists. It is not known with what authorization Czackert made the contract, but certainly De Held knew nothing about the arrangements.³¹

At any rate, when De Held heard what had occurred in Washington and Detroit, he was convinced something had to be done to keep the American houses functioning as he wanted them. The evident irritation of the Belgian provincial was intensified by the rumor he heard that Father Louis Gillet, superior of the Monroe, Michigan, foundation had gone to New Orleans. The provincial asked, "Why have I not been informed of this matter? I hope that Father Czackert has not started something in that place again."³²

The future was to disclose that Gillet had not gone to New Orleans to "start something," but to preach a mission and to collect funds for the new church he was building at Monroe.³³ Nevertheless, the axe fell on the neck of Czackert. In a letter to Neumann, De Held wrote:

I have become convinced that Father Czackert harmonized so little with my views and showed himself so ready to take things into his own hands, as in the case of the missions at Washington and Detroit, that it is impossible for me to retain him any longer as my vicegerent. I have given Father Kannamueller letters for Your Reverence appointing you my temporary vicegerent, and I beg and beseech you to take this office out of love of the Congregation. Your Reverence can render the Congregation the greatest service since I know that according to your view no new station will be accepted until the old ones are sufficiently strengthened. I look upon the contrary system followed so far as the main reason for all the misery in America. I also authorize Your Reverence to reject the foundations in Washington and Detroit, the acceptance of which was not according to rule and consequently was invalid as far as the Congregation is concerned. Delay their acceptance until better times.³⁴

The actual document of appointment together with the faculties he could exercise were to be brought over by the Redemptorist, Father Charles Kannamueller, a missionary who had labored long in the Congregation in Europe. According to De Held's plan, this priest was to prepare the way for the coming of Father Martin Starck, a consultant of Vicar-General Passerat in Vienna. Starck was scheduled to conduct a visitation of the American houses in the spring of 1847. Meanwhile, Kannamueller was to be a consultant to Neumann.

One thing De Held insisted upon—no new foundations. He wrote in a letter carried by Kannamueller :

It seems that Father Czackert took the German parishes in Washington and Detroit for the Congregation without the proper authority. I do not believe that he could have had authorization from Father Vicar General. Therefore, I cannot look upon the two stations as foundations of the Congregation, and I ask that the occupation of them, even if *de facto* they have been taken over, be retracted and delayed until better times. We must first care for the support and strengthening of the foundations already in existence.³⁵

As for the New Orleans project, the provincial wrote that Father Vicar-General had expressly forbidden that any Redemptorist be sent there. Some passages in the letters were bound to impress Neumann with the tenuous nature of his provisional appointment. De Held wrote :

I wish that as soon as possible a separate province be erected in America. Because of the difference of views between me and those in Vienna, it is impossible for me to retain the direction of the American houses much longer.

I had to wage war for almost an entire year that men and money, both of which are so necessary for us, would not be sent to Texas. I barely succeeded in having these four men placed according to my arrangements, for they were all destined to go to Texas.

With a further promise to send 1,000 francs as soon as he was informed of Neumann's acceptance, the hard-working De Held turned the entire business over to poor Father Neumann with the words :

I greet Your Reverence in the Lord and I promise you many mementoes, that you may direct affairs for the glory of God!³⁶

Neumann's appointment by De Held arrived in Baltimore on February 7, 1847, but by the advice of the provincial it was not to be made known until the arrival of Kannamueller with the actual document of appointment on March 15 of the same year. In fact, it was feared that the sudden change of the vicegerent, the second in a year and a half, would have a bad effect on the American hierarchy, who might see in it a lack of stability. Hence, the news was kept a secret for a while among the older Fathers, but shortly afterward it became officially known to all.³⁷

Father Neumann, whom the chronicler of the Philadelphia house

described as "so pious and so docile,"³⁸ had no misgivings about the situation. His powers were not very wide. His exact practice of obedience would not allow him to overstep those powers. Redemptorist Fathers were already in two of the foundations, at Detroit and Washington, which he was told to give up. Bishop Blanc was pleading for a Redemptorist in New Orleans, and the vicegerent was now expressly forbidden to send anyone there. The divergent viewpoints between his provincial, De Held, and the consultors of Passerat in Vienna were reflected among the forty Fathers who were to serve under his control. Some favored the expansion before consolidation, considering that the needs of the times and the good of souls required it, while others believed, as De Held did, that the work for the salvation of souls could be best effected through consolidating the houses already in their care before accepting any more. Neumann was entirely in accord with the latter viewpoint.

Moreover, of the two score Fathers under him, sixteen had been ordained before they entered the Congregation;³⁹ and not having been schooled in the obedience proper to the institute from their early years, they were more easily inclined to interpret orders broadly. Likewise, the Fathers came from different provinces. Some had come from Austria; some, from Belgium. Confronting him ominously was a debt, large for those days, estimated at \$125,000.⁴⁰ It would take strenuous efforts to manage the province under such a financial strain. Construction of three more churches was needed. Some of the rectories were shabby affairs, and soon new ones would be required, not to speak of larger, more modern and better-equipped school buildings.⁴¹

On being appointed to the post, Father Neumann was but thirty-five years of age and a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer for only five years. There were missionaries under him who in Europe had been outstanding rectors of such well-known houses as Wittem, St. Trond, and Vienna. Their reputations in the Congregation exceeded his own. Many of the Fathers personally knew their European superiors while Neumann was acquainted with most of them only by correspondence; hence Neumann's subjects could write to those in authority on more intimate terms than he could. His appointment was provisional. In view of the anticipated change of status of the American houses, Neumann could easily foresee a turn of events that might make the labors of his office more

difficult. If the houses were not erected into a separate province, they might be placed under European superiors whose ideas would run counter to those held by De Held and by himself. It was not an easy situation. But to accept the office of superior was as much a matter of obedience as the acceptance of a lowly assignment. A refusal would leave the Fathers in the United States, for some time at least, without a vicegerent to govern them, a condition sure to cause general harm. With evident reluctance, then, Father Neumann accepted the post in March, 1847, and went forward as De Held asked, to direct affairs "for the glory of God."⁴²

CHAPTER VIII

Vicegerent and Vice-Provincial: 1847-1849

If one thing was certain when Neumann took over the reins of government for the American Redemptorists, it was the agreement of the vicegerent with the general objectives of his Belgian provincial, De Held. Their outlook was identical regarding the necessity of keeping up the prescribed exercises of the Redemptorist rule as far as circumstances would permit and the refusal of new foundations until more missionaries and more money were forthcoming. Thanking the new vicegerent for accepting the post out of love for the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, De Held wrote:

As far as concerns the observance of the rule as the basis for all arrangements, I agree perfectly with Your Reverence and, as you know, I have always maintained this view and voiced it.¹

Father Neumann's own convictions on the matter of accepting foundations where only one or two Fathers could be present were best expressed in a letter he wrote two and a half years later to his former subject, the saintly Seelos:

Your Reverence seems to think that it would be easy to keep the rule where even two Fathers are present; for my part I am convinced that it does not work out, since history shows that the spirit of observance is soon lost because the meditations, the conferences, etc. must be omitted too often. Then little by little a spirit of self-sufficiency, independence and estrangement from our Holy Congregation takes possession of even the most zealous. This spirit must be hard to put aside because up to now it has led most of those imbued with it out of the Congregation.²

This viewpoint of the new vicegerent was not the ostrich-like act of hiding one's head in the ground and forgetting everything else. It was based on solid arguments firmly held by more than one holy and successful executive of religious missionaries. Saint Ignatius Loyola once stated that to allow religious to go into activities that would endanger religious observance was to cut down the tree to get at the fruit.³ St. Alphonsus Liguori himself, the founder of the Redemptorists, had gone on record as opposing small foundations for his Fathers for the same reasons given by Father Neumann—because they would endanger religious observance.⁴

The decision not to accept new foundations until more men and more money arrived was well enough in theory, but not easy in practice. How was Neumann to withdraw his subjects from Washington and Detroit? Bishop Blanc of New Orleans was beseeching the Redemptorists to keep their pledge to care for the forsaken Germans in his diocese. As was the case in many dioceses of that day, no clear-cut agreement had been made between the bishop and the Redemptorists on what was specifically meant by care of the German Catholics. Neumann was puzzled on how far his predecessors had committed the Redemptorists by canonical contracts to work in these dioceses, especially since some of the Fathers declared that permission had been obtained from Europe to accept the New Orleans and Washington foundations. To clarify the matter, he asked for direction from De Held. The latter's response was emphatic:

I did not accept the Mission in New Orleans by any means, just as little as the one in Washington and just as little as I know anything about the Mission in Detroit. During my stay in America and on every occasion, I spoke against the acceptance of new missions as long as the old ones, unfortunately too numerous already, are not on a solid basis. Father Bernard is the oral witness of this, my view, and written proof of it you will find in the regulations I left for Father Czackert in America.

In another part of the same letter, after speaking of regular observance, the provincial declared:

Where do most of the difficulties come from? From the acceptance of so many stations without the necessary means for them. And now Father Czackert has increased and aggravated this difficulty. Fortunately, Your Reverence is not guilty of keeping stations which, according to your own convictions, are too numerous.

With these words and with the knowledge that Passerat was opposed to sending men to New Orleans, the provincial maintained that, if such a permission had already been given, it was now cancelled and would have to be obtained anew.⁵

To make matters worse, Bishop John Hughes of New York was repeatedly requesting the establishment of a second Redemptorist house in the lower part of New York City to take care of the numerous Germans settling there.⁶ Father Gabriel Rumpler, the superior of the New York house of the Most Holy Redeemer, was in accord. In fact, three days after Neumann took command, this local superior intimated that De Held had given permission to begin operations in

the lower part of the city, provided the bishop and the vicegerent "allowed, or better, approved."⁷ A month later, Rumpler hurriedly asked the vicegerent for permission to purchase a plot of land for the second church in New York, saying: "I have all the necessary powers from Father Provincial, with the stipulation that I seek beforehand the agreement of the Bishop and Your Reverence." As the opportunity might slip by and a similar chance would be a long time coming, the letter asked for a quick answer. A startling part of the letter was the postscript, which read:

Should you not write me, I must take it on myself to decide, and I will answer for it later, which is very unpleasant.⁸

There was no saying how unpleasant a new debt of \$12,000, the estimated cost of the lot and a proposed church, would be to Neumann. The embarrassed vicegerent was trying to cut down expenses in view of the stringent regulations of De Held and the greatly pressing financial difficulties. But Rumpler went ahead. When Neumann asked proof of the permission allegedly received from De Held, the request seems to have occasioned some surprise. To safeguard himself, Neumann reported the matter to De Held. It is apparent that Neumann objected to anything being done over his own head without his knowledge and agreement, for the Belgian provincial replied:

Your Reverence is perfectly right if you desire that when a subject in America requests something from Europe, nothing be undertaken without the knowledge and agreement of the superiors in America. Certainly I can assure you that I do not remember having acted otherwise. I have been told that Father Rumpler, without the approval of the superior in America, has begun to build a second church in New York. Your Reverence has full right to require of Father Rumpler the permission I gave, and it will be seen that I made my permission depend on the approval of the constituted authority in America. At least, I believe that is true. If I have not placed this reservation, which I do not think is true, then I take the responsibility on myself and admit that I have failed through haste and forgetfulness. But as I have said, I am practically sure of the opposite.⁹

On the strength of the letter Neumann could do little to check the New York superior, and St. Alphonsus' Church on West Broadway was built.

Six months after De Held's positive refusal of the Washington foundation, Alig was still in Washington, and Archbishop Eccleston

was still under the impression that it had been duly accepted by the Redemptorist Fathers. De Held's views were stated in unmistakable terms in his letter to Neumann:

I do not believe that the Congregation has the obligation to take the mission in Washington. Father Czackert had no right to accept it and deserves the strongest reproof for his arbitrary and unauthorized action. However, the archbishop was sufficiently informed about the matter through me, for I wrote to Father General as soon as I could and asked him to inform the archbishop, who might be appeased if a priest were sent from Baltimore every week. I cannot agree to the definite acceptance of a station where one priest would have to remain for a long time.¹⁰

The archbishop continued to object to any attempt to withdraw Alig. The priest remained in Washington after refusing to obey Neumann's summons to return.¹¹

At this time requests came for other foundations. Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick desired another German Catholic church in Philadelphia.¹² The newly appointed Bishop John Stephen Bazin of the Vincennes diocese wanted the Redemptorists to accept two foundations in Indiana,¹³ and Bishop Henni was inviting them to Milwaukee.¹⁴ Although Neumann was provisionally appointed vicegerent and strongly convinced that no new foundations should be accepted, the bishops of the country were asking him to take eight new foundations. Between the orders of De Held, which were identical with his own convictions on the one side, and the pleas of the bishops on the other, he was in no enviable position. But Father Martin Starck was already on his way for the visitation, and with the powers of a visitor he would be able to settle matters.

Already some personnel difficulties were arising. There was trouble at Monroe, where two fundamentally very good Redemptorists, Father Simon Sänderl and Father Louis Gillet, one a German and the other a Belgian, both impulsive and both somewhat short of temper, brought sorrow to the heart of Neumann. Looking back after a century and reflecting on the hardships they endured, one can make great allowances for their conduct. The strain of the circumstances in which they lived, often alone and always in desperate poverty, occasioned their trials. The subsequent careers of these Fathers gave splendid testimony of their high character.

As a pioneer Redemptorist in the United States, Sänderl had worked heroically among the Indians in Wisconsin.¹⁵ Afterwards in

1844, when stationed in Baltimore, he incurred the displeasure of Archbishop Eccleston under peculiar circumstances. Sänderl attended the execution of a notorious criminal who, repenting of the gruesome murder of his wife, had asked to be baptized a Catholic before he forfeited his life for his crime. Sentiment was running high in the minds of Baltimoreans against the condemned man. Sänderl had the happiness of preparing the murderer for eternity before he paid the supreme penalty on the gallows. After the execution, when Sänderl made some perfectly true, but currently imprudent, remarks on the murderer's chances of eternal salvation, a newspaper controversy arose. Sänderl, through no wilful fault of his own, fell into the disfavor of the archbishop.

Father Sänderl's subsequent transfer to Monroe brought further troubles. He dallied on the way, much to the annoyance of Czackert, then vicegerent. Ordered to be in Monroe on a certain date or suffer dismissal from the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, Sänderl started out, fell off a horse on his journey, broke his leg, and had to recuperate at a farm house for six weeks. In the meantime, when informed that Sänderl had not arrived at Monroe at the appointed day, Czackert sent the dismissal paper to Gillet, the superior at Monroe. When Sänderl arrived, he gave an explanation of his absence. In view of the explanation, Gillet did not inform him of the written expulsion, and Sänderl remained unaware of its existence.

Thereupon, Sänderl began to work well in Monroe until one day his explosive temperament gave way to verbal conflict with his superior. In the heat of the argument Gillet informed Sänderl that the latter should have more gratitude since it was through the superior's kindness that the dismissal paper had never been given to him. The news of the dismissal paper sent Father Sänderl into a deep gloom. He was not certain whether he was still a Redemptorist. Instead of finding out his status, he lost heart, left Monroe, went to Canada and acquired a sum of money for a proposed journey to the Holy Land.¹⁶ To the earnest call of Neumann to rejoin his confreres, he turned a deaf ear. It was a distressing case for the vicegerent, whose powers of jurisdiction allowed him no decisive action. Sänderl was subsequently released from his vows by the visitor, Starck, in September of that year. Later he joined the Trappists and, after a long life of piety, died a holy death at Gethsemane, Kentucky, in 1879.¹⁷

The superior of the Monroe house, Gillet himself, had to cope with a series of circumstances that tried his soul.¹⁸ Though he was an energetic man and a gifted French preacher, Bishop Lefevre of Detroit said at the time, "He is a better missionary than superior."¹⁹ To Gillet belongs the distinction of founding at Monroe, in 1845, the community then known as the Sisters of Divine Providence, whose name was later changed to the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Since the foundation at Monroe needed money for expansion in early 1847, Gillet, with a view to obtaining it, wandered down to New Orleans to give a mission and procure whatever he could collect.

The trouble was that he thus contravened the order of De Held about travelling without the provincial's permission. This unauthorized trip, as well as a number of other incidents, had embroiled him in difficulties.²⁰ Months prior to this, the Belgian provincial had told Neumann that Gillet could not long remain as superior in Monroe.²¹ Neumann now recalled him after his three years as superior had ended. It was a sad blow to the capable preacher and something of a surprise to the parishioners, with whom Gillet was popular. What made it worse was the fact that he had just begun to get a girls' academy functioning, and he was planning a new church. The finances of the foundation were so low at the time that his successor, Father Giles Smulders, had to go around collecting funds to pay the expenses of his recall, and hence it took Gillet some time before he started east.²²

Things might have gone on evenly had not Father Kannamueller, who had just arrived from Europe, taken the wrong approach and spoken to Gillet in such a manner as to arouse his Gallic temper. In a moment of anger, the disheartened Frenchman wrote to the Belgian provincial asking for a dispensation from his vows. Too experienced a superior to take such a sudden outburst as a considered judgment, De Held refused.²³ But the soul of Gillet was shaken, even more so when, after arriving in New York, he found little play for his French eloquence in a German parish.²⁴ Neumann prudently allowed the matter to ride along. To the sorrow of the vicegerent, Gillet continued to ask for his dispensation while Neumann continued to delay since he had no powers himself to grant such a dispensation. But especially he hoped that the gifted but dispirited French preacher would come to a better frame of mind. Subsequently, Gillet was dispensed from his vows under Neumann's successor.²⁵ After wan-

dering for several years in the eastern dioceses of the country and journeying to South America, Gillet joined the Celestine branch of the Cistercian Order in France, in which he lived a long, pious life, crowned with a holy death in 1892.²⁶

Apart from these changes in personnel which had been forced on him, Neumann in those first days held fast to the status quo. He did give permission to purchase a lot in Pittsburgh, and he did try to help his fellow Redemptorists in their financial difficulties.²⁷ The most significant contribution he made to the houses during those early months of his regime was his handling of the situation which arose with the arrival of the School Sisters of Notre Dame from Munich in the summer of 1847. The Sisters' journey to America had been financed by the *Ludwig Missionsverein* to aid the German colonists in St. Mary's, Pennsylvania. On arriving at New York, the superior, Mother Theresa, was exceedingly perturbed by warnings that the post they were seeking would never do for the motherhouse of the School Sisters in America.

Travelling to Baltimore to seek the opinion of Neumann, Mother Theresa was again informed that, despite her great expectations, St. Mary's would never meet the requirements for a motherhouse, not only because it was too far out of the way, but also because the unfavorable financial condition of the whole colony was too insecure to justify a foundation. It was sad news to the Sisters, who were eager to help their abandoned fellow countrymen. Neumann, nevertheless, encouraged the disappointed Mother Theresa, pointing out that the Redemptorist Fathers had struggled several years in America before obtaining a firm footing. With many misgivings she and her brave nuns started for St. Mary's. Their journey to the colony from Baltimore by way of Harrisburg was a saga of patience and a battle against discouragement. One of Mother Theresa's nuns died at Harrisburg so suddenly that a priest could not be summoned in time to give her the last sacraments. Taking the long, wooded road to St. Mary's, the Sisters knew what was before them when they first glimpsed the shabby buildings of the much-publicized colony in the hills of northwestern Pennsylvania. The few makeshift houses were a sad enough greeting, but the coming of the Sisters to the colony, after a journey of 4,000 miles, appeared to be a big mistake.

The School Sisters entered the colony without any specific invitation from Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh, to whose diocese it

belonged. They happened to arrive at the little settlement at a time when Starck was conducting a visitation of the Redemptorist house there. Making arrangements for Sisters to come into a diocese without the bishop's permission was an imprudent, uncanonical move, even in those days when there was a crying need for school Sisters, and at a time when the requirements of canon law were not too clear in some minds. Starck prudently suggested that nothing should be settled without first seeing the bishop, although the Fathers strove as much as possible during the interval to make the tired nuns feel at home. Crestfallen, Mother Theresa left a small community under the command of the valiant twenty-three-year-old Sister Caroline to teach at the settlement's school and proceeded to Pittsburgh to meet the ruler of the diocese. O'Connor was piqued at the arrival of the Sisters without his invitation. Moreover, he wanted to see a copy of their rules, which they failed to have with them. Although he permitted their presence in the colony, he would not allow the Sisters to come to Pittsburgh itself until an appropriate time arrived for the union of the German and Irish Catholics.

Still looking for a suitable place to establish a motherhouse of her order, Mother Theresa wended her way back to Baltimore. With keen foresight, Neumann saw his chance to get the School Sisters for his parish schools. His offer to sell them a building, heretofore used as a Redemptorist novitiate in St. James' parish, proved to be a great blessing for the Fathers in America. Not only did the vicegerent alleviate the financial difficulties of his hard-pressed houses by the money received from the sale of the building; but, what was more important, he gave the Sisters a firm footing in America, as well as definitely linking them with the Redemptorist foundations in this country. Before his term of office was out, Neumann was to associate the School Sisters even more intimately with the Redemptorist parishes.²⁸

By September, 1847, Starck had completed visitation of the Redemptorist houses. While he definitely confirmed the appointment of Neumann, unfortunately it continued to be a temporary appointment. He did not widen the vicegerent's powers, choosing only to repeat the admonitions given by De Held two years before.²⁹ However, he changed four superiors—those in Buffalo, Rochester, St. Mary's and Monroe. The visitor moreover agreed that the Washington foundation should not be taken, but contrary to the opinion

held by the provincial, De Held, New Orleans was accepted.³⁰ Whereupon Czackert joyfully went down to the Queen City of the Gulf, informing Bishop Blanc that he had no regrets in leaving Baltimore.³¹ The Detroit house was accepted also.³² By this time a new foundation at Westminster, Maryland, was offered. Though inclined to accept it, the visitor left the decision to Neumann. It never became a permanent foundation.³³ In order to have one strong community, all the Fathers were placed in the one rectory at St. Alphonsus' Church, Baltimore, with St. James' attached as an outmission.

From these events it will be seen that the greatest difficulty under which Neumann labored was not removed. His appointment was only provisional until it was approved by the vicar-general, Passerat; and, what was worse, it did not carry with it any increased powers of administration. Furthermore, the acceptance of two new stations by Starck and his willingness to take another was contrary to the policy which had been laid down by the provincial, De Held.

On his departure from America, Starck appointed as Neumann's consultors, Father Alexander, the former viceregent in America, and the young Father Ignatius Stelzig, who had just accompanied Starck to America.³⁴ Both of these were from the Austrian province, which supported a tendency to expansion. Although a number of the houses accepted by Alexander in the early 1840's were to be the backbone of the province in future years, the hasty acceptance of several of them had put the finances of the American Redemptorists on so shaky a basis that some disapproved.³⁵ Alexander, an Hungarian by birth, was forty years of age at the time. He had been twenty years in the Congregation, during which he had taught theology at the House of Studies in Wittem and served as rector of an important Redemptorist house in Vienna. A man of great energy but somewhat rigid character, he was the exact opposite of Neumann in temperament and in his viewpoint about accepting foundations.³⁶

Stelzig was a young man twenty-four years of age, having been ordained only a little over a year. His appointment as consultor seems to have awakened some suspicion that he had sought the appointment, but Starck hotly denied it. In spite of Stelzig's youth and lack of experience on the American missions, the visitor had recommended him in high terms. Starck wrote of him:

Although young, he has great understanding, has good judgment; noth-

ing escapes him and he takes great interest in all that concerns the Congregation. He can be of great service to you.³⁶

To tell the truth, Stelzig did possess great literary talents; he was more enthusiastic for this type of apostolate than his brethren in America. Though he was only beginning to write at that time, he completed fourteen books before his death.³⁷ In view of his lack of experience, however, his confidence in his own judgment and his jaunty manner presaged disagreements with others. But one thing was certain, Starck, consultor of the vicar-general in Vienna, placed great confidence in the young man's ability, and the correspondence between these two was to give unmistakable evidence that the young consultor of Neumann used his privilege to air his views in his letters to Starck.

The news of Neumann's confirmation by the visitor was cheering to the Redemptorists in America, who hoped that the houses would be more firmly established and their affairs run more smoothly. To the Fathers in Philadelphia, his appointment was very consoling.³⁸ A few months later Father George Beranek, writing in the annals of the Philadelphia house, declared:

One can scarcely express how much Father Neumann edifies us through his goodness, firmness and wisdom . . . as well as through his modesty, obedience and his added zeal for the rule, especially for poverty which he himself practices in a heroic manner, for he wears the same habit, patched and faded, for years.³⁹

Father Anthony Urbanczik, the new superior of the Rochester house, wrote to Father Neumann quite frankly:

It gives me great joy to know that Your Reverence has been chosen in the providence of God as vicegerent of Reverend Father Provincial in America. I have not the slightest doubt that under the general control of Your Reverence, the Congregation in America will be a powerful force for furthering the honor of God and the salvation of Catholics. As often as I think of you, I seem to perceive a voice from above whispering lovingly and sweetly in my ear, 'This is a man according to the heart of God!'⁴⁰

Informing Father Martin Hasslinger of Neumann's appointment, De Held called Neumann: "The wisest, the greatest and the best among all Redemptorists in America." Hasslinger told his new superior about it, saying, "What praise! Don't become proud!"⁴¹ Even in far-off Europe, the court chaplain, Father Ferdinand Mueller, the

priest who was so influential in the distribution of the funds of the *Ludwig Missionsverein* in Bavaria, was delighted. The difference of viewpoints among American Redemptorists, as he saw things, would soon vanish with Neumann as the focal point of reconciliation.⁴²

Neumann had a twofold mission before him. He was general superior in America of ten foundations and likewise immediate superior of St. Alphonsus' in Baltimore. One can best ascertain the pattern of his government by observing him first as superior of St. Alphonsus' parish and then as vicegerent of all the Redemptorist houses in the United States.

The observance of the rule was the cornerstone of Neumann's plans for his house, and he himself set the example.⁴³ Very punctual in all things, he would be the first down to the chapel in the morning.⁴⁴ He said Mass so devoutly that the people whispered that he was a holy man.⁴⁵ He was always unassuming, and as one Baltimore woman said, "No one could tell from his manner of acting that he was a superior."⁴⁶ He did not scold and was never angry; his calm was so proverbial that observers said he seemed constantly recollected.⁴⁷ For himself he took the smallest room in the house, one nearest the entrance.⁴⁸ Visitors coming through Baltimore often enjoyed his hospitality, among them Father Michael Wisbauer, to whom he showed the Capitol and the Washington Monument.⁴⁹ Though particularly solicitous for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his subjects, he never spared himself. The people noted that he wore poor clothes.⁵⁰

In directing the house, he had all things well-ordered; meditations, conferences on ascetical and moral subjects, as well as on rubrics, were conducted at appointed times. Divine office was held regularly in choir at first, even when only one Father was present to recite it with him.⁵¹ On this last point he was cautioned by Passerat not to oblige one or the other who remained at home to office in choir.⁵² The remark of Stelzig, that the rule was followed very strictly and that the order of the house was like that of the novitiate, was one of his opening attacks on the regime of his superior. While the criticism was justified in regard to reciting the office in common when only one Father was present, other things were criticized without justification or good sense.⁵³

Father John Neumann had written out for himself the advice of St. Vincent de Paul to superiors:

Since the superior takes the place of God, he should after the example of the Redeemer strive to bring to God the souls entrusted to his care. He is not to appear as a superior and master, for nothing is more false than to allege that in order to govern well and to maintain authority, those in authority should make it felt that they are superiors, since Jesus Christ taught the contrary by word and example. The superior ought to be meek, bearing with the weaknesses of his subject, viewing them as worthy of his compassion rather than of corporal punishment. . . .

Superiors experience great difficulty in ruling when they wish that no one should contradict them and wish everything be done according to their own advice, for this is a desire akin to being adored.

On the other hand, St. Vincent asserted:

Nothing is more injurious to a community than to be governed by superiors who are too weak and who are anxious to please others and make themselves beloved.⁵⁴

Solid teaching this, and Father John Neumann's way of life as superior translated it into action.

On similarly sound lines was his handling of the parish. The old and successful formula for a thriving parish was soon put into play. Well-ordered church services with due emphasis on preaching and confessional work, a strong parochial school, and active parish societies were formed. Attesting the success of this method was the statement of the editor of the *United States Catholic Magazine* in October, 1847, when Neumann was superior:

We regard the establishment of the disciples of St. Alphonsus Liguori in the diocese of Maryland as a most auspicious event for its spiritual interests. The piety, zeal and success of this excellent order has won the admiration and applause of all good men. Under its fostering care several beautiful churches have already sprung up throughout the diocese, whose members have been organized into sodalities and other pious and humane organizations. Nothing is more remarkable among the several congregations than the religious fervor they each manifest and the edification they give to their brethren. Every Catholic takes delight while descanting on the beauties of the Church of St. Alphonsus in Baltimore and to reckon as its greatest asset the decorum of its members during divine service.⁵⁵

These societies in Baltimore were much the same as those which had been successfully organized in Pittsburgh: the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, the Rosary Society, the Confraternity of a Good Death, and the St. Aloysius' Society—purely religious groups.

To assure future progress, more important than anything else was the parochial school. A four-story building was built to serve for the children of St. Alphonsus'. With this school and the Sisters of Notre Dame teaching in it, a new fervor was evident in the parish life. It was the second school the Sisters had in Baltimore. The other was at St. James' Church, where Neumann first introduced these teachers to Baltimore. Soon the Sisters of Notre Dame were to be placed in charge of a third school under Redemptorist control, the one at Fell's Point, where the parish of St. Michael's at Wolfe and Lombard Streets was soon to emerge.⁵⁶

The new superior of the Redemptorists in Baltimore was not picayune in dealing with others about money matters. One parishioner declared that he never spoke of them. Another, a young lady who had been teaching in the school, found herself richer by two years' back pay. Although she did not ask for it, he insisted that she take it as her due.⁵⁷ Similarly, he was generous with the Sisters of Notre Dame when he offered them the Redemptorist property at St. James' Church. It was sold to them for what it had cost the Redemptorists although at the time its market value had doubled. He was like that. Stelzig criticized this transaction in a letter to Starck, saying that in being so generous the vicegerent was not looking to the financial interests of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. The idea never percolated into the mind of the young consultor that it was all-important to have the Sisters in Baltimore for the three schools.⁵⁸

The interest of the pastor of St. Alphonsus' in the school was more than that of an executive. He often went over and instructed the youngsters himself, particularly when one of the Sisters was absent because of illness. Here his great love of children and eminent skill as a catechist had full sway. His gentleness, meekness, and perseverance in communicating religious truths to the tots always made them attentive. Mother Caroline of the School Sisters was emphatic on this point. She later gave a pen-picture of Neumann in those days:

His glance seemed to have something in it of the all-seeing attribute of God, so did it penetrate souls. The children often said to me, 'Sister, Father Neumann looked right into my heart.'

I had the habit of speaking in a high voice and losing my patience while teaching; but after Father Neumann surprised me in this fault once or twice, I learned to correct it. He used to enter the schoolroom so modestly and so quietly that I did not notice him until he greeted me

with the words, 'Sister, I thought I heard you screaming just now,' and then he would fix his large expressive eyes on me so earnestly that there was no mistaking the meaning.⁵⁹

On more than one occasion Neumann hurried over to the school to rescue some unfortunate youngster from dismissal. The father of one particularly stubborn lad was at his wit's end trying to get his son to obey the teachers and to behave. Finally, he came to Father Neumann. Despite the fact that the teachers were bent on dismissing the youngster, the pastor took an hour off each day for a time and taught the boy himself. The trust and confidence of the lad in his new-found preceptor was such that the boy seemed to change his character and progressed so well that his astonished father did not know what to make of it.⁶⁰ The Notre Dame Sisters well remembered the keen interest of this rector in them and their pupils.

Another community of nuns, too, never forgot this superior of the Redemptorists in Baltimore, the colored Oblate Sisters of Providence. These Sisters had been founded for the care of colored children in 1828, when Archbishop James Whitfield ruled the Baltimore archdiocese. In those years the earnest Sulpician, Father Jacques Joubert, had been their guiding star; but, when he died in 1843, they were left without a director. The Redemptorists, Alexander and Czackert, aided them in 1845; two years later when the new archbishop, Eccleston, found no one to care for them, he was convinced that the founding of a colored community was a noble experiment that had failed. In his opinion, the best thing the few remaining Sisters could do was to disband, go back to their homes, and obtain their living by working as servants, for whom there was a great need in Baltimore.

At this point Father Neumann came to their rescue. He sent one of his most zealous young priests, Father Thaddeus Anwander, to the archbishop to intervene in their behalf. Meanwhile, Neumann prayed for the success of the petition. Even though he was rather edified by the young cleric's efforts to dissuade him from disbanding the community, the archbishop was fairly set in his resolution. "*Cui bono?*" said Eccleston. What good would it do to delay? Going down on his knees, Anwander pleaded with the prelate to allow him a chance to rescue the community from apparent dissolution. With little prospect for success, the archbishop granted permission, gave Anwander his blessing, and sent him on his way. The Oblates were saved. Neumann encouraged them, supplying a priest to say Mass

in their convent twice a week and to give Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament on Sundays. Besides becoming their extraordinary confessor, he took a lively interest in every enterprise they started and aided them through Anwander as his means allowed. Amid his many activities, he found time to give them inspiring instructions on religious life. His greatest help was in choosing the right man for the task. If today these Sisters can boast of many convents and schools in the United States and in other lands, no little thanks is due to the interest of the superior on Saratoga Street who still believed in them when others doubted.⁶¹

The task of handling the Redemptorists in Baltimore went along smoothly enough. St. Alphonsus' was the main house, with the parish at St. James' and the emerging St. Michael's at Fells Point, the outmissions. Fathers Anwander and Helmprecht cared for the latter two, walking across the city daily to their posts and returning at nightfall, stiff exercise in these days when trolley cars were unknown. The Germans of Baltimore were delighted with the progress of their parishes.⁶² Directing them was a full-time job for any superior, but they were the least of Neumann's worries. What plagued him more was the direction of the other Redemptorist houses.

There were nine of these other foundations, most of them in large urban centers. From these central stations the Fathers, spurred by devotion for abandoned German Catholics, scattered over ever-widening areas to seventy mission stations.⁶³ Neumann, as we have seen, considered it of paramount importance to harmonize zeal for saving souls with zeal for religious observance. In line with his ideas of keeping these establishments on an even keel, the vicegerent refused to accept almost every new foundation proffered him at this time. Refused were Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick's urgent offer of a second foundation in the City of Philadelphia and Bishop Bazin's pleas for a new house in the Diocese of Vincennes. Oregon and Texas were forgotten. Even the tempting suggestion to accept Westminster, Maryland, considered a good prospect by Starck on his visitation tour, was never taken up, for both missionaries and money were wanting. The refusals were not indicative of any lack of good will. On the contrary, they were reluctantly made to insure the full effectiveness of the workers already in the field and to ward off the paralyzing effect of a financial debacle. Neumann knew that money does not save souls, but without it churches and rectories

could not be built; one could not send missionaries into the field and keep them there. He realized that, in some form or other, means of support for priests and for maintaining foundations was a *sine qua non* of missionary activity.

Even though the Archbishop of Baltimore wanted the vicegerent to accept Washington, where Alig was still residing and where he already had a church, the request was refused. Every letter of recall, Alig ignored. Lacking power to expel him from the Congregation, the vicegerent reported the matter once more to Europe, telling his higher superiors that since the question was beyond his jurisdiction, the responsibility would rest with them. Starck answered, "How can one be responsible for a religious who refuses to obey?"⁶⁴ It was a typical case of the conflict of the *salus animarum* with religious observance. As Father Alig saw it, his presence was needed in Washington, and the archbishop agreed to it. As Father Neumann saw it, and, what was more important, as his European superiors saw it, the example of a man leaving his community and disobeying his superior would in the long run prove detrimental to the whole work of the Redemptorists. Neumann made no hasty move. When his successor arrived with sufficient powers to solve the case, Alig was dispensed from his vows and permitted to continue his work for the Germans in Washington as a secular priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.⁶⁵

The task of consolidating the foundations went on apace. Because of the tendency to expand on borrowed money, keeping down the debt of the American Redemptorists demanded a strong restraining hand. When proposals were made to build a large new church in St. Mary's, Pennsylvania, the vicegerent, already conscious of the fact that the grandiose plans of the founders were doomed to failure, refused.⁶⁶ Not so successful was the vicegerent in halting the plans of the new superior of Buffalo, Father Kannamueller, who, shortly after his arrival there, bought a plot of ground for a church and then proceeded to plan the church building without the permission of Neumann.⁶⁷ The action of the Buffalo superior was annoying. While the German people of Buffalo earnestly desired to see the new St. Mary's church go up, neither they nor Kannamueller had the money for it. Kannamueller believed that the income from the rapidly growing parish would be sufficient to retire any debts incurred.⁶⁸ His higher superiors were of a different opinion.⁶⁹ Here

was a superior saddling a new debt on the staggering load being borne. Neumann wanted to know by what authority the building program had been begun. He would have stopped the work, but the Buffalo superior had committed himself too far to make a cessation of operations practical.⁷⁰ Painful as was this situation and that in Washington, Neumann's powers as vicegerent would not allow him to take decisive action immediately.

The Redemptorists in the United States were shouldering a total debt of \$150,000, perhaps \$200,000; only by curtailing expenditures could they escape greater financial difficulties. The debt in itself was no greater than many other missionary debts at that time, but the prospects of clearing it from the income available in parishes composed of poor immigrants, most of them struggling against economic odds to establish their homes in the new world, were not bright. Indicative of the effort to lessen the financial burden was the exact accounting of the income and expenditures of some of the foundations carefully drawn up during Neumann's term of office.⁷¹ In general, the parishes held running expenses within their income with the exception of Rochester and Philadelphia, both of which failed to meet the interest on their debts that first year.⁷² The plight of the Rochester parish, time and again threatened with foreclosure, necessitated a hurried visit by Father Neumann. The danger was narrowly averted.⁷³ Nevertheless, after the first fearsome year, Neumann could report that the threat of the most burdensome financial difficulties had been dispelled—no small executive triumph.⁷⁴

On the positive side, likewise, the vicegerent was active. To insure regular observance, he had the rules of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer printed for the first time in the United States.⁷⁵ He likewise copied the manual for novices in his own handwriting.⁷⁶ Selecting his one-time subject, the pious religious, Father Seelos, for novice master, Neumann moved the novitiate to Pittsburgh, where the exact religious observance he had himself instituted was still flourishing.⁷⁷

New vocations came. The vicegerent accepted Father Robert Kleineidam and the seminarian, Peter Steinbacher, into the Congregation,⁷⁸ the latter despite the warning that his hearing might prove deficient.⁷⁹ Both went to the novitiate, and both proved to be good religious. The next novices he received were John Duffy and Peter McGrane.⁸⁰ With two clerical students, Isaac Hecker and Clarence

Walworth, whom De Held had taken abroad to study at the Redemptorist house of studies in Wittem, Holland,⁸¹ and the promise of more priests from abroad, the vicegerent could hope to supply the need for more missionaries. With these he could in turn listen more attentively to the pleading calls of the bishops to accept new foundations.

A year after his appointment as general superior, Neumann could look over his mission field and see fine accomplishments. The school erected in Baltimore was not the lone construction venture. The new Church of St. Alphonsus in lower New York was dedicated in November, 1847, the basement of it being used for a school for forty children. In the same city the little frame church that was called the Most Holy Redeemer, which the future cardinal, John McCloskey, then coadjutor of New York, described as resembling a ropewalk rather than a church, was regularly thronged. The bishop wrote, "Once you entered you found yourself in a church where all was piety, regularity, decorum and devotion. The place excited in even the most careless, higher and better feelings."⁸²

In spite of the apprehension about the costs of the New York houses, Rumpler kept his head above water financially, as he had promised. He even looked forward to the day he could build a suitable Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. In addition to the parochial work and the rounds of the mission stations, the New York Fathers began to seek out the neglected Catholics in the alms houses and asylums on Ward's, Blackwell's and Randall's Islands in the East River.⁸³

St. Joseph's Church in Rochester was having a hard pull. The pastor there, Father Anthony Urbanzik, asked Neumann so often for monetary aid that Stelzig remarked that the good superior at Rochester must think that money sprouted in a garden in Baltimore.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, even at Rochester, improvements were made on the interior of the newly constructed church.

In Buffalo, Neumann's subjects had, in the words of Bishop Timon, "a church that surely did not deserve the name of a church but which was ever densely crowded and in which the zealous Fathers did much good." No wonder Kannamueller wanted a new church! In the long, narrow, low, brick, cottage-like structure, crowded to suffocation, the bishop confirmed 173 persons in December, 1847. And the solid doctrine taught those Buffalo German Catholics was ridding them of the Josephistic tendencies that had once infected them over-

seas in their mother country. The ramshackle rectory and the apology for a school, coming years were to change.⁸⁵

Pittsburgh was flourishing. A decent rectory, begun by Neumann, was completed. The work was difficult for the superior, Father Joseph Mueller, but, as he confessed, not nearly so trying as when Neumann himself had been superior there.⁸⁶

In Philadelphia, St. Peter's Church, a large structure seating 1,200 people, had just been consecrated, the first Redemptorist church to achieve this distinction in the United States.⁸⁷ Together with the school there, it was a great center for German Catholics, and the best recommendation of its effectiveness was the plea of Bishop Kenrick that the Redemptorists take over the Holy Trinity parish. As usual, both men and money were lacking.⁸⁸

In Monroe, Gillet's successor, Giles Smulders, pressed on from where the former left off, aided by a pious and enterprising fellow Redemptorist, Father Francis Poilvache, who was literally working himself to death. The community of nuns founded by Gillet, the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, was slowly but surely increasing, giving promise of the eminence it was one day to attain in parochial school work in the United States.⁸⁹

The New Orleans foundation was just in its infancy, but a church had been already built there and given over to the care of Czackert on his arrival in October, 1847. The Redemptorists viewed this kindness of Bishop Blanc as an act of rare consideration since in the intervening years from 1843 until 1847 the Fathers had not come back to him, a delay drawing from that eminent prelate the remark that "the Redemptorists will be the panegyrists of my patience."⁹⁰ To be sure, Czackert undertook the task of caring for the 20,000 Germans in the Gulf City with a zest that brought results. His tact won over the stubborn trustees of the Assumption Church, and by the next year, 1848, he was purchasing a lot for an English-speaking parish church,⁹¹ a move that drew from the fearful Stelzig the remark that all would be well if Czackert did not get the building urge and saddle another Redemptorist parish with debts.⁹²

Not to be underestimated was the immense good for the salvation of souls through missionary tours of the Redemptorists to the distant German settlements radiating from these parishes. The Baltimore Fathers at stated intervals went out as far west as Cumberland, as far south as Richmond, and north into Maryland and lower Penn-

sylvania.⁹³ The New York Fathers regularly visited the Germans in upper New Jersey, to Monticello, Ellenville and Kingston, New York, and then down the Hudson to New York City.⁹⁴ The Philadelphia Fathers scoured lower New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania.⁹⁵ Rochester supplied German priests for central New York,⁹⁶ Pittsburgh aided western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia,⁹⁷ Detroit and Monroe had eighteen outposts in the Midwest.⁹⁸ This assistance—weekly, monthly, or quarterly—though not so frequent as desired, brought timely aid to the scattered German districts and kept alive the faith in those parishes until secular priests could administer them. Otherwise, souls would have been lost. Neumann knew the value of this phase of his fellow Redemptorists' work and could be justly consoled by it.

The really weak spots in the domain confided to Neumann's care were at St. Mary's parish in Detroit and the colony of St. Mary's, Pennsylvania. In Detroit the church in charge of the Redemptorists was for some time under interdict when unruly trustees refused to allow Father Hasslinger and his pious young fellow Redemptorist, Father Max Leimgruber, the freedom of action necessary for parish priests. The first interdict had lasted for eight months, from January to September, 1847, when it was lifted by Bishop Lefevre. When Hasslinger later built a two-story school and refused to render an account of his receipts and expenditures to the trustees, they called him such choice names as a "robber" and a "thief." On went the interdict for four more months. A court case resulted, and Hasslinger won.⁹⁹ While interdicts did not bring much progress, at least they effectively defeated the trustees and freed future pastors from lay interference.

St. Mary's colony in Pennsylvania was a continued thorn in Neumann's side. It absorbed a large share of the aid from Europe. Since St. Mary's was primarily a farming colony, the pastor, Father Bayer, advised that new arrangements be made, suggesting that such a venture would be better in the hands of the Benedictine Fathers with their traditional experience with agricultural colonies. To add to the difficulties, the lay partners at St. Mary's had a system of handling finances that threatened worse financial predicaments for the Redemptorists. The trouble here was that one of Neumann's consultors, Father Alexander, was still convinced that the colony would succeed. He was supported in this by Kannamueller of Buffalo,

who, in spite of every warning against the continuance of the experiment, maintained that the Redemptorists in the United States did not appreciate Alexander's foresight. The project in St. Mary's, he declared, would pay rich dividends in fifty years.¹⁰⁰ What was to be done to carry on the struggle for the fifty years before the hoped-for harvest he did not suggest. Never considering the colony worthwhile as then administered, Neumann doubtless would have extricated himself from it, had he had the power to do so.

All in all, there was plenty of reason for satisfaction in the work of the majority of the Fathers under him, even though the financial situation never allowed a moment of relaxation. In fact, progress was great enough within a year and a half as to allow Neumann to look toward a new foundation in the town of Cumberland, Maryland. Journeying out to his old mission post, he selected the site for a new German church to be given to the care of his Fathers. The next year the cornerstone of the church was laid, but it was only under his successor that the church was completed and a community of Redemptorists sent there permanently.¹⁰¹

Perhaps the finest work Father Neumann did for his struggling parish foundations was to conduct Mother Caroline, superior of the Notre Dame School Sisters and one of her subjects on a tour through the Midwest, as far as Milwaukee. On their return trip through Detroit and Buffalo and down the eastern seaboard they visited all the Redemptorist parishes along the route until they again reached Baltimore. As a result of that journey, the Sisters engaged to take charge of the schools in their parishes in Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Philadelphia, with a promise to assume the same rôle in the Most Holy Redeemer school, New York, as soon as conditions warranted. A little over a year-and-a-half from the date of their disheartening arrival the Sisters had charge of seven Catholic schools in the United States, while the Redemptorist Fathers gained competent auxiliaries for their growing parishes and a recognized pre-eminence for solicitude in establishing parochial schools.¹⁰²

The kindness and thoughtfulness of Neumann on that 2,000-mile journey as well as his unusual virtue impressed the Notre Dame nuns. Mother Caroline recalled that on this journey one particularly impudent man called him a "damned priest," and the superior of the Redemptorists went on quietly as if he had not heard it. Another time, when they were on a boat and the tide prevented any move-

ment of the ship, Neumann went out on deck to take a rest and fell asleep. Some mischievous urchins took advantage of his siesta to circle around behind him and mark up the back of his coat with chalk. When Neumann looked at the handiwork of the urchins, the Sisters noted that he was not in the least perturbed, but quietly brushed it off, saying, "It will soon wash off."¹⁰³ The Notre Dame superior was only pronouncing a well-known trait of his character, his meekness. One nun in Baltimore noted that whenever anyone insulted Father Neumann, he went on calmly as if nothing had happened.¹⁰⁴

The beneficial and solid results of Neumann's methods of ruling the American houses were clearly in evidence. But in spite of his effective administration the position of the vicegerent was difficult, almost impossible. Hampering from the very start was the fact that his appointment was only temporary. Furthermore, even after the visitation conducted by Starck in 1847, it remained a temporary appointment. Moreover, the regulations imposed by De Held in 1845 allowed the exact Father Neumann little latitude.¹⁰⁵

For interpreting these regulations too widely, Neumann's two predecessors, Fathers Alexander and Czackert, found themselves suddenly relieved of office.¹⁰⁶ That De Held did not want his first overseas mission of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer to get out of control was understandable. Nevertheless, the temporary nature of Neumann's jurisdiction and the limitations of his powers became a steadily increasing handicap to one constantly meeting new problems in a fast-growing country.

The reason behind the temporary appointment was the fact that at this time the European superiors were still considering the possibility of forming the American houses into a separate province. When he first appointed Neumann to succeed Czackert, De Held already favored such a move because the long distance overseas made it difficult to govern the houses from Belgium and because he felt that the consultors of Passerat were interfering with his rule of the subjects in the United States. Moreover, since German-speaking missionaries were needed for the American houses, De Held had to ask for missionaries from Austria. As a result, he was receiving men of whose qualifications he was ignorant. In order to study the situation, Starck had come for a canonical inspection of the American houses only two years after De Held's visitation.¹⁰⁷

In early November, De Held informed Neumann that he had taken the initiative and asked to have the American houses erected into a separate province, stating:

Experience has sufficiently taught that no good can come from the interference with the provincial of Belgium in American affairs by the consultors in Vienna. For that reason I have proposed to Vienna and Rome that the American missions be erected into a separate province, entirely independent of Belgium. The manner of governing in Belgium and Vienna is too divergent to allow things to go on as they are at present; moreover, I am sure that a future provincial of Belgium will accept the office only on condition that Vienna take the responsibility of governing the American houses, a responsibility which was so long in its hands and which it seems loath to relinquish.¹⁰⁸

A little over three weeks later, De Held informed Neumann that the American houses had been taken from the jurisdiction of the Belgian provincial. Negotiations which were being conducted in Rome to have the houses in the United States formed into a separate province, he felt sure, would be successful. Meanwhile, the American houses were placed directly under the Austrian province and, should the plans to form them into a separate province prove ineffective, they would so continue.¹⁰⁹

The messages from De Held were disheartening for the vicegerent. The change to Austrian control deprived Neumann of the support of the man whose ideas and plan of action he was following. Furthermore, De Held had been the key man in Europe in sending financial support to the hard-pressed superior of the houses in America.

While these letters were coming from Europe, Neumann himself was sending letters to the superiors overseas explaining his difficulties under existing conditions. Some of these letters jolted the European superior into a keener realization that Neumann needed wider powers of administration. Because of the evident lack of authority and because of other difficulties which he attributed to his own inadequacies, it appears the vicegerent let it be known that he was thinking of resigning.¹¹⁰ Father Passerat stepped in decisively to consolidate the authority of the harassed Neumann and give him broader powers of government. In a letter to all the Fathers in the United States the holy vicar-general warned that the existence of the American houses was of the highest importance. Not only was the salvation of abandoned souls in the United States at stake, but also the welfare

of the Redemptorists because the rising tide of unrest made the vicar-general fearful for the future of the Congregation in Europe itself.

The revolution which was to sweep over Europe the next year had already driven the Redemptorists out of Fribourg in Switzerland. The reaction against the peace treaty of Vienna was causing discontent all over the continent. The menace of this upheaval threatened to destroy the houses of the Congregation in France, Austria and Bavaria. Even Belgium appeared unsafe. If Passerat's fears were realized, the sons of St. Alphonsus would soon be left a dispersed, wandering group of homeless priests in northern Europe. In that event, the American houses would be safe refuges for the European brethren. Even more vitally interested, therefore, in the Redemptorists in the United States, the vicar-general wrote:

We, therefore, deem it our duty to admonish, to beseech, and to exhort you with all our authority to remain more and more faithful to your vocation. As long as it is possible, we promise to send you help, not only money but also laborers. Therefore, we declare that the stations in America are united, at least provisionally and *de facto*, to the Austrian province, and we appoint Father Neumann as superior and our vicegerent. Besides the faculties granted to him by the Reverend Father Visitor, Martin Starck, we invest him with authority to decide every important question in cases that are urgent and unforeseen.

Driving home his message in strong words, the vicar-general continued:

One thing I inculcate, I ask of you, and beseech you to observe, a thing without which every spiritual and temporal work is ruined—obedience. Obey, therefore, your superior, Father Neumann. As your immediate superior, he takes the place of God. . . . obey him promptly, obey him blindly. Beware of following your own reasoning, pretending to effect some greater good. Our reasoning is not always correct reasoning. Listen to the words of Sacred Scripture. 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but everyone did that which seemed right to himself.'

The vicar general was emphatic on another point when he wrote in the same letter:

Particularly let no one urge that permission be given him to erect any buildings. Rather, let everyone aim and strive to reduce our enormous debts, which, unless God helps us, will ruin several of our missions.¹¹¹

Because the American houses were attached to the Austrian province under Father Martin Starck, the Austrian provincial, he became immediate superior of the vicegerent in the United States. In

an effort to extend comfort and support, his new provincial wrote to Neumann:

Although Your Reverence complains very much about the condition of the portion of the Congregation under your care and direction and you sigh under the burden you bear, I am, nevertheless, satisfied with what your letters reveal and glad that you have no complaints about more and weightier matters. Many decisions have been made, especially regarding the changing of superiors, and I expected more manifestation of dissatisfaction than is evident from the contents of your letter. It would be asking too much to expect that no protests arise from any quarter. Let us thank God that matters are not worse than they are.

I hope Your Reverence will regain your composure and willingly bear the hardships that obedience imposes on you, hardships that are inseparable from your office. The welfare of the Congregation demands it.

The Austrian provincial then gave a solution to the questions still embarrassing Neumann. Explicit permission for the second foundation in New York was given in a manner clear enough to satisfy the conscientious exactness of the vicegerent. The proffered foundation in Washington was definitely rejected. The high-handed action of the superior of Buffalo was condemned. Many questions that had been hanging fire for a long time were quickly settled. Toward the end of the letter the provincial tried to make light of Neumann's worries, saying:

I must remark concerning your manner of thinking about the impossibility or even the difficulty of ruling the houses in America that you are looking through dark glasses. Things are not so bad as you say. I have learned about many matters. . . . Most of the confreres have a high regard for you. What more do you want? The majority of the superiors follow you. Hold fast and all will go well. Father Vicar General gives you all the faculties for cases that admit of no delay. Therefore, you have what you need. In urgent cases, therefore, make your own decisions and you will not be embarrassed. If you think it advisable, you can write to Father Vicar General and speak out your mind. When I was in America, I had narrow, restricted, less broad powers than you have now, but, after taking counsel with you and considering the nature of affairs, I acted as I thought I should act. You do likewise and all will come out all right. Much information has come to enlighten those ruling the Congregation here and to increase your prestige. You are no longer under Belgium.¹¹²

Unquestionably Neumann was now given the wide powers the American conditions demanded, even though, as Starck assured him, the question of making the American houses into a separate province

was still being negotiated. The letters, however, did not arrive in the United States until some time in January, 1848, and the conscientious vicegerent continued meanwhile to find himself on tenterhooks. On January 1, 1848, Starck wrote to him once again, saying:

I hope Your Reverence will have received my communication of December 6 [December 3?]. It contains the approval of all that was arranged in the visitation and answers all the letters I have received from you and from Father Stelzig since my departure from America. As I sincerely wish, you will be perfectly satisfied with its contents. The burden under which you labor has not been taken away, but it has been considerably lightened by this letter since your faculties have been very much broadened as you require them.¹¹³

Passerat likewise wrote a letter of encouragement to Neumann on the feast of St. Hilary, January 14, 1848, declaring:

I know all your trials, both exterior and interior; I know them and I sympathize with you the more readily as I am going through them myself, for alas! I am vicar-general. I can truly say with St. Paul, 'Whether we be in tribulation it is for your exhortation and salvation . . . which worketh the enduring of the same sufferings which we also endure.' My tribulations allow me to exhort you to suffer similar ones with patience. Courage, Reverend and very dear Father, it is obedience, or rather Jesus Christ who has laid the burden of authority on your shoulders; it is Jesus Christ, then, who must help you and He will do so. Do not be discouraged when things do not succeed and the brethren do not obey you. God does not demand success or a remedy of us, and therefore Sacred Scripture says, 'Have they made thee ruler . . . when thou hast acquitted thyself of all thy charge, take thy place,' and be at peace. When things occur demanding a discussion or decision, things for which you have no powers or for which you doubt your powers, pray to God, consult with your advisors and freely interpret your faculty. To one so distant from a superior, this is not only a lawful but a necessary interpretation of a permission and a faculty. For the greater tranquility of your conscience I give you this permission to interpret liberally the faculties you possess. Henceforward, if you are troubled with scruples, put them away, for it is a temptation of the devil. Moreover, your term of office will not be long drawn out, for in a short time another one will probably occupy the post. Should the gathering clouds now hanging over Europe break, it may be that most of us will have to take refuge in America.¹¹⁴

The long delay in the transmission of the broader faculties granted the vicegerent was evident from the letter of Starck, written to Neumann from Vienna as late as January 20, 1848, in which he again informed him of the new powers conferred on the ruler of the American houses. He added significantly:

Do not think that you have been forgotten or that support from here will be wanting. Turn to me in every necessary case and be assured that I will interest myself in your affairs and in every circumstance I will obtain help and support. I know the needs of the Congregation in America, at least in great part, and it will be very pleasing to me to help you as much as I am able. But do not hope to have everything go according to your wishes all at once, or expect to be without contradictions. There is no such thing in your office, and you will not live to see it. But you will realize that God helps those who do their part. . . . We await an answer from you to our letter, and I hope you will tell us of your ease of mind and contentment.¹¹⁵

Only after almost a whole year of his term as vicegerent did Neumann find himself fortified with the necessary powers of administration that conditions in America demanded.

The impending change of status of the American houses and Neumann's consequent uncertainty added to his perplexities. It was especially this lack of authority during his first year that laid Neumann open to serious criticism from some of his own associates. Chief among the complainants was Neumann's consultor, Stelzig, who commenced to transmit to Starck in Vienna a series of letters highly critical of the vicegerent. Even though Stelzig had the right to recur to higher superiors, and perhaps even a duty as consultor, his reports were not just, because they overstressed the sombre side of affairs while the brighter side, the positive good work accomplished, was left unmentioned.

Stelzig wanted Neumann to be more exacting with some of the Fathers in various foundations. One thing he advocated was the removal of Father Rumpler, whose independence in certain ventures nettled him. Evidently the vicegerent had pointed out to Stelzig the difficulty of changing so capable a superior from New York, one enmeshed in financial affairs it was true, but possessing the ability to surmount them. Rumpler, moreover, was the man that Bishop Hughes sought for the work. Stelzig's only comment was that he favored changing the superior regardless of the consequences in temporal matters.

Similarly, when a lay brother left the Congregation and later put in a claim for services rendered, Neumann was inclined to give him something. Backed by the opinion of the lawyer that the departing lay brother had no claim in law to such a remuneration, Stelzig refused to countenance the advancement of any money. Here was evidence

in the eyes of the young consultor that the vicegerent had no thought for the good of the Congregation. Again, the consultor saw a lack of decisive action on the part of the vicegerent because he would not listen to the complaints of a Father of the Pittsburgh house against his superior, Father Mueller, even though it was evident that the disparagement came from a man temporarily deranged.

While not denying that Neumann had the best will in the world, Stelzig charged that he was without prestige. The consultor really hit the depths in criticism when he wrote to Starck:

. . . Father Neumann has only half the necessary qualities of a good superior, namely, exemplary conduct and regularity. He lacks the all important quality in America of force or authority. He never had this and he never will.

Speaking of Neumann, the consultor also declared:

Everyone reproaches him with the fact that he never made a novitiate. A Jesuit Father lately volunteered the information that it was not a good sign for the Redemptorists that a Father who had been a secular priest only a few years previously had been chosen as vicegerent. . . .

Stelzig reported Kannamueller had informed Neumann that he did not care what the vicegerent thought.¹¹⁶ Never did it occur to the consultor that Neumann felt that he did not have sufficient authority.

Other critics of Father Neumann existed, too. Father Joseph Helmprecht, who was one day to be provincial of the American houses, was inclined to view the situation as due to the weak leadership of the vicegerent.¹¹⁷ But, like Stelzig, he was young, having been ordained but two years. Nevertheless, his views, like those of Stelzig went over the sea to Europe. The fact was that Neumann was canonically in command of the province only after January, 1848, when the news of his confirmation by Passerat was received in America. While he was not the type to exercise the "personal, fear-inspiring authority" that Helmprecht wanted, when he did receive that authority he began to use it without hesitation, as the withdrawal of Kannamueller from Buffalo demonstrated. That Father was deposed and sent back to Europe.¹¹⁸ Ironically enough, the vicegerent had unquestionable authority but a few months when a new turn of political events in Europe again placed it in jeopardy.

By March, 1848, the revolution broke over Europe. Switzerland, France, Bavaria and Austria saw marching mobs in rebellion against

their governments. Of particular concern to Neumann was the fact that the Redemptorists in Vienna were driven from the banks of the Danube River. Passerat was exiled from Austria;¹¹⁹ and, much worse, when he arrived in Belgium, he was separated from his consultants.¹²⁰ This separation from his consultants was to have very definite and painful consequences for Neumann. Just at this time Passerat had received permission from Rome to erect the American houses, not into a separate province but into a vice-province. Acting without the advice of his consultants, Passerat announced to Neumann in June, 1848, that he was selecting him for the office of vice-provincial of the American houses. The formal document of appointment was to be sent later.

Conscious of Neumann's expressed desire to be freed from his office, the vicar-general brushed aside his objections to the new post, declaring:

I will relieve you of this burden as soon as I am able, if you so wish. But, dear Father, those who fear an office are most worthy to bear it. There can be no greater consolation for you than the fact that God himself has placed this burden on you through obedience.¹²¹

This letter without the formal document of appointment put Neumann in a state of new perplexity. Until the formal document arrived, uncertainty would envelop the appointment because the rescript from Rome which allowed Father Passerat to name a vice-provincial for an American vice-province required the vicar-general to have the advice of his consultants. Since these consultants were then dispersed in Europe, Passerat could not have their advice, and so, proceeded himself to inform Neumann of his new office, fully expecting to send the canonical document later. The lack of the canonical form was clearly noted by the new provincial of the Belgian province, Father Michael Heilig. When in July, 1848, he transmitted Passerat's letter appointing John Neumann vice-provincial of the American houses, Heilig wrote to him:

According to the enclosed letter of Father Vicar General, who is in Bruges at present, it appears that you have received the diploma of a vice-provincial . . . with precise and extended powers. If this is the case, I am happy about the choice. But if this is not the case, that is, if in the enclosed letter you receive only your nomination by the vicar general, the appointment is hardly canonical and can justly be called into doubt. According to the rescript of February 11 of this year, the vicar general can name a vice-provincial and impart to him due faculties only after

hearing the opinions of his consultors. Father Vicar General, however, has no canonical consultors here.¹²²

The validity of the appointment was doubtful. To a superior so long hampered by inadequate authority, this new turn of events was adding woe to woe.

Now came more difficulties in maintaining the necessary number of missionaries in the field. Two of Father Neumann's most tireless workers, Father Czackert in New Orleans¹²³ and Father Poilvache in Monroe,¹²⁴ were summoned to eternity, the one by yellow fever and the other by a contagious disease called, at that time, "the black tongue." Both were young; both were hard and successful workers; and it was not easy to fill their places. Besides, one of his best workers, Father Fey of Philadelphia, was recalled to Europe to establish a new foundation in Luxemburg.¹²⁵

More trying, however, was the lack of confidence manifested by some of his subjects. In May, 1848, when Kannamueller, the former superior of Buffalo, was recalled to Vienna, the departure of this Father to Europe brought to a head certain complaints against the vicegerent. A report was circulated in America that a series of letters signed by several American Fathers had been sent across the waters with Kannamueller, urging the recall of Father Neumann from his office.¹²⁶ Subsequent messages from Belgium indicated their existence. When the Fathers in the United States became aware of these complaints, they urged Neumann to counter them. All Neumann gave in reply was a smile, saying, "Let it go. Do not be sorry for me. I have never done anything to become a superior and I will not do anything to remain one. On the contrary, I will thank God if I am relieved of this responsibility."¹²⁷

The new Belgian provincial, Heilig, nevertheless, seems to have been influenced by the adverse reports against Neumann. Since Passerat had resigned as vicar-general and the disturbed conditions in Europe did not allow the immediate choice of a new vicar-general, the Roman authorities permitted each Redemptorist provincial in northern Europe to enjoy the same faculties for his province as the vicar-general previously possessed for all the transalpine provinces. As the change of the American houses from the jurisdiction of the Belgian to the Austrian province had not yet been ratified canonically in Rome, the Belgian provincial felt fully justified in reassuming command over the American houses.¹²⁸ In an endeavor to bring

order out of confusion, Heilig thought it best to request from the Holy See permission to appoint a vice-provincial for America in true canonical form. Before doing so he sounded out Neumann's views on such an appointment, when he wrote to him, August 29, 1848:

Although I have not yet received an answer to my last letter . . . I cannot forbear sending Your Reverence the present lines. The principal reason for writing them is the appointment of a vice-provincial for America, a highly important affair. About this matter I must rely on your virtue and express myself freely.

Father Vicar General named you as vice-provincial for America. I forwarded to you this appointment, but with the remark that the validity of it can justly be called into question because it has been given to you without the proper form and due consultation. . . .

I do not know whether Your Reverence would be pleased by such an appointment or not. I am very much concerned about this and would therefore like to receive from Your Reverence, at the earliest opportunity, a formal, clear expression of your will in this matter. Although I have learned to know Your Reverence in the most favorable light and even now have in my heart a sincere regard and appreciation of your virtues and your services to the Congregation, nevertheless, I cannot conceal from you, and I believe Your Reverence freely admits it, that you have to contend with strong opposition from our men in America. I am far from willing to say that this opposition is entirely your fault. Still, it is a fact that could make your administration in the future not only very difficult but even weak and fruitless. For your own sake, and in the best interests of the whole Congregation in America, it might be well to consider whether it would not be better to decline the appointment as vice-provincial of your own accord. This would be the easier for you since, as I have heard, you have expressed the wish many times before this to resign your office as general superior. If this be the case, I desire to be informed of it immediately in order that I may take steps toward a new appointment, for which I shall ask new powers from Rome.¹²⁹

As a matter of fact, even before the Belgian provincial had written this letter in which he practically invited the viceregent to step down from his office, Neumann had written to Heilig a clear and formal letter on August 28 of the same year, repeatedly asking to be allowed to resign from his untenable and mentally crucifying position.¹³⁰

The Belgian provincial next wrote a circular letter to the Fathers in the United States, acquainting them with the tremendous reverses suffered by the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer and the ominous threat of its extinction before the rising and bitterly anti-

clerical revolutionary forces all over Europe. The danger of losing all their foundations in northern Europe appeared so great that provisional arrangements were being sought to round up the whole personnel of the Redemptorists there and secure for them a haven in England. In this circular, Heilig went into a minute and clear exposition of the canonical reasons whereby he was now empowered to establish his authority over the vice-provincialate of America and hold it as subject to the Belgian province. In this circular letter of September 29, 1848, the European superior first spoke of a change of the vice-provincial in America, saying :

Although Father Neumann has taken the office of vice-provincial on his shoulders, a burden imposed on him by obedience . . . he has again and again besought me to relieve him of the office. I have brought this to the attention of my consultors, Fathers Berset and Father Lelouchier. Having taken counsel and considered all things that should be considered, I have come to the conclusion that I should yield to the desire of Father Neumann. I have . . . first informed Father Neumann, whose virtue and well-known merits have come to the knowledge of his brethren in Europe, and I now make known to you that I have accepted his resignation.¹³¹

The circular was not sent immediately, however; but when permission was received from Rome, it was enclosed with another letter from Father Heilig, dated October 7, 1848. This personal letter to the vice-provincial stated :

I have received your two letters of August 28 and September 15 and as I am now in a position to say something definite about American affairs, I hasten to answer both.

First, I must tell you that Father Fey has arrived here safely and has given me very conscientious and true information about the state of American affairs. . . . I especially wish you to believe that I have your missions very much at heart and that I shall make every effort to strengthen the Congregation in America with manpower and with money. . . .

Your Reverence has several times requested to be relieved of the office of vice-provincial. I know that you were really in earnest in this matter because you had to endure so much in your position. Therefore, as America has been re-united with Belgium and as I have received powers from Rome to appoint an American vice-provincial, I have taken counsel with my consultors and we have been moved to grant your request and relieve you of the burden of the vice-provincialate. While I hereby officially inform Your Reverence of our decision, I ask you to believe firmly that I and my consultors are fully convinced of your good intentions, of your zeal, of your virtues and of your many good personal qualities as well as

the wholesome influence which your administration has had on the whole Congregation in America; and that we hereby express our most sincere and heartfelt thanks for everything you did as general superior of our ten American foundations. The Lord will be your reward exceeding great, and St. Alphonsus will not fail to obtain for you from God protection and a special blessing for the work which you have done.¹³²

Meanwhile, Neumann was to remain in control of the vice-province until his successor arrived from Europe. Heilig regretted the fact that he had been unduly influenced by the critical reports against Neumann's mode of government. Undoubtedly Father Fey's full account, as well as other letters from America, gave the Belgian provincial a truer picture of the situation, for Heilig continued apologetically:

I made a mistake if I overrated the opposition which I believed existed against you. Indeed it is not surprising when five or six missionaries seem to be against you. There never will be a superior with whom all will be satisfied. May Your Reverence rest assured of the full appreciation of your many and great services to the Congregation.

I hope I have put nothing in the circular letter which might hurt your feelings.¹³³

The matter was concluded. Father Bernard Hafkenscheld was named vice-provincial of the American houses with clear-cut powers and the sufficient authority needed for the situation,¹³⁴ the lack of which had hampered Neumann during long, painful months before. For the twenty-three months he had ruled the Redemptorists in the United States, John Neumann effected definite gains. He solidified the missions both spiritually and temporally; he had halted a dangerous tendency to overexpansion; he strengthened regular observance; he accepted two new foundations, one at St. Alphonsus' in New York and another in New Orleans; he selected a site for the first Redemptorist House of Studies in the United States, at Cumberland, Maryland, and he placed the Redemptorist parish schools in the forefront of the Catholic school trend by staffing them with the School Sisters of Notre Dame. This he did while he found himself under three different European superiors within eighteen months, and with his authority seriously weakened, first by its restricted and provisional nature and later by the fact that his jurisdiction suffered a canonical defect. All in all he had done well, but he was not sorry to hand over the reins of government to the new vice-provincial, Hafkenscheld, in January, 1849.¹³⁵

CHAPTER IX

"My Right Arm": 1849-1852

The coming of Bernard Hafkenscheid with the full powers of a vice-provincial in January, 1849, saw Neumann lowered to a more humble rôle, but it did not prevent him from still doing very effective work. The circumstances under which he had been relieved of his higher office gave the impression to many, even outside the Redemptorist Order, that he had been demoted on account of the complaints of some of the Fathers. The preceding chapter amply demonstrates that this impression was far from the exact truth. Nevertheless, Neumann felt his prestige had not been enhanced and readily admitted his influence as vice-provincial had been none too great.¹ The Redemptorist historian, Father Joseph Wuest, went so far as to say that Father Neumann was despised by some of his fellow religious at this time. "Despised" is too strong a word. It is certain, however, that the deep humility and the high intelligence that lay beneath the humble exterior of the former vice-provincial were none too fully appreciated, certainly not by those who had written complaints about him.²

The new vice-provincial, Hafkenscheid, big-souled and clear-minded, a man of heavy, towering physique, a noted missionary in northern Europe, was quick to size up the situation. What was more, his viewpoint not to accept too many foundations, before the men to staff them and some material aid were available, agreed with that of Neumann.³ In fact, Neumann was appointed consultor and admonitor of the vice-provincial, certainly a mark of approval. The second consultor of the vice-provincial was, incidentally, Father Rumpfer, who likewise took over the post of superior of St. Alphonsus' Church, Baltimore.⁴ The two former consultors of the vice-provincial, Fathers Alexander and Stelzig, were removed from office. Hafkenscheid himself described the change of the two, saying, "I have reduced one to the rôle of a simple assistant and the other I have sent so far off that he can do nothing to direct affairs."⁵ Stelzig became the simple assistant, while Alexander went off to Rochester as local superior. Hafkenscheid called Neumann "my right arm."⁶

The importance of a vice-provincial consultor is not very apparent to people outside of clerical life. Its effectiveness in the case of

Neumann can be traced in the official acts of his superior. The policy of retrenchment and consolidation, inaugurated by Neumann, was clearly continued. With unquestionable power of jurisdiction, Hafkenschied exercised decisive action. Father Alig's refusal to return to his religious home ended, as already mentioned, by his receiving a dispensation from his vows as a Redemptorist. In a short while three other men who had been a source of worry to Neumann were released from their religious vows.⁷

The problem of St. Mary's colony came again to the fore. Although Hafkenschied was for withdrawing his Fathers from the place immediately, both of his consultors advised that first a new contract more just to the Redemptorist Fathers be drawn up and presented to the colony. Neumann drew up the contract. The new arrangements not being satisfactory to the lay members of the colony, forthwith the Redemptorist Fathers were withdrawn.⁸

The active hand of Neumann is seen in other matters,—vice-provincial documents, legal arrangements between Hafkenschied and the bishops, notices from the general superior to the various local superiors and similar business. He served, too, for a time as prefect of the students then stationed at St. Alphonsus' in Baltimore.⁹ More than that, Neumann worked in the parish, occasionally going to an outmission of the Baltimore house, Elkridge Landing.¹⁰ There are records of his baptisms in both places for these years.

To this work he added another, confessor to numerous sisterhoods in Baltimore, the twenty-five Charity Sisters of Mount Hope Hospital, the twenty-four Notre Dame Sisters at St. James',¹¹ and the Carmelite Nuns.¹² He was on familiar ground here. As Mother Caroline said of him, "We were extremely happy under his wise and paternal direction. He understood the art of fostering in others the true religious spirit, which had become second nature to himself."¹³ No one who has read the notes he collected on religious life and on the virtues to be practiced by a religious can doubt his deep knowledge of the whole structure of monastic discipline and ascetic theology. One Carmelite nun said of him:

Father Neumann contributed much to the perfection of our Sisters. His instructions and exhortations were animated by his own enthusiasm for the honor of God, the sublime end of the religious state. They inflamed our hearts with an ardent desire for religious perfection, for a total oblation to God.¹⁴

Hafkenscheid's appraisal of his consultor is best seen in the fact that when he himself was called away to Europe in the summer of 1850 to engage in negotiations for raising the American houses to the rank of a province, he left Neumann in charge.¹⁵ Nevertheless, in his new rôle as consultor, the tempo of Father Neumann's life was altered. By nature and circumstances a very active man, now he had some respite. He was not idle, but active at a much more leisurely pace than during his first years as a Redemptorist.

Much of the work that John Neumann did for the Redemptorist Congregation was valuable, but hidden. His counsel helped to bring about the results accomplished in the American houses during Hafkenscheid's term of office. First, there was the changing of the status of the American houses. When Hafkenscheid arrived, he had broad powers that were well-defined and not open to challenge because of canonical defect. Moreover, the question of forming the American houses into a distinct province cropped up for discussion. The new vice-provincial, even with more extended powers than Neumann ever had, found the dependence on the Belgian province too confining. The solid basis on which Neumann's leadership had put these houses both spiritually and temporally, together with the increase of vocations, mostly from abroad, but providentially also within the province itself, warranted the formation of the American houses into a separate and distinct unit of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer in 1850.¹⁶

The second effect of this stabilization policy was that, with the foundations strengthened by Neumann, the first Redemptorist seminary in America could be organized. Heretofore, the students after their profession had been sent for their further studies in philosophy and theology to different houses, sometimes to New York, sometimes to Philadelphia, sometimes to Baltimore, and sometimes to Pittsburgh. This arrangement was too haphazard in Hafkenscheid's judgment. Now that it could be remedied, he set up a real seminary at Cumberland, Maryland, with professors especially dedicated to that work.¹⁷

Another venture, too, was possible, which is the specific purpose of the Redemptorist institute and which was destined to bring much spiritual fruit—the organization of a trained band of preachers who were to occupy themselves exclusively giving parish missions.¹⁸ For this purpose, the provincial, who had been a brilliant missionary in Europe, selected a group of young Americans—converts to the Catho-

lic faith who had entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer in America in the mid 1840's—Clarence Walworth,¹⁹ Isaac Hecker,²⁰ Augustine Hewit.²¹ Later they were to be joined by George Deshon, a graduate of West Point and a classmate of General Ulysses S. Grant,²² and by Francis Baker, a former Episcopalian clergyman whose conversion had electrified the whole City of Baltimore.²³ Led by Hafkenscheid himself, three of these Fathers, assisted by five other Redemptorists, began a series of missions, starting in St. Joseph's Church, New York City, in 1851. During seven years they gave missions in many of the great churches and cathedrals of America, eighty-six in all, up and down the Atlantic coast and as far west as the Mississippi River, bringing a new vivifying feature to American Catholic life. For the most part the convert missionaries did the preaching though some Catholic-born native American Redemptorists were in the band, while the really heavy work of the confessional for the first few years was done, and ably done, by the German-born Fathers, who got no publicity but who contributed a vital, even if hidden, part to the whole spectacular achievement.²⁴

How much did Father John Neumann aid in the fulfillment of these developments? As far as the erection of a distinct American province was concerned, credit for first envisioning it must be given to the farseeing De Held. His personal examination of the province in 1845 had crystallized in his mind what he had previously held in hazy outline, that the only way to confirm this first overseas mission of the sons of St. Alphonsus was to make it a separate province. Moreover, that Father's own regulations, which were a strait-jacket for the men he chose to lead the American province, perhaps more than anything else helped to accelerate the movement, for it was evident that when a man like Father Neumann could not successfully operate under them, something had to be done to increase the powers of the Redemptorist superior in America. Without doubt, too, representations about the need for greater authority made by Neumann were an important factor in the decision made abroad to allow the young American houses to operate within the framework of a separate province.

The seminary project was likewise influenced, though only indirectly, by Neumann inasmuch as he was instrumental in obtaining a suitable place for it in the quiet town of Cumberland, Maryland, nestling in the Alleghenies. It was situated far enough away from

the distracting bustle of the Redemptorist city parishes on the sea-board, and yet not isolated completely, since the advancing Baltimore and Ohio railroad was running its passenger trains out to that western Maryland town.²⁵

In the formation of the band of English-speaking missionaries, Neumann appears to have played only a subordinate and minor rôle. It was Rumpler who first paved the way for their entrance into the Congregation when he converted and baptized Clarence Walworth and James McMaster.²⁶ When these two declared their intention of seeking admission to the Redemptorist Order, Isaac Hecker, recently baptized by the coadjutor-bishop of New York, joined them, and the three eager Americans joyfully journeyed to Baltimore to discuss the matter with De Held, then on visitation of the American houses. De Held readily accepted the three enthusiastic young men and on his return to Europe in 1845 took them back with him to the Redemptorist novitiate at St. Trond, Belgium.²⁷ Walworth and Hecker succeeded in completing their year of spiritual probation, but McMaster was lost to the Redemptorists when the novice-master with prophetic insight dismissed him and advised him that he was better suited for the field of journalism than for religious life. The accuracy of the novice-master's observations was more than amply vindicated when McMaster later became the fighting champion of the Catholic cause in America as the editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal*.²⁸ Neumann's association with the convert missionaries was relatively distant. As vicegerent he paid for the clerical education of Hecker and Walworth at St. Trond out of his depleted treasury. Though Hewit and Walworth lived in the same house with him for a time,²⁹ though as consultor to the vice-provincial his opinion was asked on the admission of both Hewit and Deshon to the American novitiate, as well as on the whole idea of a mission band, he had little direct contact with them. Every indication points to the more experienced priest of home missions, Bernard Hafkenscheid, as the mainspring of the movement.

Nevertheless, Neumann was very mission-minded all his life. He had given parish missions himself; he fostered them while vicegerent, and not long before the formation of the mission band he wrote to Seelos, "I agree perfectly with Your Reverence. I wish we could busy ourselves more with the giving of missions, but where shall we give them, since no one requests them, outside of our own mission stations?"

As has been said, Neumann's tasks at this time were very simple work for a priest who had been accustomed to great activity and the position of superior. Seelos evidently felt that the former vice-provincial should pair up with him giving missions, for Neumann wrote a long letter to his onetime mission partner, saying :

The little so-called missions in the country, at the stations which we visit monthly, are not entirely satisfactory, but much good is accomplished, because of the ten to fourteen stations which we have here, only one or two could or would support a priest, if they could get one. I guess we still have to leave something to God.

During the ten years which I have so far spent in the Congregation, I have arrived at this conclusion: If a missionary is sincerely and honestly motivated by a desire for the glory of God and the salvation of our German people, he will do a lot of good, but more than that, he will prevent a lot of evil. My dear Father, we ought to be persuaded of this and thank God that His arm has not been shortened. If, after a few sermons and confessions, there is no apparent improvement among the people, still, they will have been stopped on their way to perdition. Even if the seed falls on good ground, it will take time to sprout, and still more time to bring forth the desired fruit. With regard to this, we are a bit childish in our viewpoint. It is as if we planted a cherry stone in a flower-pot one day, and the next we looked to see if it had sprouted or was even some inches above the ground. In this way God likes to keep us humble.

My dear Father, whenever we feel a great desire to help the most abandoned, let us be ready to go to their aid if we are sent, but in the meantime let us pray that the Lord may help them in a more ordinary way. Since we cannot do more than pray and do penance for them, let us take things easy and leave the rest to God. . . . Our great mistake is that we allow ourselves to be deceived by the spirit of worldly shrewdness, the desire for fame and the love of comfort. We ought to fight the temptation to make spiritual things a means of temporal advancement. Thus the things we should and could do, become for many an occasion of sin and of unfaithfulness to God. The principles of faith fade out of our hearts in proportion as we allow the principles of the world to come in. We place our confidence, not in God but in our own intelligence, experience, and so on. We seek not what is least or most difficult or most despised, but what is easiest and what redounds most to our own glory. If only we loved God alone and from our whole heart, how easy it would be for our superiors to lead us according to the prescriptions of the rule. God would then urge us on and we would not resist. This, my dear Father, in my opinion, is the cause of all the unhappiness that seems to reign here. I believe that what is most necessary is that we should pray for one another daily with great confidence: *Spiritus rectum innova in visceribus meis. Adveniat regnum tuum.*³⁰

Therein was expressed Neumann's philosophy of life—to accept whatever the superiors planned. As he told Seelos, he was glad to be out of the executive post because he could be more recollected and could think of eternity, whereas when a superior he might even forget to make a good intention. Observers of his conduct at this time said he was leading a life of penance and prayer.³¹ In it there was no idle moment. True to his own earlier resolution he lived diligently, devoting his spare moments to writing.

John Neumann had a talent for writing. As the vast array of manuscripts left by him proves, he had a mind that could diligently search for materials. So many and so varied are the notes he took, the evidence is plain enough that he covered a wide range in his reading and assimilated the contents of the many books he perused. The material he gathered was kept in regular, organized fashion, related items being placed together, each section with definition, distinction, nature of the argument and practical conclusions definitely but briefly noted. There can be little doubt that had his way of life allowed him, he would have published many substantial volumes. But for the most part, his pastoral duties and his intense activity both as missionary and as vicegerent left little time for the apostolate of the pen. The relative leisure accorded to him as consultor gave him the only extended opportunity for writing he enjoyed during his whole career.

His earliest efforts at publishing appear to have taken place during his first period as a Redemptorist in Baltimore, in the early 1840's.³² It is certain, however, that he published two German catechisms while stationed in Pittsburgh, although his name was not given on their frontispieces. Only on the editions published after he became bishop did the author's name appear on the title page. The smaller catechism (*Kleiner Katechismus*) was a simple booklet comprising just sixteen pages, while the larger *Katholischer Katechismus* was a 147-page book of questions and answers with thirty-one pages of prayers and devotions added.³³ While stationed in Baltimore for the second time, Neumann reissued the third edition of the smaller catechism,³⁴ and he was also preparing an English translation of it in enlarged form, though there is no evidence that the English version was ever printed.³⁵ Both of these catechisms were widely used in German parishes and schools for many years. By 1889, the smaller catechism had gone through thirty-eight editions and the larger, twenty-one.³⁶

It was not strange that Neumann published a catechism. Long

before his German catechisms were published, he had prepared in Latin a manuscript for the use of pastors—a resumé of the great catechism of St. Peter Canisius.³⁷ Indeed, for the writing of catechisms he was unusually well-prepared. From his seminary days he was fully acquainted with the great catechisms, those of the famed doctors, St. Peter Canisius and St. Robert Bellarmine and the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*.³⁸ Added to that, his long experience in teaching little children at New York, Buffalo, Baltimore and on his missionary journeys had made him skilled in presenting the fundamentals of the Catholic doctrine to the minds of young scholars. Said Mother Caroline, who had watched him in the classroom at close range, "He was a born catechist."³⁹

His earlier studies had prepared him, likewise, for the publication of a Bible history. The keen interest he had displayed in the Scriptures as a seminarian had stayed with him all his life. While awaiting his call to America, he had written out his exegetical notes on both the Old and New Testaments.⁴⁰ In Williamsville in 1837 he began a German Bible history.⁴¹ This appears to have been the basis of the German *Biblische Geschichte* published by Neumann in Pittsburgh in 1844.⁴² As his long manuscript, apparently written during his second stay at Baltimore, demonstrates, he was preparing a much more detailed volume, but it was never published.⁴³ However, a second edition of this printed work appeared in 1849 in Baltimore, 108 pages in length.⁴⁴ Like the catechism, it enjoyed a wide circulation for many years. However, it was never translated into English and the later *Bible History* published by Bishop Richard Gilmour of Cleveland superseded it in American parochial schools.

Theology, however, was Neumann's best field. Universally regarded as a good theologian, he contributed at this period a number of articles on the subject to the recently begun *Katholische Kirchenzeitung*, the German Catholic weekly newspaper edited in Baltimore by Max Oertel, a former Protestant minister and a convert to the Catholic Church. Unhappily, Neumann's contributions to the paper, though highly praised by the editor, were never signed by him, and to this day their identification remains a literary secret.⁴⁵

To the casual observer it is a cause of wonder that John Neumann should ever have won among ecclesiastics a reputation as a good theologian.⁴⁶ His course of studies in theology at the University of Prague, judging from the skimpy textbooks employed and the some-

what unorthodox professors whose lectures he attended, could hardly seem to qualify him for unusual proficiency in that science. The doubt fades, however, when one realizes the tremendous amount of private study he gave to the works of the greatest theologians of Christendom. From intense personal perusal of their works, he became thoroughly familiar with the teachings of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Alphonsus de Liguori, Bellarmine, Canisius and a host of other standard authorities. By far, the greatest amount of notes he amassed was in the field of theology. These manuscript notes on theology, carefully written down on 2,000 closely written pages, are proof that for long years he collected an arsenal of theological lore for his own instruction and, in all probability, for future publication. So complete were these notes that his brother priests designated them as Neumann's *Summa Theologica*, although he himself never used the term. Covering every field of dogmatic, moral and ascetical theology, they are divided into ninety-one treatises, carefully arranged under the general divisions employed by St. Thomas Aquinas in his celebrated work of the same name. There is one notable departure from the method of the great medieval Dominican theologian, the commandments of God are not treated under the virtues and vices but written up as distinct treatises. Likewise in the notes there is a heavy listing of ascetical authors like St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Teresa of Avila, Louis of Granada and others; and the wording of the general propositions in the notes was apparently taken from the then current authority in theology, Giovanni Perrone. These voluminous notes are exact quotations from the many authors he studied, with little of his own thinking in them. But they are not without value, and it was unfortunate for the fame of John Neumann that he did not complete this theological study.⁴⁷

Some have said that he was too humble a man to publish his findings, but a critical analysis of the notes would lead one to believe that it was not his humility that restrained him from sending them to the printer. As the notes stand, they are unfinished. Every author knows that there are three processes in writing—finding the material, organizing the material found, and finally composing the material. Neumann had practically completed the first two tasks, but he had not done the third. He had not fashioned the material he found into a smooth, polished and unified whole for publication. He might well have done it, as evidence indicates he was working on the manu-

scripts at this time, but he was called once again to an active rôle. On January 2, 1851, he became the first canonical rector of St. Alphonsus' Church, Baltimore, and his last chance for publishing a book on theology went out of his life forever.⁴⁸

The new rector was busy with the duties of acting provincial of the province until Hafkenschied returned in March, 1851.⁴⁹ Even when relieved of this work, he had more than enough to occupy his attention, with St. Alphonsus' and the outmissions at St. James' and St. Michael's parishes. This last started to grow in population, and it was imperative that a new church be built for the Bavarian-born Catholics settling there. The former superior, Rumppler, had already begun the work; and when Neumann took over office as rector, the indefatigable Rumppler, as assistant to Neumann, continued to superintend the construction. Before it was completely finished, services were held in it in December of that year.⁵⁰

St. Alphonsus' Rectory, with its eight Fathers, five lay brothers and nine students and five novices, was greatly overcrowded. The house was small, the rooms narrow; but regular observance continued intact under the guidance and example of the rector. He was busy about the parish affairs at all times and took his turn at preaching and at hearing confessions.⁵¹ He had the church vessels repaired and kept a sharp eye over the upkeep of the church property.⁵² Things were going smoothly.⁵³ Neumann was happy in his vocation. He said to a lay brother, "How good it is to be in the Congregation and to live in America. Here we can truly love God, work much and suffer a lot for Him, and we do all this quietly and unnoticed by the world."⁵⁴

Toward the end of that year the new Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis Patrick Kenrick, began to walk the short distance from his cathedral rectory to the Redemptorist house on Saratoga Street to go to confession to Neumann. The archbishop, who had known him before, gained a more intimate view of the man who was his confessor and revered his character. As the months of the year were fading out, the prelate threw the rector into consternation by hinting to him that he might soon have to get himself a mitre.⁵⁵ There was a diocese without a bishop—Philadelphia; but those who did not have a close knowledge of him, including a number of his confreres, could hardly credit the rumor that John Neumann might become bishop of one of the great sees in the United States.⁵⁶

CHAPTER X

Bishop-Elect: 1852

The moves behind the scenes that raised John Neumann to the hierarchy of the United States, against his express will, make an interesting story in the life of this saintly man. The choice of the simple, hardworking priest as the bishop of one of the great sees of the Catholic Church in the United States was not the result of a hurried and superficial judgment, but the culmination of much thought and prudent consideration.

The opening for his elevation to the purple came when Bishop Francis P. Kenrick, after twenty-one years of service in the Diocese of Philadelphia, first as coadjutor to the faltering Bishop Henry Conwell and later as ordinary of the same diocese, was moved to the high command of the Archdiocese of Baltimore in October, 1851.¹ Learned and hardworking, Kenrick had gone on record as favoring the transfer of the holy and able Vincentian, Bishop John Timon of Buffalo, as the most suitable choice for the archiepiscopal See of Baltimore.² Archbishop John B. Purcell of Cincinnati had hoped that Bishop John J. Chanche, S.S., of Natchez would be chosen for Baltimore; and Chanche, in turn, thought Purcell would be a good selection for the Maryland post.³ The decree of Rome, however, named Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick himself for the premier see in the United States.

As Archbishop of Baltimore, Kenrick was the metropolitan of a province, which included among others the Diocese of Philadelphia; as metropolitan he had the duty of selecting, in conjunction with the other archbishops of the country and his own suffragan bishops, the three most suitable candidates for the office of Bishop of Philadelphia. The names of those selected were to be sent to Rome in the order of their suitability.⁴ Thinking much and well over the choice of a bishop for the diocese he had left, Archbishop Kenrick also canvassed the opinions not only of the bishops of the Province of Baltimore but of the other bishops and archbishops as well.

Many considerations urged him to be careful in selecting a bishop for his former see. Naturally, he took an honest pride in the work he had done during the twenty years of his life there as bishop. He

had firmly established the diocese. He organized a diocesan seminary and multiplied the number of parishes. His wise legislation in four diocesan synods improved the internal government of the diocese. He aided the settlement of many religious congregations and sisterhoods. His travelling back and forth over a span of twenty years on visitation tours familiarized him with every problem of his vast jurisdiction. Moreover, he began the erection of a cathedral destined to be one of the most imposing church edifices in the United States. With every reason to be proud of his work in Philadelphia, Kenrick had a just appreciation of the type of shepherd needed to succeed him. But there were some difficulties.⁵

First, as a result of the steady expansion under Kenrick, the diocese was heavily in debt. As Bishop of Philadelphia, Kenrick had written to his brother, Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis, that Philadelphia was moving along smoothly financially, but on borrowed money. Should any catastrophe occur or any financial crisis necessitate the payment of all his debts at once, he declared, he would be hard put to meet them.⁶

Second, the national origins of many of his people required a bishop acquainted with the German language. This was an important consideration at the time, for the Roman officials wanted bishops to command the languages of the people in a diocese, particularly the German tongue in a diocese containing a large German population.⁷ The pointed observation of the Propaganda officials to be watchful of the language qualifications of those proposed as nominees for episcopal sees in the United States resulted, apparently, from complaints emanating from these shores. Loudest in complaints for a long time were the Germans, who looked with dismay on the sad condition of their fellow German Catholic immigrants. Undoubtedly the chief explanation for the neglect of the Germans was the lack of German-speaking priests. As early as the 1830's some Germans thought that the only remedy for their sad plight would be the appointment of a bishop from Germany or a German-born bishop who would take a special interest in the German immigrants. In 1836 the Germans of Philadelphia wrote to the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna asking it to use its good offices to obtain a German bishop.⁸

Another cause of complaint voiced by the Germans in the United States at the time was the distribution of the funds sent over by the German missionary societies in Austria and Bavaria. The sums of money from the Leopoldine Foundation and the *Ludwig*

Missionsverein were passed on to the American bishops for the general good of religion in America. The bishops, burdened with many unpaid bills, used a large part of this financial aid for building seminaries and schools and liquidating their most pressing debts. As a consequence, many struggling German pastors here, feeling that they were not receiving as much as the needs of the Germans required and the generous financial contributions from their brethren in Europe warranted, complained to their countrymen overseas. To them it appeared that the funds from the German Catholics were being diverted contrary to the intention of the donors. A particularly strong remonstrance was sent to Vienna in 1840 arguing that the money from Austria should be used here for German Catholics.⁹

The situation was delicate; the difficulties, more complex than this meagre statement manifests. The immigrant German Catholics certainly needed spiritual help. Beneath the surface of their arguments was involved the thorny problem of ultranationalism. That the Catholic laity, abetted by some of the Catholic pastors, should attempt to direct their bishops how to expend monies received from abroad and how to organize parishes, was, to put it mildly, an impertinence. With trusteeism rampant, the malcontents copied its methods to redress their grievances; their claims caused some bishops to adjudge their cause as intimately related to the insolent evil of trusteeism. The pros and the cons of the question needed careful and exhaustive study. Certainly, in some instances, their complaints, culminating in a demand for their own bishops to care for them, were highly exaggerated.

In 1846, Baron Heinrich Von Schröter, a promoter of St. Mary's Germanic colony in Pennsylvania, appealed to King Ludwig of Bavaria to use his influence as a powerful Catholic monarch to induce Rome to appoint German-speaking bishops in areas of immigrant German population. Schröter painted the colony in glowing colors as the center of the German population in the United States. He named, among others, Fathers John Neumann of St. Philomena's in Pittsburgh, Nicholas Balleis, O.S.B., of Newark, and Bishop John Laurent, the temporarily exiled Vicar Apostolic of Luxemburg as priests qualified to shepherd the dioceses wherein large German groups were settled.

King Ludwig, whose personal interest in the welfare of the Germans in the United States was always very high, readily fell in with the suggestions and relayed the memorandum to his ambassador, Graf

Spauer, in Rome. The ambassador was a personal friend of Pope Pius IX and had been instrumental in organizing a group of Zouaves in Rome. He gave a digest of Schröter's memorandum to the Propaganda officials. Under instructions from King Ludwig, Spauer later spoke personally and emphatically about the matter to the Pontiff, relating in highly exaggerated fashion the downtrodden condition of the German Catholics, the little interest shown by Irish bishops and the need of German bishops for the five million German people.¹⁰ The upshot of this was that, while no German bishops were appointed immediately to any see in the United States, the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda ordered that when names of candidates were to be selected for an open see where a large portion of foreign-speaking Catholics lived, attention should be given that those proposed should have a knowledge of the language of the foreign-born element.

Because of the large number of German Catholics flocking into the Diocese of Philadelphia at that time, it was evident that the advice of the Holy See in selecting a person who could speak German was in the mind of Archbishop Kenrick.¹¹ The correspondence of some bishops indicated that it was considered a necessary qualification.¹² But above all, the archbishop wanted someone who could carry on effectively the work which he himself had so ably begun. So he sifted the names of the men suitable for the see.

His first thought was to have Bishop Timon transferred from the less important Diocese of Buffalo to the greater See of Philadelphia,¹³ but Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick pointed out that while Timon was most suitable for the post, to transfer him from Buffalo, where he was laying the solid foundations of a new diocese, would be something of an injustice to the see so recently begun.¹⁴ The names of other ecclesiastics came to Kenrick's mind: Father Patrick Reilly of St. Mary's, Wilmington, Delaware, Father Oliver Jenkins, S.S., of Baltimore and the Franciscan Father Lawrence Cosgrave of St. Peter's, also in Wilmington.¹⁵ Actually, none of these was proposed for the see. A German priest, probably Father Joseph Schneller, then in the New York diocese, was considered,¹⁶ but Archbishop Hughes thought he might be a suitable man if the people in Philadelphia learned to know him instead of his learning to know them.¹⁷ The insinuation of rigidity seems to have been enough to leave him out of further consideration. The name of a Jesuit, probably Father George Carrell, who had formerly been in the Diocese of Philadel-

phia, was proposed, but an honestly expressed opinion of his provincial superior that he would not be the man for the diocese temporarily kept him from being nominated a bishop, though he was chosen later for the See of Covington, Kentucky.¹⁸ Other names suggested by the Archbishop of Baltimore were Father James Roosevelt Bayley of New York, later Bishop of Newark and subsequently Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Vincentian, Father Mariano Maller. Of Father Bayley, Archbishop Hughes declared that he could say pretty nearly what he said of Father Schneller so that he (Father Bayley) would be out of the question.¹⁹ Father Edward Sourin administrator of Philadelphia at the time, was considered; but while all acknowledged his sterling worth as a priest, he did not appear adapted for the particular post of bishop.

After long consideration the Archbishop of Baltimore proposed three candidates for the open see: Fathers Edward Purcell, John Neumann and William Elder.²⁰ Neumann's name had come up for consideration when Bishop O'Connor advanced it, though not for for the See of Philadelphia.²¹ The Pittsburgh prelate learned to know the calibre of the man when Neumann was superior of St. Philomena's. He had been particularly impressed when Neumann gave a retreat to the diocesan clergy.²² The Archbishop of Baltimore also esteemed him highly. Having learned to know Neumann by personal contact, Archbishop Francis Kenrick confided to his friends that he regarded his confessor as a very holy, able, and prudent man.²³ Edward Purcell was a brother of the Archbishop of Cincinnati. At that time his reputation for skill in finances and, indeed, for all the uncommon endowments suited to episcopal office was rated so high by the bishops that his name had been proposed to Rome for the sees of Monterey²⁴ and Chicago.²⁵ Bishop Ignatius Reynolds of Charleston had thought Purcell would be a suitable bishop for Savannah, but strong opposition to him on the part of some prelates caused his name to be withdrawn.²⁶ Father William Elder was a prominent member of the faculty of Mount St. Mary's Seminary and College, Emmitsburg, out of which were coming many bishops for the American hierarchy.²⁷

Bishop O'Connor, however, was particularly in favor of having Father Purcell take over the See of Philadelphia because of the latter's varied talents. Indeed, the Pittsburgh bishop had urged the elevation of Purcell to the episcopacy years before.²⁸ Archbishop Kenrick

originally placed Neumann's name first on the list, but Bishop John McGill of Richmond prevailed on him to change the order of the names and to place Purcell's first on the *terna* to be sent to Rome.²⁹

Archbishop Kenrick wanted the other archbishops and bishops to write to Rome, and many of them did. Reporting on the nominations to the Holy See, the bishops differed widely in their opinions.³⁰ In the choice of Neumann for the See of Philadelphia, the Bishop of Pittsburgh did not acquiesce; for, as he indicated to Rome, the good rector of St. Alphonsus' Church, Baltimore, was indeed a man of ability, a man who would make a good bishop; "but," he continued, "I would hesitate to commend him for the See of Philadelphia, for although he speaks English well, he cannot preach with distinction and this is absolutely necessary for a bishop."³¹ Bishop Reynolds entertained no such viewpoint and candidly told Archbishop Kenrick that being a great preacher was not the supreme qualification needed. He was emphatic about it:

The being an Irishman, a native American or an eloquent man (good preacher) are minor qualifications for a bishop. Learning, especially ecclesiastical, piety, a good judgment, method or order in business & duties, energy and industry, zeal with prudence, are the higher qualifications. Therefore I have given my name strongly for Father Newmann [*sic*].³²

The words lent added significance coming from the successor of John England, the country's great preacher. Kenrick agreed that something more than oratorical ability was needed.³³

Reynolds went on record in a letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda as wishing to have Neumann chosen over the other two as the new ruler of the Philadelphia diocese, saying:

The fact that he is a German will make him unwelcome to some, and because he is a religious will make him less acceptable to not a few. . . . but in spite of these difficulties I am certain that, if Father Neumann is elected bishop, he will in a short time win the favor of all, both clerics and lay people, for he has great intellectual powers and a certain ability to attract the minds and hearts of all to him. The argument that they say he is not skilled and polished in preaching is not of great importance. Since he can preach to the Germans and the French of the diocese makes him more useful and desirable, for he knows both languages very well and there are a great many Germans in Pennsylvania. Other things being equal, I believe that an American should be preferred for the see, especially if he is possessed of great eloquence, but Father

Neumann far outranks all the other ecclesiastics named in learning and knowledge of languages.³⁴

Bishop Richard Vincent Whelan of Wheeling wrote Rome likewise. He had objection to the naming of Purcell and Elder, the former because he lacked energy and the latter because he was young and inexperienced at the time. Of Neumann he wrote: "I believe he has the necessary piety and learning. I know he was most useful in his Congregation and on the missions." The bishop added a cautioning note, however, that Neumann was not well versed in the customs and traditions of the people, especially Protestants, a fact which up to that time had been considered necessary for the dignified and useful discharge of the episcopal office. But, of the three proposed, he preferred Neumann.³⁵ The Jesuit, Bishop James Van de Velde of Chicago, made no reservations, saying outright, "To me, Father Neumann appears the most worthy and the most qualified because in the opinion of everyone he is endowed with all the virtues and abilities required to fill such an office."³⁶

In spite of these high recommendations, other prelates besides Bishop O'Connor opposed the election of Neumann for Philadelphia. The American-born bishop, John McGill of Richmond, strongly supported the views of the Pittsburgh ordinary when he informed the Propaganda officials:

Of those commended in the second and third places, I know very little of their merits and particular qualifications, but in my judgment it is not expedient to choose either of them for this dignity in a city so great, turbulent, difficult and with malignant adversaries of our religion. He who is placed second on the list, Father Neumann, does not speak English well and I fear that his election, though favorable to the German-speaking populace, would find very little favor with the American people; and in our country English is the principal language and more necessary for a bishop. It is so now and should be in the future.

... As far as I am concerned, Father Purcell is by far the best choice.³⁷

Neither Archbishop Hughes nor Archbishop Purcell wrote Rome. Bishop Chanche of Natchez and Bishop Martin John Spalding of Louisville, as their correspondence with other bishops attested, favored the selection of Purcell.³⁸

Archbishop Kenrick sent the three names to James Cardinal Franzoni, prefect of Propaganda, placing Purcell's name first on the official list. More than that, he sent a special private letter to Father Bernard Smith, rector of the Irish College in Rome, extolling Neumann's

virtues and stating that the Redemptorist was the most suitable for the position and that in his own personal opinion his name should be first on the list. This letter to Smith was quietly submitted to the Prefect of the Propaganda through Monsignor Alexander Barnabò, secretary of that congregation.³⁹ The Archbishop of Baltimore informed the cardinal prefect on November 17:

Of the three priests I have commended, Father John Neumann is certainly the most worthy as regards piety, learning, skill in performing ecclesiastical duties and other great qualifications. He speaks both German and English fluently, but I cannot deny that one thing against him in so great a city is the fact that he is a Bohemian and, because of this, not so eloquent and less likely to please the ear. His manners, likewise, are different from those existing in our country.⁴⁰

Shortly afterwards, Barnabò quietly hinted Father Neumann would probably be the choice of the Holy Father when the time came to appoint a bishop for the See of Philadelphia.⁴¹ Archbishop Kenrick was delighted.⁴²

The man most concerned, Father John Neumann, was unaware of these proceedings. When the news of the probable choice came to his notice, Neumann was stunned. He was the last man, in his own opinion, worthy to lead the great Diocese of Philadelphia. Immediately he had his provincial write to the Redemptorist Fathers in Rome to do everything to prevent his nomination. At that time the superior general of the Redemptorist Fathers was stationed at Nocera in the Kingdom of Naples, while at Coblenz was located the successor of Passerat, Father Rudolf Smetana, the vicar-general of the houses located outside the Kingdom of Naples. A procurator of the Redemptorists, stationed at Rome, transacted the affairs of the Congregation with the Holy See.⁴³ When the letter of Hafkenscheid arrived in Europe, immediately a petition to the Holy See was drawn up by Smetana. The priest carrying the message to the highest ecclesiastical authorities was a personal friend of Pope Pius IX, the Redemptorist, Victor Deschamps, the future Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. At the time the letter was presented, the secretary of Propaganda Fide remarked that he knew Hafkenscheid and that he thought the provincial himself would make a good bishop. As for the idea of rejecting the nomination of Neumann, the Holy Father would decide, and he had his own special reasons for naming his choice.⁴⁴

There was scant comfort in such a reply for the little priest on Saratoga Street in Baltimore. On his knees and with tears in his eyes he implored Archbishop Kenrick to oppose any idea of his being named, and more than that he had the Sisters in the various convents pray for his own special intention—to escape the office of bishop. He even had the Fathers at St. Alphonsus say the seven penitential psalms.⁴⁵ When the news came back from Rome foreshadowing the eventual choice of Neumann, Kenrick intimated as much to confidants in Philadelphia. “The administrator has told you probably of the hope that I have that you may soon be assured of having a saintly Bishop,” wrote Kenrick to his friend Frenaye in Philadelphia. “Pray yet that the merciful God may grant him to you.”⁴⁶ With the eagerness to be first in breaking the news, the Catholic papers of Philadelphia published the information even before the Holy Father signed the bulls naming Neumann as bishop of the see.⁴⁷ Archbishop Kenrick was far from pleased at the premature announcement.⁴⁸

To many casual observers there was something startling in the possibility of Father Neumann’s being chosen for Philadelphia. From the days of Archbishop Carroll, most of the bishops in the eastern part of the United States had been French, Irish, and American-born prelates. Here now was talk of a German Bohemian entering the scene and coming to rule a diocese that had given to the hierarchy three archbishops,—Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore, his brother, Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis, and John Hughes of New York,—and three bishops,—Michael O’Connor of Pittsburgh, Francis Gartland of Savannah and Edward Barron of Liberia, Africa,—within recent years.⁴⁹ One of the first to register surprise was Marc Frenaye, the layman who acted as business agent for many of the bishops of the eastern seaboard.

Frenaye wrote immediately to his old friend, Kenrick, to ask if the rumor was true. Personally, said Frenaye, he was convinced that anyone Kenrick approved would be suitable. Penning his reflections on such a choice, he declared that the sentiment of Philadelphia’s Catholic population was not in favor of having a German as bishop. According to public sentiment, the most desirable would be a native-born American. Were such a one not available, an Irish-American would be the next choice, or such a one failing, a French priest, then a Spanish or an English priest. Never would it be wise to appoint a German, for Germans were believed to be very nationalistic and

prone to impose their ideas on those around them. Frenaye continued:

Such is now the state of things. All the clergy were of this opinion; a part changed after the new bishop became known, but the public have not changed much. The good Catholics, those who fulfill their duties exactly, will receive him with respect, with love and even with earnestness as the one sent by the Lord. But in their secret hearts many among them will say, 'We would have preferred that he was not a German.' All this will disappear in time after he arrives here.⁵⁰

The Philadelphia *Catholic Herald* declared that the news "filled all with pleasure and joy." Commenting on Neumann, its editor said:

He enjoys the reputation of being a clergyman of great learning and piety, and possesses those other qualities so requisite in the head of a diocese. We believe he is a German by birth; but having long been a resident of this country, we have no doubt he is sufficiently *Americanized* for this latitude. It is well-known that in this state there is a large German population for whose spiritual interest the Church has to provide."⁵¹

Father Edward Sourin, the administrator of the Diocese of Philadelphia, declared the tone of that editorial was unbecoming. As to his own sentiments on the election of Neumann, he informed Kenrick, "Whatever may be the impression made on others . . . it has given me unfeigned joy."⁵² A week later he advised the same prelate, "All who have the pleasure of knowing the Rev. Father Newman [*sic*] earnestly hope he will soon be consecrated."⁵³

The reaction of other ecclesiastics was varied. Bishop O'Connor seemed quite dismayed by the rumor.⁵⁴ The Redemptorist chronicler of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, regarded it as "highly interesting news."⁵⁵ The Sulpician, Francis L'Homme, president of St. Mary's Seminary and vicar-general in Baltimore, said no greater honor could come to the Diocese of Philadelphia than to have John Neumann named as its fourth bishop.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, the battle went on in Rome to keep Neumann from becoming a bishop. To discuss the choice of a new spiritual ruler for Philadelphia, a full meeting was called of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, by which the affairs of the church in the United States were then regulated. With the strong appeals of both Hafkenscheid and Smetana in his hands, Cardinal Altieri warmly supported their request to have the dignity denied a priest who did not want it. Neumann's life as a religious did not fit him for it. As a member

of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer his vow of poverty compelled him to refuse such dignities. He was needed by the Redemptorists in the United States.⁵⁷ Four cardinals were won over to the viewpoint of Altieri, but the majority were unmoved by the plea and voted for the selection of the man whose name had been placed second on the list of the *terna*. The decision of the cardinals together with the appeals of the Redemptorist superiors were carried to the Pope. Pius IX concluded the proceedings on February 1, 1852, by definitely naming Neumann Bishop of Philadelphia.⁵⁸ No choice was left in the matter, for the Holy Father made him bishop under obedience and without appeal.⁵⁹

The news of his selection was broken quietly to Neumann. Official confirmation of the appointment reached Archbishop Kenrick on March 1. Shortly afterwards the prelate walked down to St. Alphonsus' Rectory and went to Father Neumann's room, as was his wont when going to confession. Finding his confessor out of the house at the time, he laid on the rector's table the episcopal ring and the pectoral cross he himself had carried for twenty-one years as bishop in Philadelphia. Then he went home without saying a word to anyone. When the rector returned to his room the sparkle of the ring caught his eye; he asked the brother porter who had been to his room. Informed that the archbishop had been there, the full significance of the episcopal ring and the pectoral cross broke in on the soul of the priest who had never wanted any position of authority. He was like a stricken man. He went down on his knees in prayer. Still there and still praying, his brother Redemptorists found him the next morning.⁶⁰ But he could do nothing about his elevation. He was Bishop of Philadelphia by the Pope's command.

The news soon went over the wires of the country. Many were glad that a good priest's virtues and zeal had been recognized, while others were frankly skeptical of the result. Archbishop Francis Kenrick was highly pleased. To his brother, the Archbishop of St. Louis, he announced: "I wish without delay to make you partaker of my joy. . . . The Pope . . . named John Neumann, a very holy man, to be my successor in the See of Philadelphia."⁶¹ Writing on the same day to Bishop Spalding of Louisville, he said, "I give you the glad tidings of the appointment of Father Neumann."⁶² To the Archbishop of New York he penned his sentiments on the choice of Neumann, saying, "I believe it to be a most happy appointment."⁶³ When the

official confirmation of the choice of Neumann reached Philadelphia, Mrs. Mary Allen of that city, whose entire family had been converted to the faith by Kenrick, hastened to tell the Baltimore prelate, "I rejoice to have the report confirmed. . . . When I first heard of it, I said to all 'a mortified, humble religious is just the man whom I should expect our archbishop to recommend.'"⁶⁴ The archbishop answered, "I told you, you would have for a bishop one of whom you had never heard or thought. You will love him for your spiritual father he is so full of kindness and so holy." And to Mrs. Allen's husband, George, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, he said, "I was confident that Father Newmann [*sic*] would prove most acceptable to you and I have no doubt that he will be universally loved. He has considerable acquirements. . . ."⁶⁵

Not all the bishops were so enthusiastic as Archbishop Kenrick. Bishop Chanche of Natchez stated, "I cannot understand how the first named on the list was not appointed."⁶⁶ Archbishop Hughes remarked, "I am quite reconciled to the appointment of Father Neumann. . . . I never doubted his merit. But under the actual circumstances I did fear that Philadelphia was not the place for him. But God knows whom to choose and His choice is always the best."⁶⁷ When Bishop O'Connor heard of the appointment, he wrote:

I don't know how to explain this decision except that in their anxiety to impose some German blood into the episcopal body they laid hold of the first German name that presented itself. . . . I fear that I have much to answer for in bringing his name forward. I mentioned his name to Abp. Kenrick as a person well-suited for the Episcopacy, but I thought of him and spoke of recommending him only in connection with the See of Erie which I then consulted the Abp. about. In my letter to Rome I gave it as my decided opinion that his address or rather want of power in addressing an English audience form, in my opinion, an [insuperable?] objection to his appointment for Phila. I suppose God has overruled all for good. He is certainly a holy, zealous and learned man, besides being a most active man and a business man, though he does not appear such on short acquaintance. These are important advantages.⁶⁸

The Redemptorist rector of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, Father Louis Coudenrove, regarded the appointment as a heavy blow to the American Redemptorists and declared that Neumann was in danger of losing his soul.⁶⁹

Father Sourin, the administrator of the diocese, hurried to Baltimore a few days later and warmly assured the newly appointed ruler

of the Diocese of Philadelphia of a hearty welcome by both priests and laity in the City of Brotherly Love. With God's help, Sourin felt Neumann would effect much good. Thanking the administrator for his kind words, the bishop-elect smilingly answered that the future might painfully disillusion him.⁷⁰

Cardinal Franzoni, the prefect of Propaganda Fide, expressed the wish that the newly appointed be consecrated at an early date so that he could assist as bishop at the forthcoming First Plenary Council in Baltimore in May.⁷¹ Archbishop Kenrick set the date of the consecration for Passion Sunday, March 28, 1852, Neumann's forty-first birthday;⁷² and Hafkenschied was placed in charge of the ceremonial arrangements. The German societies of Baltimore collected money for his episcopal ring, cross, crozier and vestments.⁷³ Kenrick was to be the consecrating prelate and the Church of St. Alphonsus, Baltimore, the scene of the imposing rites. Agreeing to act as assistant at the consecration was Neumann's old friend, Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, the former pastor of the Irish church in Rochester, and at that time Bishop of Hartford.⁷⁴ Bishop O'Connor was invited to come and promised to do so, but at the last moment he was prevented by sickness;⁷⁵ and the Sulpician, Father L'Homme, was called to be the second assistant.⁷⁶ Other prelates having engagements at the time could not attend,⁷⁷ but the lack of a large distinguished gathering meant nothing to Neumann.

His reaction to the whole affair was indicated in his selection of an episcopal motto, *Passio Christi conforta me*—"Passion of Christ strengthen me!" Holding the attitude which St. Gregory the Great declared the proper sentiment for every bishop-elect,⁷⁸ Neumann was fearfully impressed with the weight of responsibility burdening him. The salvation of his soul would be surer without the mitre. On the eve of the consecration he confided to a fellow Redemptorist, "I'd rather die tomorrow than be consecrated bishop."⁷⁹

CHAPTER XI

A Consecration and a Diocese

Passion Sunday, March 28, 1852, was a momentous day in the history of St. Alphonsus' parish of Baltimore. Converging on the church from all directions came young and old to witness the elevation of a beloved pastor to the bishopric. Considering the day of the week, the twenty-five priests on hand was a large number. Among them were two priests soon to be made bishops, Father Thaddeus Amat, the Vincentian, president of St. Charles Seminary in Philadelphia, and Father William H. Elder of Mt. St. Mary's Seminary at Emmitsburg. The morning sun was scarcely up when the members of the various Catholic societies of Baltimore, children from the Redemptorist schools in holiday attire, various youth organizations and seven distinct groups of adults, preceded by banners blowing in the breeze, formed in line 1500 strong. When the clergy joined the group, the marshal of the procession garbed in a brilliant uniform led the way as the colorful assembly, big for those days, proceeded reverently along Saratoga Street to Howard, thence to Franklin and finally to Charles Street, stopping before the Baltimore Cathedral Rectory while thousands of neighbors along the route looked on from the sidewalks and the windows of their homes with solemn interest. In full episcopal array, the archbishop and his assistants were escorted to the majestic Gothic Church of St. Alphonsus, crowded to the doors.

The high-arched naves of the church echoed the joyful chant of St. Mary's (Baltimore) Seminary choir as the ceremony began. The fullness of the priesthood was to be conferred on Father John Neumann.¹ Just once before in his twenty-one years as a bishop had Francis Patrick Kenrick acted as a consecrator of another bishop, that day in 1841 when Peter Paul Lefevre was elevated to the See of Detroit. On that occasion two celebrated American ecclesiastics, John England and John Hughes, assisted as co-consecrators.² No equally distinguished churchmen stood at his side in this consecration. Without doubt, Kenrick of Baltimore little dreamed that this particular imposition of hands would be so long remembered.

In the age-old language of the Roman ritual, the senior assistant addressed Archbishop Kenrick:

"Most Reverend Father, our holy Mother, the Catholic Church, asks that you promote this priest here present to the responsibility of the episcopate."

"Have you the Apostolic mandate?" asked the consecrating prelate.

"We have."

Proceeding with the formal examination prescribed by the church, the archbishop addressed the bishop-elect, "Will you teach the people . . .?"

"I will."

The huge throng in the sacred edifice was hushed in reverent silence as the colorful drama of an episcopal consecration was enacted during the Mass. Now the consecrator was imposing hands on Father Neumann, saying: "Receive the Holy Ghost." Reverently the Book of the Gospels was placed on the bowed head and shoulders of the new bishop. There is rich symbolism in this carrying the Book of the Gospels, for by it John Neumann was signifying his willingness to carry the teachings of Christ to all his flock. Well he knew how heavy that burden would be during life and how severe the account he must render on the day of judgment. Had he not written down what the great saints of God had said about it?³ Were there not many living priests in the United States who, fearful of the responsibility, evaded or sought to evade the honor of a bishop?⁴ Did not John Hughes himself, when the rumor was first circulated about his own selection as bishop, say:

I had studied the inside as well as the outside of a mitre, and I regarded him who is obliged to wear it as entitled to pity, not envy. I had, if not humility, at least sense enough to be satisfied that the man who is qualified and willing to be a bishop in the United States deserves a recompense which he may not expect from this ungrateful world.⁵

But the decision had been made; the awful responsibility, accepted. The memorable ceremonies proceeded in steady sequence—the anointing of the bishop-elect, the blessing, the bestowal of the mitre, crozier, ring and gloves, the enthronement of the newly consecrated on the faldstool. Lighted candles, sweet-smelling incense, solemn chant, the varied and brilliant hues—shining gold, sombre black, spotless white and royal purple—it was a rich, meaningful pageantry to the soul of the man who always loved the church's liturgy.

Father Sourin preached, and witnesses said it was a wonderful sermon, but no one seems to have recorded the theme or even the

title of it. As the newly consecrated walked down the aisle to give his blessing to the people, many a tear flowed out of those eyes intently fixed on their pastor, now a bishop. They had termed him in their resolution, "so pious, so humble, so loving and so learned, a priest highly esteemed by all, Americans as well as Germans." The St. Mary's Seminary choir, aided by the voices of twenty-four youthful Redemptorists, novices and seminarians and accompanied by the thunder of the organ, broke forth into the majestic Ambrosian hymn of praise, the *Te Deum*. The episcopal consecration was ended.⁶

In all his life John Neumann had never been the center of such attention. But his head was not in the clouds. When he entered the recreation room of St. Alphonsus' Rectory, garbed for the first time in his episcopal attire with his fellow Redemptorists gathered around him admiring his new robes of office, he smilingly said, "The Church treats her bishops like a mother treats a child. When she wants to place a burden on him, she gives him new clothes."⁷

There were some notable absentees from the ceremonies. Not a single member of Neumann's immediate family was on hand. His father and sister were in Europe. When the white-haired old man was first told the news that his son was named a bishop, he refused to believe it, thinking someone was trying to ridicule him. In fact, when a second and then a third came to inform him, he told them he wanted to hear no such nonsense. Even the dean of the clergy in Prachatitz could not convince the aged father. Only when the son wrote the news himself would old Philip Neumann believe what seemed incredible.⁸ The bishop's brother, Wenzel, then a lay brother of the Redemptorist community in Detroit, could have come, for Father Hafkenscheid gave him permission to journey on to Baltimore for the great day; but the humble Redemptorist lay brother declined, saying that as much as he would like to be present, the consideration of the great distance and the cost of travelling prompted him to forego the pleasure.⁹

That evening, Bishop Neumann mounted the pulpit to deliver a farewell sermon to his beloved parishioners of St. Alphonsus'. In simple, unaffected words he expressed his heartfelt thanks for all they had done for him, particularly that morning. The services over, the German Catholics of Baltimore gave the prelate an ornamented scroll on which they expressed their sentiments in touching form. They were so proud that the Holy Father had chosen him for his

new dignity! Much as they regretted the going of this kind pastor, so highly respected by all in Baltimore, much as they would miss him, they congratulated the people of Philadelphia on their gain. Wishing him Godspeed on his forty-first birthday, they prayed that he who had been singled out for such a high place on earth would one day be numbered with the saints of God in heaven. The bishop replied, expressing his thanks and urging them to persevere in God's love and foster a strong devotion to the Mother of God.

The next day was spent in more farewells. The three Redemptorist parochial schools, he visited; and with each good-bye to his prized Catholic school children the bishop strongly urged them to remain steadfast in the teachings and practice of their faith. The final send-off was a gathering of several thousand people outside the Rectory of St. Alphonsus at eleven o'clock that night when the customary serenade was given to the departing prelate. Moreover, the people of the parish offered him a gift of \$600, and Hafkenschied presented \$500 more in the name of the Redemptorists. A deep silence reigned as the new bishop stood there in the doorway of the rectory, visibly affected as he voiced for the last time his deep gratitude for all that had been done for him.¹⁰ So, with more money than he had ever personally possessed in his life, John Neumann boarded an early train out of the City of Baltimore for Philadelphia the Tuesday following his consecration. The preparations for the coming plenary council kept the archbishop from accompanying him, but the Vincentian, Father Thaddeus Amat, Father Edmund Waldron of the Philadelphia clergy, Father Hafkenschied and five other Redemptorists were on the train as it roared on its way north.¹¹

The sky was leaden and the weather damp as the puffing locomotive slowed into the Philadelphia railroad station that Tuesday afternoon, March 30, 1852.¹² Bishop Neumann entered the city of his episcopal see with mixed feelings of loneliness and anxiety. Though hardly given to the display of his affections, he was not so emotionally stolid that he did not feel the fact that he was leaving forever his Redemptorist brethren whom he sincerely loved. Neither was his parting from the people of the parish among whom he had labored without a twinge of pain, as Archbishop Kenrick later noted.

Moreover, there was the feeling of anxiety. Here he was, as Coudenhove said, "a German bishop for the Catholic people in Philadelphia, the great majority of whom were Irish and American."¹³

The prelate said the uneasiness was due to the strangeness of his new situation and the responsibility of leading so many souls to God. Sourin, however, when speaking of Neumann's entrance into Philadelphia, definitely ascribed it to another motive, saying:

He knew very well when he came to this proud city there were many not only among those who differ from us in religion but hundreds of our own Faith who wished as an occupant for the episcopate of this diocese a man more according to the judgment of the world.¹⁴

In the minds of a minority he was not representative. He knew their thoughts. Little wonder that he wrote to his father in Bohemia that, according to human calculations, he could not expect a warm welcome in Philadelphia.¹⁵

His fears soon vanished when he arrived. A large delegation of Philadelphia priests, with Sourin at their head, greeted him warmly as he stepped from the railroad coach. There was no great demonstration of the laity nor a parade. Eager Catholics from the city had planned what they considered a more fitting welcome, but the advice of a priest, probably Sourin, dissuaded them from an official display when he said:

I am acquainted with the humility and modesty of our new bishop. He is no friend of pomp or splendor or worldly demonstrations; in fact, such a reception would annoy him exceedingly. I therefore propose as a fitting demonstration of our loyalty to him to establish a new school and to explain to him on his arrival that in doing so we sought to give expression to our joy at his appointment as Bishop of Philadelphia.

So Philadelphia welcomed its new prelate without noise or fanfare. John Neumann was delighted. Beaming with joy he said, "Oh how I thank you gentlemen for this quiet but cordial reception. It is just what I wanted." That he would rather have a school than a reception was the truth.¹⁶ But the Philadelphia laity were not to be denied. Showing him every mark of respect and veneration, they crowded St. John's Pro-Cathedral at three o'clock that afternoon for the installation—large, artistic, fashionable St. John's, built sixteen years before by John Hughes when a pastor in the diocese and now used for great church functions pending the completion of the new cathedral. To the eager, loyal Catholics anxiously awaiting his message, John Neumann said in heartfelt tones that he came to rule with the crozier in a firm but fatherly manner.¹⁷ Tschenhens described this first address as "a touching and highly apostolic sermon."¹⁸ That night

after the welcome was over, the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia could dream of his ecclesiastical domain and its problems as he rested in the episcopal residence across the city on Logan Square.

The diocese entrusted to his care included the eastern half of Pennsylvania, the entire State of Delaware and the southern part of New Jersey, roughly from Trenton to Cape May. Extending over 35,000 square miles, it comprised the present Archdiocese of Philadelphia and the dioceses of Trenton, Camden, Wilmington, Harrisburg, Scranton and a small part of Altoona. In that vast region where over a million people lived, were 100 priests working in 113 parishes with a Catholic population of 170,000.¹⁹

The City of Philadelphia, boasting 400,000 inhabitants, was the center of the region. His episcopal see, Neumann readily knew, was in an imposing, if not the most imposing, city in the United States. Visitor after visitor in those days spoke glowingly of Philadelphia's orderly arranged, well-kept streets, its many imposing public buildings, the United States Treasury building, its museums, its large libraries, its many benevolent institutions, its medical schools, the University of Pennsylvania, Girard College, Fairmount Park, its long avenues of shade trees, and its commercial enterprises. The stirring events which had taken place there and the prominent part which that old colonial city had played in the foundation of the republic cast over it an historic glamour so that the "Cradle of Liberty," Independence Hall, was held in national veneration. Nor had it lost its leadership. Nationally famous in political, financial and professional life were many of its more distinguished residents. The philanthropic spirit of its citizens expressed in movements for social and civic betterment, their refined manners, their interest in lectures, musical concerts, the ballet and the opera gave it the reputation of a city of culture. Indeed, it was the fond ambition of many an American young lady in those days to settle down in marriage in Philadelphia and own a three-story home there.²⁰

Less cultured, but growing in numbers, were other groups in Philadelphia. Recent immigrants from Europe, economically and socially underprivileged, were moving in on the fringes of the older and more settled districts—neighborhoods not nearly so respectable. Here was the seamier side of the town in these poorer sections where the peace of the city was occasionally disturbed by intermittent brawls among the members of the working classes and between the

whites and the fugitive slaves from the South. As one observer wrote, "The youth here has a disposition to blow their tops, resembling fermenting drink in bottles which makes the cork fly."²¹ Generally, however, in speaking of old Philadelphia, everyone had high words of praise for the big city on the Delaware.

In that city and its environs was the heart of the diocese, where some 90,000 Catholics lived, half of all those who owed spiritual allegiance to John Neumann. Of the dozen parishes that clustered in and about the municipal confines were St. Joseph's and St. Mary's dating from pre-revolutionary days and a more historic past. In St. Joseph's those brave old English Jesuits from Maryland had watched over the beginnings of Catholic life in the city more than a century before;²² and to St. Mary's came the Continental Congress in 1781. The very names on the tombstones in the cemetery beside it—John Barry, Father of the American Navy, Captain Rossiter of Revolutionary fame, as well as Thomas Fitzsimmons, a signer of the Constitution,—recalled proud memories of the struggle for national freedom.²³ The lately formed parish of St. John's, under the able administration of John Hughes, had attracted many prominent Catholics of the town—the Drexels, the Randalls, the Allens, the Ewings, Charles Repplier, the father of the essayist, Joseph Chandler, the congressman—and in reputation it stood out as perhaps the foremost Catholic parish of the country.²⁴ Holy Trinity Church had cared for the Germans since 1789.²⁵ St. Augustine's, burned by bigots in 1844, had the aureola of a martyr parish.²⁶ In other parishes, too, were many distinguished Catholic leaders of the nation, so that over the united group hung something of the halo of the Catholic elite.

There were other Catholics in Philadelphia whose children wore no velvet jackets. The ceaseless struggle to gain a livelihood left them little time and less inclination to frequent theaters; at their tables the traditional roast of the aristocrat was rarely seen, while plain turnips were. Socially they were a group apart. An old gentleman from the elite class had the neighborhood gossips lifting their eyebrows in horror when he invited to dinner a woman below his social level from the poor district called Northern Liberties. Maurice Francis Egan, relating his boyhood in the Philadelphia of the 1850's, said: "In Southwark we regarded Kensington and Frankford and Richmond as inhabited by tribes generally inferior to ours."²⁷

Outside the precincts of Philadelphia the contrast was even more

marked. Catholic groups were beginning to coalesce more quickly and form their first humble parishes in the smaller cities like Trenton, Scranton, Reading, York, Columbia, Easton, Chester and Wilmington.²⁸ But apart from these evolving centers, hundreds of immigrants were scattered over a multitude of settlements, coal miners in the northeastern section of the state and agricultural groups in the more southern and western sections. As a whole they were poor, with meagre education, some even not able to speak English and consequently in need of more special spiritual assistance. Their hours of labor were long; their remuneration was small; their homes, poor; their mental attitude, their manner of dress, their interests and their habits of hygiene marked them as a different social class from the older Catholic families of Philadelphia.

Undoubtedly, it was this contrast in the elements of the diocese as well as the character of the man who would be needed for it that had caused the divergent views of Bishop O'Connor and Archbishop Francis Kenrick when reporting on the nomination of John Neumann. O'Connor, who had lived for years in Philadelphia and had many of its priests directly under him when president of the seminary there, was thinking of old Philadelphia, where pleasing appearance, charm of manner, sparkling conversation and other external graces of fashion and dress were ranked highly. Here, holiness of life, experience as an executive, prudence in judgment, and solid intellectual attainments, unless accompanied by what was called distinguished preaching, won little acclaim.

John Neumann was every inch a gentleman, but he cared little for external splendor or for all of the artificial trappings with which many higher class people decked themselves. He would hardly agree with many socialite Catholic Philadelphians that Mrs. John Drew's Arch Street theater was the temple of esthetic delight and perfect culture. While he could appreciate and encourage artistic expression, as his frequent attendance at college plays and musicals testified, he discounted the value many placed on entrancing music and attendance at the ballet. Ladies in blue and pink evening gowns, with sparkling diamonds or seed-pearl earrings, in the proscenium boxes at the theater might regard these as an essential demand of the current social season; but they had no place in his calendar of appointments. Nor did he feel thrilled to dine out with men boringly discussing politics or the Shakespearean actor, Edwin Forrest, or Lola Montez, the Bavarian King Ludwig's erstwhile mistress, turned actress.²⁹

Kenrick, who knew Philadelphia well, was more keenly aware of the much larger portion of the diocese outside of the city than O'Connor ever was and though he realized that Neumann might feel more at home in a hut than in a drawing room, he was thinking of the greater part of the diocese and the more numerous poor, the general over-all problems and John Neumann's special qualifications to solve them, when he recommended him to Rome as his choice. With the local set Neumann might be unglamorous, but he would be effective with everybody.

The clergy, both secular and religious, enrolled under the leadership of Neumann in Philadelphia, were distinguished for their zeal. A great number of them were well-known ecclesiastics. Among his diocesan priests were two noted converts, Edmund Q. Waldron, then overseeing the construction of the cathedral,³⁰ and Father Charles H. Carter, who had fulfilled a vow made to the Blessed Virgin by building a few years previously the splendid Gothic Church of the Assumption.³¹ Two well-known Irish priests at opposite ends of the diocese were outstanding for energy and foresight: John Vincent O'Reilly at Silver Lake, Susquehanna, styled "The Xavier of the North,"³² and Patrick Reilly in Wilmington, whom Bishop Van de Velde wished for his successor in Chicago.³³ At Lancaster was the pioneer Father Bernard Keenan, the oldest priest in the diocese, and personal friend of James Buchanan in Wheatland, who was soon to reside at the White House as Chief Executive. So respected was the veteran cleric that both Catholics and Protestants vied to do him honor.³⁴ At Easton was Father Thomas Reardon, the first cousin of the great Irish liberator, Daniel O'Connell.³⁵

Not inferior to them were the men of note in the religious orders of the diocese. The sons of Loyola had Father Felix Barbelin, whose name was a household word in the city;³⁶ Father James Cotting, whose spirit of work was so great that the incoming bishop was to say of him that if he had ten priests like Father James Cotting in his diocese, he would convert the whole of eastern Pennsylvania in ten years.³⁷ Outstanding also was the Jesuit, Father James Ryder, former president of Holy Cross College at Worcester, Massachusetts, and former provincial of the eastern Jesuits, one of the country's best speakers, everywhere attracting great audiences and winning merited acclaim.³⁸ The Augustinians could boast of Father Patrick Moriarity, a priest of magnificent personal appearance, whose brilliant imagination, coupled with logical precision and dialectic skill that found ex-

pression in a perfectly modulated voice and a rich Irish brogue, made him much in demand as a preacher.³⁹ The Redemptorists had no such workers in the field to compare with these, though the Fathers at St. Peter's Church were doing yeoman service for the Germans in the city and over widely scattered areas in the country. Perhaps their best known member in the diocese at that time was Father Augustine Hewit, the future Paulist General, whose father, a Presbyterian minister, was intensely applauded in a Protestant meeting when he vigorously deplored his son's conversion to the Catholic Church and publicly prayed for the recantation of his errors.⁴⁰ The Vincenians had Father Thaddeus Amat, superior of the seminary, a priest already marked out by the hierarchy as of episcopal timber;⁴¹ Father John B. Tornatore, the distinguished preceptor of Francis Patrick Kenrick when that prelate was studying in the Eternal City, who was astonished at some of the opinions held by his quondam pupil in his lately published moral theology; Father Mariano Maller, who was to hold high executive posts in his order on three continents; and Father Michael Domenec, the future Bishop of Pittsburgh, who was then struggling to establish in Germantown the parish of St. Vincent in spite of bigoted attempts to stop him.⁴² Such was the personnel of the diocese entering under the direction and supervision of Bishop Neumann—a group of men who could compare favorably with any of the day. Though not a stranger to the diocese itself, particularly to the Germans in it, very few of the Philadelphia priests, particularly the Irish and American priests, had more than a passing acquaintance with the new chief pastor.

Besides instituting parishes and increasing the number of priests, Kenrick had the foresight and courage to begin his own diocesan seminary, teaching there himself and staffing it with secular priests from the start until his giving it over to the supervision of the sons of St. Vincent. That early struggle to educate his own priests was beginning to pay rich dividends in apostolic workers for the diocese, although many of the seminarians were from abroad.⁴³

In the area of higher education, thanks again to Kenrick, three religious orders of women and two of men were already in the field. The Mesdames of the Sacred Heart, whom Blessed Rose Duchesne wanted to go into the diocese ten years before Neumann arrived, had their academy at Eden Hall;⁴⁴ another such academy at McSherrystown, near the Maryland border, they were soon to give over to the Sisters of St. Joseph,⁴⁵ and the Visitation nuns were struggling along

with a similar academy in Philadelphia itself.⁴⁶ The Jesuits had already started their St. Joseph's College,⁴⁷ and out at Villanova the Augustinians reopened their college after having been forced for a time to discontinue classes.⁴⁸ Moreover, Father Patrick Reilly had successfully begun St. Mary's College at Wilmington, Delaware.⁴⁹ Over all these, with the possible exception of Eden Hall, hung the uncertainty that accompanies the beginning of such ventures. The zeal of his predecessor had also left Neumann with a number of social institutions,—a hospital staffed by Sisters of St. Joseph, three orphan asylums, a House of Good Shepherd and an asylum for widows.⁵⁰

All in all the new bishop could realize that he had fallen heir to a well-organized diocese for which Kenrick had toiled two decades. From the haphazard condition in which he had found it, the learned prelate had developed a fairly smooth-running diocesan organization. Philadelphia was no longer in the condition which John Hughes had described at the start of Kenrick's episcopacy as a diocese "long ungoverned and almost ungovernable."⁵¹ Kenrick could be proud of his work; but because he had been called to a higher post before finishing it, some problems remained unsolved. It was the consideration of these problems and the realization of the known capacities of John Neumann to solve them that probably made Kenrick pass over Neumann's lack of oratorical gifts and diplomatically persist in his desire to have him as his successor in Philadelphia.

Debts, the haunting specter that disturbed the peaceful administration of more than one American bishop at the time, stared ominously at the new ruler of the diocese. Contracted by Kenrick in his progressive development of the diocese, if there was to be further advance, they needed careful management. Since no complete financial statement of the diocese is available, it is impossible to say exactly how great these debts were, although evidence shows that they were uncomfortably heavy, for Neumann later confessed to Cardinal Franzoni that they worried him from the very commencement of his term.⁵² The cathedral in process of erection had already incurred a substantial debt.⁵³ The fashionable Church of St. John was at least \$25,000 in arrears,⁵⁴ but it had already passed the critical period. Other churches were not so fortunate, and the menacing shadow of financial insecurity fell perilously athwart them. So burdened was St. Malachy's that there was an impending danger that the sacred edifice would be sold by the sheriff.⁵⁵ Illustrating the conditions of the times, though not a matter of diocesan finance, was the plight of the Visitation Academy

opened on the Styles property, beautiful buildings on landscaped grounds at the corner of Broad and Poplar Streets in Philadelphia. A huge debt threatened to make this venture a failure.⁵⁶ Archbishop Kenrick was aware of the financial burden he had left in Philadelphia; for he wrote to his brother, the Archbishop of St. Louis, on Christmas Eve, 1851: "Things in Philadelphia are much unsettled by reason of no [ecclesiastical] head and the burden of debt [on church properties]. These conditions may be the source of discredit to me, but I trust in God and hope that the peril may soon pass over."⁵⁷

These diocesan debts had been funded and liquidated by a system of private banking. The faithful were invited to bring in their money to the episcopal residence and deposit it with a diocesan official, obtaining a receipt as proof of the loan.⁵⁸ In truth, it was a banking business with the bishop at the head of it, with all the possessions of the diocese, church property and other assets as security for the loans. While this system of borrowing money was common enough in those days among various religious groups, at best it was risky.

A layman, Marc A. Frenaye, had been controlling this loan business over a period of many years in Philadelphia. Of great assistance to Kenrick, as well as to bishops in other dioceses, he was becoming handicapped by advancing age, failing eyesight, and loss of hearing. He was still the fiscal agent of the diocese when Neumann arrived.⁵⁹

To the obligation of liquidating the debt was added the necessity of keeping the operating costs of the diocese at a proper level. Some of the diocesan institutions were having quite an uphill battle to prevent their current expenses from plunging them and the diocese into further monetary difficulties. The financial status of the House of Good Shepherd was most distressing.⁶⁰ The various means employed by the charitable institutions to meet their financial obligations—fairs, lectures, oratorios, and suppers—were given prominent notice in Catholic newspapers of the period. In the diocesan seminary itself expenses were exceeding income, and Sourin had notified Kenrick four months before Neumann entered Philadelphia that a \$5,000 deficit burdened the institution.⁶¹

Inextricably bound up with the problem of meeting interest obligations, paying off the debts and obtaining support to keep solvent the various institutions and social agencies was the task of finishing the cathedral, begun by Kenrick in 1846 and still only one-third built. The 1840's and early 1850's were the age of cathedral building in the

United States. The bishops of Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Albany, Louisville and other sees were engaged in erecting cathedrals.⁶² These dioceses were not burdened so acutely as Philadelphia. But even with the debts the wish to have a suitable cathedral in the great see on the Delaware was altogether laudable. As planned by Kenrick, the Philadelphia cathedral was to be much larger and more costly than those in other cities. Some Catholics were not altogether enthusiastic about the project because they considered the site chosen for the cathedral on Logan Square not centrally located. In fact, they humorously dubbed it "The Texas of Philadelphia" so defective was their vision of the future when the cathedral would be in the heart of the city. What worried the new bishop was not the criticism of the cathedral's location, but the need of money to continue its building operations. Very little was on hand.⁶³

In such a state of affairs the normal course of action for a new bishop would be to concentrate on reducing the debt before proceeding with new outlays. The demands of the times, however, would not permit such a course; for an outstanding problem faced him, as it did many of the other bishops in America—the problem of quickly providing for the spiritual needs of the vast influx of immigrants from Europe swarming over the United States. The years that Neumann ruled the diocese of Philadelphia paralleled one of the peak immigration periods in the history of the country. Suffering from unbearable conditions in their homelands or lured by the promise of an early millenium across the seas, hundreds of thousands of Europeans looked hopefully to establish themselves in the land of liberty and abundance. Chief among those immigrants were the Irish and Germans.⁶⁴ Thousands of them were coming into the diocese ruled by the Bishop of Philadelphia. The Irish were settling in vast numbers in and about the mining districts in Scranton, Wilkes-Barre and Pottsville, while many Germans were taking up their abodes in the farming districts, particularly in the York-Lancaster-Reading neighborhood.⁶⁵

Not a few of these nationals, oftentimes in a sad state of poverty, settled in the City of Philadelphia itself. They did not always find work readily in the larger cities; for, although the industrialization of the nation was beginning, it was not keeping pace in the early 1850's with the immigration. Railroads were being built and canals also, but not with the feverish haste of a later period, and neither shipbuilding nor heavy nor light industries were developing rapidly

enough to absorb the newly arrived job-seekers. Those going to the farms could earn their living more easily, but not everyone coming from Europe was able or willing to go to a farm. The result was that hundreds of thousands of these immigrants, faced with the obstacle of starting their life anew, went through years of struggle and hardship to establish their homes, during which time they could hardly give very generously to the church or contribute in the necessary proportion to the costs of erecting new ecclesiastical institutions. Nevertheless, the bishops in America had to provide these material helps to save the faith of the Catholics streaming in from Europe.

Every ecclesiastical ruler in America in dioceses containing large classes of immigrants was faced with the fateful dilemma of either postponing building, thus losing the immigrants and possibly their descendants for all time, or of expanding on borrowed money and thereby risking later financial distress or even ruin. A study of the economic side of this immigration problem would make a revealing contribution to the history of the church in the United States. Judging from statements in their many letters, very few, if any, of the bishops in those days had enough ready money to carry on the sorely needed building programs.⁶⁶ In consequence, they either moved slowly in erecting diocesan institutions or, if the need were imperative, erected the churches with borrowed money, mortgaging their diocesan buildings in the hope that a kind Providence and future collections from the immigrants would not only satisfy the interest demands but gradually amortize the debt. While he dreaded being involved in heavy debts, Neumann felt the risk should be assumed rather than suffer a loss of souls.

In concrete terms, the expansion necessary to meet the immigration meant more churches, more schools, and more priests, not to speak of the erection of social institutions,—hospitals, orphan asylums and the like. To the general need of more churches in the Philadelphia diocese was added the special requirements among the Germans. They had a deep conviction that for themselves separate churches were necessary. This was in the foreground of their petitions and complaints. Newcomers from Germany felt themselves isolated because of their different language. If they attended Mass in English-speaking churches, they could not understand the sermons or the announcements, nor could they take active part in parochial affairs. Therefore, they desired to have churches of their own where they could listen

to sermons in the mother tongue. There they could go regularly to confession. There those traditional observances might be retained which, though non-essential, were bound up with their religious life from childhood and in some indefinable way took on an aspect of tremendous importance. This special need added enormously to the problem of expansion. The Irish knew nothing of this language problem.

Wherever such special provisions were lacking, a grave danger existed that German Catholics would wander off to non-Catholic services where their own mother tongue was spoken and where they could therefore feel more at home. Those who sought separate German churches had as their slogan "Language saves Faith." Some prominent Germans indeed believed that this deprivation of religious services in their native language was a passing phase, and the assimilation of the German element into the English language and American ways would soon be accomplished so that not too much stress should be put on "Language saves Faith." If such assimilation could have been speedily achieved, the burden of multiplying churches would have been lessened and the dangers of wrangling and disunion avoided. This view, however, failed to reckon with the fact that immigration was not a passing phase. In those days it flowed in a steady stream. While one group of Germans would be assimilated, others would not, and fresh groups of immigrants would in turn be lost to the faith. The plea for special churches for the Germans was not, therefore, what it might seem to be on the surface—a spirit of mere nationality. The overwhelming experience of such active missionaries as John Martin Henni, the future Archbishop of Milwaukee, the celebrated Jesuit missionary, Father Francis X. Weniger, and Bishop Neumann himself taught them the need of special churches, and the character of such men lifted the appeal above national bias. If the German immigrants were to be saved, churches would have to be built for them, and more German-speaking priests would have to serve them.⁶⁷

Over and above the need of providing new churches was the paramount necessity of educating the children of the Catholics coming to this country in the principles of their religion. It was sadly evident that a short sermon on Sunday morning would not be enough to supplement a system of education emerging in America, the public school system. The haphazard condition under which education of the young had been carried on during the early days of the American

republic was undergoing an immense change. Individual schools in the various communities throughout the cities and states were being organized into a unified system. The organization was badly needed, and it did raise the material standards of education, but it occasioned spiritual rickets in the souls of its pupils, whose minds were warped and malformed for want of needed spiritual nourishment. The new public school system failed to evaluate the necessity of religion and its fundamental rôle in education. While it aimed at elevating the mind, it lamentably ignored the soul and its eternal destiny. It scandalously expelled God from the schoolroom. The change had not gone unnoticed by the Catholic prelates. Previously, when local schools were autonomous, public funds in some places were granted to Catholic schools. With the advent of the centrally organized public school system, such aid was denied. Bishop, later Archbishop, Hughes of New York and others fought to have the grants continued for separate Catholic schools.⁶⁸ Not successful in his effort, the great archbishop, as well as other Catholic bishops, found themselves forced to open their own schools to safeguard the faith of the young, a double burden since taxes were already imposed on Catholics for the public schools.

There were in the diocese about 500 children attending Catholic schools when Neumann arrived on the scene in spring, 1852.⁶⁹ Some discussion has arisen over the exact number of Catholic schools Philadelphia possessed at the time. How many schools there were depends on what one calls a school. Some called the boys' department and girls' department in the same parish two separate schools; some listed a night school as a parochial school. It is idle then to endeavor to define exactly what was a school. In one form or another, but apparently rudimentary for the most part, each parish attempted to give some schooling. What is certain, however, is that there was a dire need to get more children into Catholic schools.⁷⁰

Bishop Neumann's own view of the public school, set forth in a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna in 1841, was a strong indictment of the system that left religion out of the education of Catholic children. He complained bitterly that, while it allowed the parents to rear their children in whatever religion they chose, the apparent liberality was harmful, particularly when the teacher's attitude could instill an indifferent outlook toward religion. The textbooks, on occasion, were far from unprejudiced. He declared that these often contained "malicious perversions of truth and the grossest lies against the doc-

trine and practices of the Catholic Church. . . . These circumstances combine for the spiritual ruin of Catholic children.”⁷¹ He had much stronger words for some of the moral effects of such a system already evident in those days, especially in the country districts. And he knew what he was talking about, for few people had travelled more widely in these areas than he had. The remedy, as he saw it, was the Catholic school, where the principles of religion would be taught in thorough fashion. Realizing, while vicegerent of the Redemptorists, the grave importance of Catholic schools in America, he had energetically erected and staffed such schools with all the means at his command. It could hardly be expected that as bishop he would fail to give Catholic education primary consideration.

Concomitant with the growth in immigration and the necessity for an increase in churches and schools was the need of more workers in the field. Numerous emerging parishes required pastors, not only German but English-speaking priests as well. The new schools would mean a call for more teachers—Sisters and Brothers. Although the whole situation demanded more priests, the number of those available for such service was disproportionately small. The new bishop had to look outside his diocese and hope that his pleading words would find responsive listeners.

There were other problems, the general tasks of all bishops. Confirmation had to be conferred and visitation tours made into every nook and corner of his ecclesiastical territory. Besides this, there was the burden entailed in the executive control of a large diocese, control which meant thousands of decisions in the handling of personnel and in directives for the proper temporal and spiritual care of the parishes. There were lights and shadows in the picture that he studied after awakening from his first night’s rest on Logan Square, but Neumann settled down eagerly and resolutely to the business of running one of the country’s largest dioceses.

CHAPTER XII

The First Trying Years: 1852-1854

John Neumann spent the first five weeks of his episcopate getting acquainted with the Philadelphia section of his diocese, although one or two short trips to outlying regions were on his schedule. His first administrative act was to appoint as his vicar-general, Father Edward Sourin, whose mild and gracious manner made him dear to Kenrick and whose character was appraised by one contemporary as "meek, gentle as a dove."¹ Under the guidance of Sourin, the bishop made a grand tour of the parishes and institutions of the city, beginning the very first day after his arrival. During the first week, he preached six times and conferred confirmation. Everywhere there were extended to him "unequivocal marks of attachment and obedience," he said. The stray bits of information that have been transmitted about these first visits are revealing. At Eden Hall the chronicler recorded that the bishop gave little souvenirs to the girls at the academy, blessed them and their parents and left them, to quote her words, "penetrated with respect for his virtues."² During the serenade given him at his residence by the Germans, he was delighted with the music and the singing, but he took the occasion to tell them ever to be loyal to the church . . . an admonition some recalcitrant Germans in Philadelphia then needed.³

He detoured from the religious houses to visit the county jail, where he comforted two Polish prisoners, the Skrupinski brothers, who were under sentence of death for the atrocious killing of a Jewish boy named Lehman. Their trial had been the talk of Philadelphia, but what was of more concern to the bishop, the condemned men were Catholics who had refused to prepare themselves for eternity. As a result of the bishop's visit, the doomed men promised to accept the services of a Catholic priest. Months later, through the ministrations of Father Rudolph Etthofer, sent by the bishop, they made their peace with God before swinging from the gallows in the death house.⁴ A similar act of kindness shown in those first days was told to Archbishop Kenrick by his friend, George Allen, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He gratefully remembered how the bishop consoled him and his wife on the loss of their youngest child, "sweet

little Mary," and his thoughtfulness in sending Mrs. Allen a copy of St. Alphonsus' *Glories of Mary*, in which the grief-stricken mother found solace by reading prayers to the Sorrowful Mother.⁵

At the hall built by the Augustinian Fathers he met the members of the Philopatrian Institute, a prominent Philadelphia Catholic Literary Society, and delivered a pointed lecture on the place of literary work in Catholic life and its proper relation to it. All pursuit of knowledge, the bishop reminded them, should be made to further the interests of God. Their studies should begin with a prayer and the fruits of their reading should be used in God's service. Sound, useful knowledge, he averred, could come from perusing only works which have truths in their pages. The false ideas emanating from certain philosophies in France and Germany brought no increase in real learning. Emphatically he declared that the writings of the Transcendentalists—the Brook Farm fad of the day—as well as the publications of the so-called socialists should be found in no Catholic library. Commenting on the romantic, gushing novels of the period, the bishop warned that the reading of these had a dangerous tendency, filling the mind with vain imagery and, as he said, "displacing the hallowed love of God with the unhallowed love of His creatures." Giving a practical rule for the value of their readings, Neumann stated that in his opinion if one could not recite a fervent and heartfelt Lord's Prayer after perusing a book, he could be sure the reading had done damage to his soul. His audience long remembered that earnest, practical lecture.⁶

In spite of a furious storm, the sermon at St. Joseph's Church three nights after his arrival was attended by so many people that many had to be turned away. Describing the sermon as a "most admirable and fervent instruction," one who heard it declared:

The gentleness, the love, and yet the firmness with which he insisted on the necessity of parents having their children brought up as Catholics, not in the Church only, but at home in the family, and also in schools under the care of the Church, is a full guarantee that the day is not distant when there will be no church in Philadelphia without its school adequate for the reception and instruction of the entire Catholic youth. The day that sees that will see the spirit of riots and bloodshed cut off in its very source.

The appointment of Bishop Neumann to this See, so out of the usual order as it appears to human eyes and to carnal wisdom, is on this very account the work of God Himself. There are many beautiful coincidences in its history all full of religious significance.

The faithful of Philadelphia will find their Bishop a treasure that will grow more dear to them every day. And as they see the work of God prospering under his hands, they will feel how blessed a thing it is for Catholics to have their Church governed by the Holy Ghost, rather than have it abandoned to the intrigues and caprices of human cunning, as is the case with human religions.

The same witness wrote:

Bishop Neumann speaks English with remarkable clearness; and after a very short time in its constant practice which hitherto he has never had, few will be able to detect that it is not his mother tongue.⁷

For the honor of God and the good of souls committed to him, Neumann threw himself wholeheartedly into his work. He issued his first pastoral ten days after his arrival, thanking the faithful of Philadelphia for their kind reception; he asked for their prayers and begged them to support him with their well-known generosity in the work imposed on him by the Vicar of Christ. In this same pastoral he proclaimed the jubilee of that year, urged the support of Catholic parochial schools, and asked prayers for the coming national council.⁸ Less than four weeks later he issued a circular to the clergy to spur the construction of the cathedral.⁹

The first month the immense amount of detail work confronting him in his new office detained him in the city. There were calls to settle deeds and to admit a former Redemptorist novice into the seminary, the matter of preparing for the forthcoming council, letters to John Vincent O'Reilly finally giving him permission to proceed in establishing a young men's college at St. Joseph, Susquehanna, endless meetings, visitors coming to pay respects, and a mountain of correspondence. In fact, the prelate was so busy that in writing to his relatives at home to acquaint them with his recent elevation to the hierarchy, he was interrupted twenty times before he could finish a two-page note. "A bishop in America," he told them, "has to do everything himself and by his own hand."¹⁰ It was a pity that there was no smooth-running chancery force to help attend to the mass of administrative details. The parishes called incessantly for more priests. Only one or the other priest could be used for important service in the nerve center of the diocese. But the bishop plunged ahead. "I commence to feel somewhat more easy," he wrote to Kenrick just before he headed south for his first meeting with the assembled bishops of the United States.¹¹

Although the Bishop of Philadelphia had seen but two bishops at his consecration and none at his installation, he was to intermingle as a brother with the greatest convocation of the Catholic hierarchy America had ever seen. The second Saturday night in May, 1852, when the great clock on the historic Baltimore cathedral rang out and the bells of all Catholic churches in the city answered back gayly, everybody in the great metropolis knew an important event was stirring. For days Baltimore Catholics had been hastening to the railroad stations in carriages and hackney coaches to meet the incoming prelates and their theologians and to escort them to their places of residence during the council. Some were lodged in rectories, but most were in private homes because the hotel accommodations were inadequate for such large numbers. Hundreds of strangers from all over the country came with the prelates; and the omnibuses were busy carrying them to different parts of the city.¹² On the morrow, May 9, 1852, they were to open the First National Council of the bishops of the United States. Baltimore had witnessed seven councils during the preceding twenty-three years, but they were provincial councils. This was a national council with prelates from North and South and East and West, from ocean to ocean. There had never been so many; there had never been a group from such widely scattered parts of the Union, and perhaps never so cosmopolitan a group of prelates in historic Baltimore.

Of the thirty-one prelates assembled, the highest ranking leaders in ecclesiastical jurisdiction were the six archbishops of the six ecclesiastical provinces of the country. Foremost in learning was the Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis Patrick Kenrick, whose books on dogmatic and moral theology were used in practically every seminary in the country and in many of those in Europe. His distinguished career received a new official note of approbation when Rome named him ablegate of the Holy See for the convening council.¹³ John Hughes, the Archbishop of New York, had greater prestige because of his pre-eminent record in defending the faith against the attacks of the church's enemies. His triumphant vindication of the Catholic claims against the Presbyterian minister, John Breckinridge, his fight for support of schools in New York State, even appearing before the state legislature, his vigorous defense against threatening mobs in New York City in 1844, his oratorical ability and devastating polemical skill in both speeches and writings made him dear to the heart of every fighting Catholic. As one eyewitness described him when the

prelate addressed the Congress of the United States, "He stood like Paul before the Areopagus."¹⁴ These two leaders of the church on the eastern seaboard were effectively aided by the very capable bishops, John Fitzpatrick of Boston,¹⁵ John Timon of Buffalo,¹⁶ the learned Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh,¹⁷ and John McCloskey, the meek but accomplished young Bishop of Albany, who was one day to become the first cardinal of the United States.¹⁸

From the Midwest came three outstanding prelates, not ranked quite so highly in public esteem as either Kenrick or Hughes, Archbishop John Purcell from Cincinnati,¹⁹ Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick from St. Louis,²⁰ and Archbishop Anthony Blanc from New Orleans.²¹ Building on the primitive foundations laid in the eighteenth century by French, Spanish and Irish missionaries in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys²² and strengthened in the earlier nineteenth century by Bishops William Dubourg and Joseph Rosati,²³ these three prelates so multiplied churches and propagated the Catholic cause that the native Know-Nothings were crying in alarm; and some Protestant leaders, awakened by the advance of the church along the great length of the Mississippi, were shouting "Save the Valley! Save the Valley!"²⁴

Perhaps the most capable supporter of the archbishops in the region was Bishop Martin John Spalding, already well-known as a Catholic apologist by his lectures on the Protestant Reformation, who attained greater fame only fourteen years later when he so ably guided the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore after the bloody, exhausting Civil War.²⁵ From the far Northwest came Archbishop Norbert Blanchet of Oregon, who was struggling to lay the foundations of the church in the Pacific Northwest.²⁶

These leaders were relatively young men, in their middle fifties, though Spalding, O'Connor and McCloskey, all bishops, were only forty-two years of age. What was striking about the whole group was the fact that two-thirds of them were foreign-born. The rising American-born bishops, nine in all,—John Fitzpatrick; Richard Miles, O.P.; McCloskey; Chanche, S.S.; Spalding; Reynolds; Timon, C.M.; John McGill and Richard Vincent Whelan,—had not as a group reached the highest spheres of action in the American hierarchy, though the first, second and fifth archbishops of Baltimore,—John Carroll, Leonard Neale, and Samuel Eccleston,—were native Americans who individually had reached the top rung of the ladder. Eight French-born prelates were present; Bishop Michael Portier of Mobile

was the oldest of them. The seven Irish-born prelates, having prestige above the others, really exerted at this stage of the church's growth an influence out of proportion to their number. The remainder were two Canadian-born; two natives of Belgium; the Swiss-German, Bishop John Martin Henni, who was to add a notable chapter to the growth of the church in the Middle West; Bishop Joseph Alemany, O.P., a Spaniard ruling the Diocese of Monterey, California, who was soon to see the southwest portion of the church in the United States, over which he ruled, raised to a province. Youngest on the list in point of consecration, though only fifth youngest in age, was John Neumann.

A cosmopolitan gathering it was. Neumann could have taken comfort in the thought that more than one-third of the prelates came from countries not speaking the English language. Most of these foreigners, however, were out on the frontiers, while he was in cultured Philadelphia, the most American of cities, the very cradle of national independence. The prelates of religious orders attending were mostly from missionary dioceses in the West. Only one, the Vincentian, Timon, was in the East. The Dominican, Miles, dean of the hierarchy and the only American prelate more than sixty years of age, was guiding the church in Tennessee, and the other Dominican in the hierarchy, Alemany, was in far-off California. The Vincentian, John Odin, was in Texas; the Jesuit, Van de Velde, was in the young but fast-growing Diocese of Chicago, while another son of Loyola, John Miede, was out in the Indian Territory. Neumann was a religious in the heart of the East. For all its cosmopolitan aspects the hierarchy was highly regarded even by non-Catholics in a Know-Nothing era. Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, a Roman observer in the United States, was to give that group of bishops the highest encomium when he wrote his secret report to Rome the next year. "They are all distinguished in every way and worthy of their elevated positions."²⁷

That was the hierarchy into which Neumann was initiated in May, 1852. Barring Archbishop Hughes of New York, he had the leading Catholic diocese in the country. Yet he was not well-known even among the ecclesiastics. He had engaged in no public debates like Archbishops Hughes and Purcell, who had successfully engaged the Protestant divines, the former, Breckinridge and the latter, Campbell; he had won no notice as an apologist for the church like Martin John Spalding; he had no background of brilliant study at Propaganda in

Rome like Michael O'Connor; he had not the commanding appearance of Fitzpatrick of Boston nor the *savoir faire* of Chanche nor even a reputation for speaking like McCloskey of Albany or Reynolds of Charleston. In public esteem and public notice, these were far ahead of him. His own theologian at the council, Sourin, scarcely knew him, but the day was to come when that same Sourin was to say, "There was not in the United States a priest or bishop his superior!"²⁸

A tremendous crowd of eager Baltimoreans watched the hierarchy move in solemn procession from the archbishop's residence to the cathedral that bright Sunday morning of May 9, 1852. The line of march was swarming with onlookers on the streets, on the terraces, leaning from windows and balconies and even from the housetops.²⁹ For the first time in America the full splendor of the Catholic liturgy was displayed to public gaze. As one writer described it:

The large cross, the candles of the acolytes, the censers, the long line of surpliced priests, officials and theologians of the Council, the varied robes of the twelve religious Orders . . . the rich vestments, the mitres and the croziers of the twenty-four bishops and six archbishops, with young pages bearing their trains, made a procession of beauty and majesty.³⁰

The history of the Church of Rome in America was no more the story of a black-gowned Jesuit martyr nor a brown-robed Franciscan along the mission trail nor lonely diocesan priests pioneering in the wilderness. The hierarchy was a great body of scholars, of public speakers, some of them reputed high in sanctity and in intellectual achievements.

The council proceeded to deliberate for ten days. It may be called a consolidating council since it was convoked for that very purpose, to consolidate the canonical legislation of the first seven provincial councils of Baltimore and to make their enactments binding on the Catholics of the whole country. Because of the diverse national character of the bishops and people and the varying customs of different dioceses, there was great need for this consolidation. "Pray," wrote the ablegate of the council on May 10, 1852, to his friend, Mrs. Allen in Philadelphia, "that our deliberations may be divinely directed so as to consolidate this great hierarchy which already embraces the whole Union."³¹

Before the council were various subjects for consideration. Trustees, parish schools, uniformity in liturgical practices, the necessity of

splitting up large dioceses into smaller ones so that the dominant problem of immigration—providing sufficient priests and churches for the incoming populations—might be more effectively dealt with, the administration of temporal affairs in the parishes, and similar questions held the interest of the bishops.³² Neumann was entirely familiar with these topics so that, while he was the youngest bishop at the council in consecration, he did not have to sit back and learn from the beginning like a young man thrown into a new sphere of action. The “gentle bishop,” as Francis Patrick Kenrick called him, was no novice in these matters.

The assembly did in truth consolidate the legislation of the seven preceding councils. In its most wide-reaching decision, the council placed a new emphasis on the necessity of parochial schools. In a striking plea it begged all pastors to institute schools without waiting for support from the state. The committee which formulated the decree was the one on which Neumann was working.³³ It echoed his sentiments exactly. He was likewise on the committee which was to revise the manual of church ceremonies so as to bring uniformity in the celebration of divine worship. The multiplicity of catechisms, especially in German, had come to the notice of the council. It commissioned the young prelate from Philadelphia to write a German catechism or choose one already written and submit it to the other German-speaking prelates for the use of the German parishes. Thus it was that the larger catechism of Bishop Neumann, a 180-page work, appeared in August, 1853, with the approbation of the Baltimore Council. Still another commission was given to him—he was to write in the name of the council a letter to the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna, thanking its members for their generous help in the past and soliciting its continuance.³⁴

One notable feature of the council was its decision to refrain from making a public pronouncement on the slavery question then agitating the country. The subject had explosive possibilities. Partisan strife had already split many Protestant churches into Church North and Church South. Nevertheless, many expected that this, the greatest of Catholic assemblies in the United States up to 1852, would take cognizance of the political debates and give an official statement of the church's position on slavery. There was no question about the belief of Catholics concerning the slave trade, for that had been explicitly condemned some years before by Pope Gregory XVI. The *institution* of slavery, however, had not been mentioned by the Pope;

and some Catholics, while deploring heartily certain features of slavery as it then existed, believed it was not against the natural law. There is little doubt that the American Catholic bishops, as a whole, believed that slavery should be abolished in the United States. They maintained, however, that the gradual elimination of it would be better than resorting to the violent measures advocated by the abolitionists. To the assembled prelates, this foremost political problem had become too complex and was too bitterly discussed to allow their making any official statement without appearing to take sides with the pro-slavery advocates or with the noisy proponents of abolition. While it may have discussed the matter in private, the council made no public allusion to the subject.³⁵

Some Catholics were disappointed at this silence and felt that harm would result to the church in both North and South. But no one can deny that in those days a declaration one way or the other would have been construed as partisan politics. So confused in the public mind were the views of those who favored slavery and those who opposed it, and so inflamed and partisan were their feelings, that any official statement was very likely to be misunderstood as a stand in favor of a nominee or a political platform. Against every argument of those who favored public pronouncement stands clear the intrinsic fact that the decision of the council to remain aloof preserved unity in the Catholic body—the only church that was not split asunder on the question.

Recognizing the expansion of recent years, the council recommended the formation of eleven new dioceses in the United States. Bishop Neumann was interested in this phase of the council's work, for one of the dioceses to be erected was that of Newark, New Jersey, which would include the lower half of New Jersey, until then under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Philadelphia. Thus the new bishop surrendered part of his diocese in the very beginning of his career. "It is my sincere wish that my diocese be made as small as possible," he wrote to Kenrick.³⁶

The council treated another matter which was of special concern in Philadelphia. It decreed:

We warn the priests of the churches, with titles in the hands of the bishop, not to appoint trustees for them or permit these to be elected by the faithful without the authority of the bishops, lest difficulties arise to impede their free administration.³⁷

He was soon to recall this. Similar suggestions in the council John Neumann noted—especially the law to give parochial limits to parishes and to exercise care in selecting priests from abroad. His record shows that every suggestion was put into effect in his diocese.

From that council he came away far better known than when he entered it. His profound sacred learning and genuine moderation won attention. The Benedictine, Abbot Boniface Wimmer, who attended this council, declared years later:

At one (or two?) Councils of Baltimore... I got a chance to discover that he had a really excellent memory and extensive knowledge in theology. He could give an answer to all questions that came up. What edified me most in him was his calmness and self-possession, which proved his humility and self-control. I always did regard him as a little saint!³⁸

"Bishop Neumann is only a few weeks among his flock," wrote Hafkenschied to the Leopoldine Foundation in June, 1852, "and already all Americans as well as Germans, Catholic and Protestant, admire his piety, his activity, and his truly humble learning."³⁹ One has to allow for personal esteem in this appraisal. Mrs. Allen reported that the admiration for the bishop grew only gradually. "Bishop Neumann is better appreciated now than he was at first," she told Kenrick.⁴⁰

John Neumann returned from Baltimore and continued to demonstrate his all-consuming zeal. His daily schedules reveal an astounding list of activities. One wonders how he ever found time under such stress and strain to work on the catechism recommended by the council. Every day was a full day. His diversified activities would have undermined the health of many a prelate. Only later was it disclosed that he made a vow never to lose a minute of time,⁴¹ imitating in that respect another hardworking bishop, St. Alphonsus Liguori, whom the church reverences with the title of *Doctor Zelantissimus* (Most Zealous Doctor). Indefatigably, Neumann was working,—working always at a fast, steady pace. At one time he was writing letters; at another, drawing up the framework for a society, visiting the sick, hearing confessions, meeting visitors, or officiating at commencement exercises, laying cornerstones, conferring orders on neophytes to the priesthood—a continuous series of small actions. In everything he did he displayed the fervor which De Sales calls "a vehement and permanent desire of pleasing God in all things." Like a fast-working machine with its hundred rapid needles, seemingly

unco-ordinated, weaving a garment, so the many daily activities of the bishop produced a well-designed program of works that compares favorably with the achievements of the most successful bishops of his day. A planned program, not a haphazard series of activities—such was his objective.

The first manifestation in those early days of a carefully worked out design was the attention he gave to parish schools. Even before coming to his see, Neumann's desire for the establishment of Catholic schools was known in Philadelphia.⁴² The Catholics of Philadelphia, in a spirit of cooperation, held a meeting of the pewholders of several parishes five days after his arrival to determine the preliminary arrangements for the permanent establishment of parochial schools. The beloved Father Barbelin was chairman, and the resolution to invite each Philadelphia parish to send five delegates led by their respective pastors to a second meeting was carried at this opening meeting.⁴³ The new bishop went out of his way in his first pastoral to give an approving nod to the idea:

We exhort the pastors and all who have at heart the best interests of youth to spare no efforts to ensure success. Whatever difficulties may at first attend and even obstruct this most desirable undertaking will be gradually overcome by mutual goodwill and cooperation.⁴⁴

This meeting was followed by a second on April 28, 1852, in the episcopal residence, at which the more prominent pastors of the city as well as a number of Philadelphia's outstanding laymen, including Mr. Charles Replier, were present.⁴⁵ In the third meeting on May 3, 1852, at which the bishop again presided, steady insistence on parochial schools bore fruit.

This meeting held in his own home made history for the church in the United States by adopting a Central Board of Education for the Diocese of Philadelphia. This Central Board, under the presidency of the bishop, was to consist of the pastor and two laymen of each parish appointed by the respective pastors. The duties of the board were restricted to providing for a general appeal to the faithful for aid in the school building program. The board was to recommend a general plan of instruction for all parochial schools, to have some authority, under the direction of the bishop, concerning the distribution of the funds gathered, but it was not to interfere with the individual school. The hiring of teachers and the paying of salaries was to be left to the pastor. Here was the genesis of the present diocesan

system of parochial schools prevalent today throughout the United States; and the historians of the Catholic school system point it out as one of the distinct achievements of Bishop Neumann.⁴⁶

The actual setup for the collection of funds required two more meetings of the board. By May 30 it had hammered out a plan for a special society to protect and educate poor Catholic children. Its official title was *Young Catholic Friends' Society*.⁴⁷ This organization was modeled on one already established in Baltimore. In fact, while the matter of establishing such an organization had been voted upon in the Plenary Council, members were irreconcilable on the advisability of putting it in the acts of the council and defeated it by a margin of one vote.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Philadelphia, which had already organized its Central Board, went ahead with it, formed by-laws and charged all members a one dollar initiation fee and twelve and a half cents monthly for dues.

To the bishop's program for Catholic schools came two great aids: one, the stirring pastoral of the Plenary Council urging all to the formation of Catholic schools; the other, a series of lectures by prominent speakers. The Fathers of the council addressed the laity:

. . . Give your children a Christian education, that is, an education based on religious principles, accompanied by religious practices and always subordinate to religious influence. Be not led astray by the false and delusive theories which are so prevalent, and which leave youth without religion, and, consequently, without anything to control the passions, promote the real happiness of the individual, and make society find in the increase of its members, a source of security and prosperity. Listen not to those who would persuade you that religion can be separated from secular instruction. If your children, while they advance in human sciences, are not taught the science of the saints, their minds will be filled with every error, their hearts will be receptacles of every vice. . . . Encourage the establishment and support of Catholic schools; make every sacrifice which may be necessary for this object.⁴⁹

The speakers in the cause of Catholic schools gave a further stimulus to the movement. Bishop John Loras of Dubuque, Iowa, and Archbishop Hughes of New York both addressed a meeting of the Philadelphia Central Board in May. The western prelate declared that in his section of the country a number of Catholic schools had already obtained a portion of the public funds from the legislature, while Hughes insisted that Catholic schools be carried through immediately, no matter what the cost.⁵⁰

Under the impetus of the school building program the energetic Father Daniel Devitt of St. Patrick's parish brought in prominent lecturers to his parish hall, such speakers as Dr. John McCaffrey, president of Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, one of the church's leading intellectual lights in that day; James Alphonsus McMaster, the gifted and militant editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal*; Dr. Monahan and Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, all leading battlers for the cause of Catholic schools.⁵¹

To keep the movement in high gear, Bishop Neumann preached indefatigably on the need of Catholic schools. At Danville in November he preached on the education of children to a crowded church with such unction that witnesses said that there was hardly a dry eye in the congregation when he finished.⁵² A month later at St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, his sermon to a capacity audience on the need of priests and schools was spoken of as one that listeners would long remember.⁵³ Archbishop Kenrick was to say of Bishop Neumann: "The earnestness with which he promoted Catholic schools showed how deeply impressed he was with the necessity of religious education in order to secure the perseverance of the rising generation in faith and virtue."⁵⁴ In a letter to a Jesuit priest giving delegation to absolve a couple excommunicated as a result of a marriage outside the church, the bishop rejoiced exceedingly that the missionary was aware of the terrible harm of such cases. "Indeed I have become aware," Neumann wrote, "more and more each day and for many years that all efforts avail little unless the parents are constantly instructed in season and out of season that they may pay more attention to the Christian education of their children." Basic Catholic education, he declared, was needed to check the fearful spiritual consequences flowing from hasty, ill-considered marriages, contracted in disregard of the rules and admonitions of the church more out of passion than of love. He continued in the same letter:

All these horrible evils cannot be done away with except by the erection of Catholic schools and by instructions and popular sermons on the various states of life . . . and this I inculcate on every occasion to the missionaries of this diocese unless they wish to see very many souls lost together with their own.⁵⁵

Catholic schools were the key project of the Bishop of Philadelphia, which he sought unremittingly.

The continued insistence upon the necessity of parochial schools

soon brought results. Catholic school life in Philadelphia began to grow as it never had before. This is not to say that the zealous Kenrick had not endeavored to promote Catholic education. He had. But the fluid, unstable nature of the Catholic schools called for a reorganization, particularly since at that very time the public school system was being consolidated on its godless basis, and funds heretofore available for Catholic schools in some localities were being withdrawn. John Neumann's idea was that a Catholic school should be a separate building with suitable equipment and its staff should be made up of competent teachers selected by and under the supervision of the pastor. A definite place accorded to religious instruction was part and parcel of his program. The makeshift variety of school in the church basements or in small one-room houses that existed in many places he sought to eliminate, where possible, by urging the erection of larger schools so that they would be more permanent and essential parts of the parishes. His effort was directed not only toward increasing the number of schools but to have them large enough for the needs and properly staffed.

In those parishes where schools had already been established and which for some reason or other had become moribund, new life was injected and they were reopened. Thus, St. John's began,⁵⁶ or rather rebegan, a school of about 250 children in May, 1852, and St. Augustine's, which also had one before, was recharged with activity.⁵⁷ The relatively poor parish of St. Patrick's erected a school for 800 pupils, a magnificent three-story building that elicited very favorable comment. Observers were loud in their praise for the pastor, Father Devitt, and for his assistant, Father William O'Hara, the future Bishop of Scranton.⁵⁸ "Already Catholic schools are being formed in Philadelphia," wrote Hafkenschied to the Archbishop of Munich on June 19, 1852.⁵⁹ By October of that year one Philadelphia correspondent was reporting to Max Oertel, editor of the *Katholische Kirchenzeitung*, "There is a wonderful upswing in Catholic school life here."⁶⁰ The editor of the *Freeman's Journal* was more than surprised at the activity in Catholic schools when he went to Philadelphia in December. He told his readers:

We were astonished at the fresh spring the cause has taken in our Sister City. Schools are already opened and flourishing in many, we believe most, of the parishes; and if we mistake not, the most active preparations are on foot in every parish of that city, without one exception, for the opening of well-conducted Catholic schools.⁶¹

A new three-story school was built at St. Peter's and the boys' division was placed under the Christian Brothers, who came to supplant the lay teachers.⁶² A boys' school was opened at St. Mary's,⁶³ which already had a girls' department. As the months rolled on, parish schools appeared in ever increasing numbers—Assumption,⁶⁴ St. Philip's⁶⁵ and St. Francis Xavier's⁶⁶ soon had new parochial school establishments. It was not always easy to get them operating. For instance, when the pastor of St. Michael's Church showed a disinclination to provide the new school, he was told that if he did not do so, another means would be taken to get the school set up. In fact, the curate of the parish, Father Daniel Sheridan, was put in charge of the school building, and the day of the opening St. Michael's school 800 to 900 pupils registered.⁶⁷ Moreover, there appeared a growing animosity in the non-Catholic portion of the city, which looked on the building of the new schools as a lack of confidence in the common schools. Their dislike of Catholics because of this matter took a tangible form—some five teachers lost their positions in the public schools; and, suspiciously enough, those losing them were Catholic teachers.⁶⁸ The Know-Nothings were riding high in local politics in 1854.

In the smaller places of the diocese, the same zeal for schools was aroused. York⁶⁹ and Lancaster,⁷⁰ Bristol and Pottsville,⁷¹ as well as Lebanon and Pottstown,⁷² were progressing with new but small parochial schools. At York, a school was opened by the pastor of the English-speaking parish. Neumann ordered the German children to attend it even though there was bickering between the two language groups and even though catechism was taught in English, not in German.⁷³

Delighted with the progress he had made with the schools, the Bishop of Philadelphia wrote to his father in Bohemia in November, 1853, "Much has been done for the schools. The number of children in them has increased from five hundred to five thousand; and before another year has passed, I hope to have ten thousand children in our schools here in Philadelphia."⁷⁴ He did not quite reach that objective, but after thirty months of concentrated effort he had raised the number of parish school children in the diocese from 500 to 9,000.⁷⁵ Appreciating the demands made on the Catholic people, he wrote in the same letter, "the sacrifice which the good people are willing to make, proves more than anything else their love for our

Holy Faith and makes easier my position, which otherwise would be almost unbearable."⁷⁶

The splendid success that crowned Neumann's efforts in regard to parochial schools was not at all duplicated in the higher institutions of study. Here there was no multiplying of buildings. The three colleges he found on his entrance to the diocese—Villanova, St. Joseph's, and St. Mary's in Wilmington—had to face great obstacles. The College of Villanova still had a small enrollment and was struggling to gain a solid foothold.⁷⁷ The Jesuit venture, St. Joseph's College in historic Willing's Alley, long an academy, was just beginning to rise to the college level, thanks to the efforts of Father Barbelin and Father Villiger. Although it had only sixty-five day scholars in 1851, it was gaining more students, among them an eight-year-old boy who was later to be a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Joseph McKenna. St. Joseph's gave promise of supplying the need of a long-desired Catholic college in the city of Philadelphia itself.⁷⁸ The really advanced Catholic college was that of St. Mary's, beautifully located in the northeastern suburbs of Wilmington, Delaware. With the aid of the Du Ponts, Father Patrick Reilly won a charter for this college and had 160 students in it in the early 1850's, among them Henry Brann, who was to contribute much to the Catholic cause by his writings, and Michael Augustine Corrigan, the future Archbishop of New York.⁷⁹ At Susquehanna, Dauphin County, Father John Vincent O'Reilly was endeavoring to establish a college for men. With Neumann's approval he successfully launched St. Joseph's College in September, 1852, but it enrolled only a small number of students, forty or fifty, during those early years.⁸⁰

Catholic higher education for women was suffering from malnutrition. The Mesdames of the Sacred Heart came up from McSherrystown to Philadelphia and, after a precarious start, did well at Eden Hall.⁸¹ The Visitation Academy in Philadelphia, however, ran afoul of debts and, to Neumann's great sorrow, closed its doors five months after his arrival in the diocese. It was a case of a bad location. Although the Sisters had purchased a beautiful site for their academy, it was not a practical one. Too close to the city for boarders, it was also too far out and inconvenient for day scholars; between the two handicaps it went down in financial ruin.⁸² In vain did Neumann try to hold these Visitation nuns in his diocese. He was sure a high school under their care would succeed, but they left

for Georgetown, D. C., where better prospects were in sight.⁸³ The next year there was consideration given to a new location for the Visitation Sisters in Philadelphia but Bishop Neumann, after examining the two houses proposed, rejected them, one because it was too small and the other because the price asked for it "would require funds which we cannot command." The bishop was eager to have the nuns return, especially since the city needed them, but he was wary of a financial trap.⁸⁴ Two months later he informed these nuns that Philadelphia people were inquiring about them and asking when they would return. Neumann declared:

I hope . . . that the time will come when the Daughters of St. Francis of Sales will return to Phila. Let us pray that the most holy Will of God be done.⁸⁵

The one move that eventually helped higher education for women was the establishment of the Sisters of St. Joseph at McSherrystown to care for the academy there after the Mesdames of the Sacred Heart left. They never had many pupils, but later the Sisters moved from McSherrystown to Mt. St. Joseph's in Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, where the future saw the development of a highly successful girls' academy.⁸⁶

The colleges could hardly be expected to grow quickly. They had just opened, and time was needed before any expansion program could be adopted with hope of success. The bishop himself confessed to Kenrick that at this time the general feeling in Pennsylvania was not so favorable to Catholic higher education as in Maryland.⁸⁷ Yet for all that, Neumann's support of these places of higher learning was constantly evident. He went to their commencement exercises. He even took part in their discussions, oftentimes said Mass for them and more than once heard the confessions of the collegians.⁸⁸ To all he was a welcome guest. At Eden Hall, especially, the students and teachers came to appreciate the bishop as a holy man, and learned, too. On one particular occasion when the young women were baffled in their effort to ascertain the name of a certain flower, and their books could not help them, the bishop walked in and identified it quickly. Much to the joy of the ante-bellum Philadelphia ladies, he gave the name and the genus of the flower and the book in which they could find the information. On another occasion when the teacher and the students of astronomy thought they had found a discrepancy between what their textbook said and what they had

personally observed in the heavens through the telescope, he solved the doubt in a few words and walked away with a smile on his face.⁸⁹

Early in his episcopal career the need of more priests, particularly to care for the Germans, was strongly impressed upon him. The condition of the Germans was tragic even though Kenrick had done his utmost to alleviate it. In a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna in September, 1852, Neumann declared:

Since my last letter in May, I have visited more than half the diocese and I'm more strongly convinced that very much effort and great sacrifices must be made to sustain and strengthen the faith of the numerous German Catholics of this diocese. My revered predecessor, the present Archbishop of Baltimore, gave evidence of his fatherly care for them. He himself learned the German language, preached and heard confessions in it whenever the opportunity offered. However, because he did not have a sufficient number of German priests, he could not hasten the building of German churches.⁹⁰

In order to relieve the shortage of German-speaking priests, the new bishop was soon writing to his old spiritual director, Father Dichtl in Prague. Here was a fine contact man who would get him priests from overseas. The promise of half a dozen German priests for the American mission delighted Neumann.⁹¹ Actually only one priest and one seminarian came the first year. In fact, as a source of supply, Europe never fulfilled its promise in Neumann's estimation.⁹² To meet the situation, several German seminarians,—Caspar Mueller,⁹³ Sylvester Eagle,⁹⁴ Francis Wachter, Rudolf Kuenzer,⁹⁵—and an Englishman, Matthias Cobbin, who had spent years in Germany, were ordained and pressed into service.⁹⁶ What really made the lack of German priests critical was the fact that while many of the mission stations under the care of the Jesuits from Conewago and of the Redemptorists from Philadelphia and Baltimore were ready to emerge as separate parishes, neither the Jesuit nor the Redemptorist provincial wanted to accept these places as foundations. On the contrary, due to increasing work in their central houses, they found themselves unable to attend to many small outmissions previously visited.⁹⁷

A new disappointment, considering the lack of priests, was the resolution of the Vincentian superior general in Rome to withdraw his men from the teaching staff of the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo. The naming of Father Amat as Bishop of Monterey, California, to succeed Bishop Alemany, who became the first Arch-

bishop of San Francisco, precipitated the crisis. The Vincentians had already lost Fathers Rosati, Odin, Timon and DeNeckere to the hierarchy. Since their general in Rome was fearful that more of their number would be made bishops, he recalled them from the Philadelphia seminary, much to Neumann's embarrassment. The good bishop had hopes of bringing them back later, but the hopes were never realized.⁹⁸ Fortunately, the Vincentian superior left Father Michael Domenec in Philadelphia at St. Vincent de Paul's parish, which he brought to a flourishing condition before his merits won for him a mitre in Pittsburgh.⁹⁹

The departure of the seminary staff forced the bishop to recruit new professors from the secular clergy, then so badly needed in the parishes. Bishop Neumann was observing the first assistant of St. Patrick's Church, Philadelphia, Father William O'Hara. Forthwith he made him the new superior of the seminary, the first step on the way to a bishopric at Scranton.¹⁰⁰ The bishop soon recruited some capable professors around Father O'Hara, including Father Joseph Ignatius Balfe, whose learning and piety the prelate regarded highly.¹⁰¹

In spite of his grievous need of priests, Neumann went right ahead with a dynamic church building program. Thanks to his energy and support, this paramount need of those years of immigration was progressively supplied. The churches started by Kenrick at Salem,¹⁰² New Jersey, Dallastown,¹⁰³ Pennsylvania, and St. Malachy's, Philadelphia were quickly finished, this last only after the bishop had held a meeting to discuss ways and means to appease creditors who threatened to have the edifice put up at auction. The meeting was held on July 4, 1852, the bishop's first celebration of Independence Day in the city where independence had been born.¹⁰⁴ The towns of St. Clair,¹⁰⁵ York,¹⁰⁶ and Easton¹⁰⁷ soon had new German Catholic churches, as did Trenton¹⁰⁸ and Progress (now Riverside), New Jersey.¹⁰⁹ Recalled from New Jersey, Father Hugh Lane was given the task of erecting St. Teresa's Church in Philadelphia, which he did by collecting a dollar here and a dollar there on his rounds of the parish during the heat of summer and the cold of winter.¹¹⁰ Under the guidance of good Father Barbelin the faithful Italians of the city, who had not been infected with the doctrine of Mazzini and who had been holding religious services under difficulties, were further encouraged when Neumann gave them the use of the bishop's chapel

in his residence.¹¹¹ Two months later the bishop bought a former Protestant church and established St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi parish, the first exclusively Italian Catholic parish in the diocese, according to some authorities the first in the whole country.¹¹²

Lancaster,¹¹³ Gettysburg and Drumore¹¹⁴ saw larger churches rising to replace the smaller structures heretofore in use. At Wilkes-Barre and Ivy Mills,¹¹⁵ at Patterson¹¹⁶ and Archbald¹¹⁷ sacred edifices were constructed; and the litany of churches completed increased as months passed—Blossburg,¹¹⁸ Ridgebury,¹¹⁹ Troy,¹²⁰ Frenchtown,¹²¹ Millerstown, Delaware City,¹²² Honesdale,¹²³ Scranton,¹²⁴ Sugar Ridge,¹²⁵ Hamburg,¹²⁶ Susquehanna,¹²⁷ and in the City of Philadelphia: St. Alphonsus,¹²⁸ Our Lady of Sorrows¹²⁹ and St. Bridget's.¹³⁰ "Twenty churches were erected and paid for during the past summer," the bishop informed his father in November, 1853.¹³¹ By the time he went to Rome for his *ad limina* visit in December of 1854 to give an account of his stewardship of the diocese, he had completed six churches started by Kenrick and rebuilt six others and added thirty new ones for the thirty-four months he had been the chief pastor of Philadelphia.¹³²

It would be idle to say that Bishop Neumann himself built all these churches; his pastors and their flocks did. In everything, however, he took the lead. By letter and by the spoken word he encouraged the pastors to plan fitting places of worship. He besought the cooperation of the faithful and lost no opportunity to praise their zeal. He gave the sign to go forward and when difficulties were encountered and confidence faltered, he communicated something of his own simple trust in God. Because it was God's work, it must succeed.

More than one difficulty he had in their building. After the church at Blossburg was finished, it was found that all but five Catholic families had left the place when the copper mines there shut down. The perplexed bishop pondered the instability of some of the places and seriously wondered whether it might not be better to hold services in tents in those settlements where a permanent establishment seemed insecure.¹³³ At times the German churches offered special problems. Thus, when on one occasion he had to have a new church erected, the Germans in the congregation asked that the church be erected for the Germans only, since an English-speaking church would not serve them as they thought they should be served. On the other

hand, the English-speaking members of the congregation were just as strong in their desire to have a church where all services might be in English. Both came with their complaints to the bishop, who listened to each side calmly and then told them that the church would be built for the English-speaking but that the latter, once they had their church, should help the Germans to build their own church. Some of the more outspoken Germans, highly displeased with the solution, frankly told the bishop that it was a shame that he, a German, should desert their cause. Thereupon he promptly rebuked them, "Thank God I'm not a German; I'm a Bohemian." They were so highly incensed against him that some of them placed a railroad tie on the tracks to wreck the train on which he was to leave the town. Fortunately, the evening sun outlined the tie, and the train was stopped in time. So indignant were some of the Germans over the bishop's decision that they went in a body to his house in Philadelphia. Here they made such noisy recriminations that the bystanders, sympathizing with the bishop, did not know what to do. They wavered between their inclination to eject them from the scene or merely to pity them. The bishop listened in silence for a while and then, feeling obliged to do so, quietly but firmly pronounced the sad words: "I excommunicate you." Shortly afterwards, repenting their sinful behavior, they were received back into the church.¹³⁴

Difficulties between the Irish and the Germans arose also in the town of York, where there were mutual recriminations. To preserve harmony, Neumann hurried to the scene and laid down rules for both congregations. When a message of complaint was later received from the German group, he refused to answer it but reiterated to the pastor that the rules he laid down for peace and concord should be followed, adding an admonition to both the German and Irish pastors to say absolutely nothing in their sermons that might reflect on the opposite party.¹³⁵ Little wonder he confided to Kenrick, "I get . . . more and more accustomed to my station. It is laborious and troublesome indeed. Passion Sunday was an ominous beginning."¹³⁶

The energy and determination on all sides that were effecting so much good in the diocese were not merely accidental. Their motivating force, their inspiration was the man of God himself at the head of the diocese. He did most of this work on his visitations. The bishop's idea of a visitation was manifested early in his career. From his very first days he made a ceaseless round of his domain, spending at least five months of each of the first three years in this

important duty of the episcopal office. All over the diocese, he spent considerable time here and there, traveling on one-track trains, on foot, on bumpy stagecoaches or lumbering omnibuses, making visitations of the parishes and at the same time administering the sacrament of confirmation. Sometimes he was away only a day or two visiting the parishes in and about the city; then again he would spend as many as seven weeks at a time in the outlying districts.

The Council of Trent ordained that each parish should be visited once every two years, but the distances between the parochial districts and the difficulty in travelling out to the borders of the diocese made it impossible for bishops to comply literally with this injunction. Kenrick had journeyed on many and long visitation tours in a valiant effort to fulfill Trent's command. His successor strained every nerve to observe literally the church's orders; and, in doing so, he even surpassed the magnificent achievements of his predecessor. Oftentimes Neumann tried to increase the effectiveness of his visitation by sending a priest two or three days ahead to prepare the way, but generally the services of an extra priest could not be had and the bishop labored alone. Aflame with zeal, he made not merely an examination of parish property, the parochial registers and the financial accounts, but he heard confessions, preached in English and German, and visited the sick. If the sick were some distance from the church, he would carry a portable altar and say Mass for them in their own homes. He did not hesitate to make side trips to bring lost or strayed sheep. If the erring ones were far from a church, he would confer confirmation in their homes after he had brought them to the proper dispositions. As a rule, on these visitations he thought nothing of going without breakfast until 1 P. M. When he came to a village that had only a small number of Catholics and was without a church, he sought for some definite residence where the faithful could gather on Sunday and say the rosary and other special prayers. The bishop himself would choose a reliable man to lead in prayer and read the Gospel and chapters of some religious books.¹³⁷ Often he administered confirmation in unusual surroundings: now in a school,¹³⁸ now a private house¹³⁹ or a public hall¹⁴⁰ and on one or two occasions in the courthouse.¹⁴¹

The incessant drive of the bishop was early noted by his people. This man was striving to penetrate into the most inaccessible places to work for their salvation. They perceived his truly apostolic concern

for them and in their simple homely way they gave him the best of welcomes. Sometimes while the bells rang joyfully, they would lead him into the village with a torchlight parade;¹⁴² sometimes to show their gratitude they offered a bouquet from their gardens, and always they were so delighted that they promised to cooperate with him to the best of their ability.¹⁴³ The bishop loved these visitation tours and drew inspiration from them. The simple life of the people made them attractive to him. Neither rain nor snow nor high mountains, neither sub-zero temperatures nor summer sun stopped him from these apostolic tours. The bishop came once a year to the more populous places and once every two years to the less important stations, and no occasion was allowed to slip by without a sermon that more than once profoundly touched their hearts. He was right at home with these people out in the wooded hill country, along the flat farmlands of the lush green valleys and in the grimy, industrial mining towns.

These visitations gave the Bishop of Philadelphia an up-to-date and accurate picture of the parishes of his diocese. He knew their needs; he knew the kind of regulations they required, not from reports, but from his own personal investigation. Perhaps it may justly be said that these visitations were his greatest contribution to the diocese over which he ruled, because like St. Charles Borromeo, wherever Bishop Neumann went in visitation, he arranged for church and school and the decency of divine service.

External and material things were not the bishop's only or principal care. They were in his eyes nothing but a means to a higher end—the salvation of immortal souls and the glorification of God. In pursuit of that objective the bishop had strong convictions on the necessity of fostering the spiritual life of the people. For that reason he introduced the devotion of the Forty Hours throughout his diocese. Having a deep and abiding love for his Sacramental God, he well knew from personal experience the value of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. The Forty Hours had been held in individual instances in churches in Philadelphia as well as in other places of the United States long before this day,¹⁴⁴ but never on an organized diocesan schedule. Some misgivings were in the holy man's mind as he evolved the plan for introducing a diocesan schedule into Philadelphia. The city had acquired quite an anti-Catholic reputation for itself after the riots of 1844, during which two Catholic churches were burned down

and another saved from destruction only at the point of guns. Know-Nothing politicians and Nativists of all kinds had frequently given voice to their hostile views in no uncertain fashion. Would the establishment of the Forty Hours perhaps expose the Blessed Sacrament to indignities rather than to the humble adoration and acts of reparation that the prelate desired? Some priests had advised against an attempt to introduce it. In this time of doubt a strange incident occurred. The papers on which he was working were before him with a burning candle near them one night when he fell asleep in his chair, overcome by exhaustion from the day's labor. The candle, burning down, charred some of the papers in such a way that he could still read the words written on them. The candle was still burning, and he was astonished that the papers had not gone up in flames completely. He fell on his knees to thank God that nothing more serious had happened when he seemed to hear the voice of God saying: "As the flames are burning here without consuming or injuring the writing, so shall I pour out my grace in the Blessed Sacrament without prejudice to My honor. Fear no profanation, therefore; hesitate no longer to carry out your design for My glory."¹⁴⁵

Accordingly, he introduced the proposal at his first diocesan synod in April, 1853. The resolution to begin the series of devotions was carried. Fittingly enough, the Church of St. Philip Neri, named after the saint who introduced the Forty Hours in the City of Rome, was chosen as the first parish church where the devotion was to begin. Bishop Neumann spent most of the three days there in the church, praying with visible delight before the Saving Host. No disturbance resulted.¹⁴⁶ The other city churches followed, and the bishop compiled the Forty Hours' schedule for the whole diocese with his own hand.¹⁴⁷ He composed a booklet on the rites to be observed and later obtained special indulgences from Rome for those attending.¹⁴⁸ Marvelous results followed.¹⁴⁹ Gradually other dioceses took up the practice until today it radiates throughout the length and breadth of the land. Devout worshippers of the Blessed Sacrament have ever since honored Neumann for organizing and spreading in their homeland this popular and salutary devotion.

Other devotions he sought to introduce, too, notably the Confraternity of Jesus and Mary, the Confraternity for a Good Death, and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which he endeavored to bring to the parishes on his visitation tours.

Moreover, as his old zeal for the reading of good books had abated not at all with his promotion to the episcopacy, he opened a circulating library; he lent books to his friends and even purchased spiritual books for them to read.

But not all diocesan affairs went along smoothly. Two notable difficulties were encountered by the Bishop of Philadelphia—the trustee trouble at Holy Trinity Church in Philadelphia and the difficulty in continuing the construction of the cathedral. By far the greatest anxiety of soul experienced by John Neumann in his rule of the diocese in his early years came from the contumacious conduct of the rebellious group of trustees of Holy Trinity parish. The previous career of the bishop had fully acquainted him with the evils of trusteeism long before he came to his see. He himself suffered from it while laboring in the Buffalo region; he saw it work havoc at Rochester, Pittsburgh, and Norwalk (Ohio); he had witnessed his Redemptorist brethren forced to leave St. Nicholas' Church on Second Street in New York City, where he had said his first Mass as a newly ordained priest in 1836. To rid themselves of trustee annoyances, they had built another church on Third Street. As vice-governor of the Redemptorists, it was his ill-fortune to see the Detroit parish of St. Mary's, then administered by one of his subjects, closed because of the same trouble. But his great conflict with trusteeism occurred as he came to grips with it at Holy Trinity in South Philadelphia.

The trustee question of Trinity Church was a legacy of long-standing trouble left him by Kenrick. It was a diocesan sore spot. Because there had been a long train of disputes in the parish, particularly during the annual election of trustees, several well-disposed members of the board of trustees came to Bishop Kenrick with Father Daniel Oberholzer, O.F.M.Cap., pastor of Holy Trinity, and asked that a petition be drawn up and sent to the Pennsylvania legislature to amend the charter of the trustees so that the difficulties might be obviated. This happened in 1850. Kenrick declared that changes would not be necessary but asked that a petition be sent to the legislature to give the bishop the power of appointing trustees. The loyal trustees seemed to be satisfied with this and immediately proceeded to call a meeting of the people of the parish to sign the petition to the legislature. Meanwhile, the disaffected trustees, misrepresenting the purpose of the petition, assembled in a tavern and formed an association to oppose it.

Kenrick went in person to the parish and, after explaining the true motives of the petition, begged all to sign it to allay discord and establish all in the bonds of unity and charity. Most of the trustee members were in favor of sending the petition to the legislature as requested by Kenrick, but the opposition so skillfully executed its plans at the meeting that a disturbance broke out with the result that no petition could be sent. His patience exhausted, Kenrick issued a circular letter explaining his position, excommunicated the ring leaders of the stubborn trustees and placed the church under interdict.¹⁵⁰ Kenrick endeavored to reopen the church and did so for a time, putting the Jesuit Fathers in charge. But the malcontents obtained a court injunction on the ground that the transfer of property rights was contrary to the provisions of the original charter and illegal. The church was again closed.¹⁵¹

Here the matter stood when Bishop Neumann came to rule the diocese. He told the trustees that if they wanted divine services, they would have to cede to him the property rights of the church.¹⁵² In so doing, he was carrying out the command of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore. Far from acceding to the wishes of a kind and considerate bishop, the storming trustees took the matter to court, and a legal battle ensued. With Holy Trinity closed, thousands of Germans in South Philadelphia were left without church or priest or sacraments, to the keen sorrow of the new bishop. A number of loyal and sensible members of the parish refused to be deceived by the tactics of the disaffected trustees, whom they regarded as loud-mouthed and contemptible hypocrites bent on obtaining their own selfish ends even though it meant spiritual ruin for countless souls. Meanwhile, some attempt was made to hold services for the Germans of South Philadelphia in St. Mary's school,¹⁵³ but this arrangement was far from adequate. The only other church in which German services were held at the time was St. Peter's, miles away. The failure of many to go so far to divine services soon reduced the Germans of the interdicted parish to a spiritual state that saddened all devout Catholics. "It is pitiful . . . to see the miserable condition of the Germans in Philadelphia," wrote the Redemptorist provincial, Hafkenschaid, to Cardinal Reisach of Munich in June, 1852:

A recent mission in our church [St. Peter's] revealed more than anything how the Germans of this city are becoming demoralized. There is a great falling away from the Church among the children. . . . May the good and

pious bishop soon remedy the evil and stop the leakage from the Faith by building a new church.¹⁵⁴

The trouble had been foreseen by Bishop Kenrick, who had tried to avoid it, appealing to the Redemptorists in 1847 to build another Catholic church in the vicinity. Indeed, the request had come to Neumann, then vicegerent of the Redemptorists, but the lack of sufficient personnel caused him to decline the offer. Had the invitation been accepted, the coming of Redemptorists might well have broken the opposition of the Trinity trustees just as a similar move in New York had checked the trustees of St. Nicholas' Church. But no second German foundation went up in the neighborhood, and the burden the vicegerent escaped in 1847 pressed more weightily on his shoulders when he arrived in Philadelphia as bishop.¹⁵⁵

John Neumann could not sit idly by while the faith of so many people was lost. He spoke of the matter to his brother bishops at the Plenary Council; and in conformity with the sentiments of their decree on trustees they advised that, should the recalcitrant trustees gain legal possession of the Holy Trinity church property as was feared, a new parish should be formed for the salvation of those willing to accept ecclesiastical discipline. The bishops were entertaining no idle fear; for, a few days after the council ended, the Philadelphia newspapers hailed the verdict of the lower court in favor of the revolting trustees.¹⁵⁶ Exultantly the anti-bishop party, as the winning trustees were called, informed the trustees of St. Louis Church, Buffalo, then engaged in similar altercation with Bishop Timon, that they had won a great victory.¹⁵⁷ With evident reluctance but with determined energy the Bishop of Philadelphia faced the situation and began the erection of a new German parish in South Philadelphia, St. Alphonsus'. It meant the contracting of new debts, heavy debts at a time when he was already oppressed with them. The odds were strongly against him as he resolutely pursued the matter. He reported in a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna:

The number of the good and completely determined [German Catholics] is not great. The cost of buying property and building even a simple church will be heavy, but it is the only sure way to abolish the great and long-continued evil. I hope that God will not desert me in this undertaking; besides, I have a great trust in the favorable dispositions toward religion which I have experienced in America. The majority in the community are sick and tired of the fight; and so, as they see order established,

they will become lovingly attached to the church and become more upright Catholics.¹⁵⁸

A new church in the vicinity seemed the only alternative. John Neumann had seen that technique work before. Before the law, the anti-bishop trustees were legal administrators of the Church of the Holy Trinity, but they were soon disillusioned if they thought the meek Bishop of Philadelphia was going to bow to them, for he undauntedly refused to supply a pastor to Holy Trinity Church until loyal Catholic trustees were in control.

More than that, he appealed the decision of the lower court to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The case was to drag on for two more years while Neumann saw himself vilified in the press of Philadelphia. By 1853, the noise of the uproar had been heard in Rome. In an effort to settle that question amicably, as well as other matters, Giacomo Cardinal Antonelli, papal secretary of state, commissioned Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, nuncio to the court of Emperor Pedro II of Brazil, to visit the United States on his way to Brazil.¹⁵⁹ One of the first visits made by this accomplished diplomat, described by Father Constantine Pise as "polished, courtly in manner, handsome in person, amiable in character and eloquent in speech,"¹⁶⁰ was to Philadelphia, where he sought to study the Trinity Church trustee problem. The suave archbishop declined to stay with Bishop Neumann so that he might more impartially examine the controversy. He accepted the invitation of Father George Strobel to receive hospitality at St. Mary's parish in the heart of Old Philadelphia.¹⁶¹ As events turned out, the good archbishop's intervention proved futile,¹⁶² for the course of action of the rebellious trustees could not be justified.

So the civil litigation went on, and the Bishop of Philadelphia was assailed with even greater fury. Typical of the attacks was a three-page printed epitome of the plaintiffs' arguments placed on the desk of every man in the Pennsylvania legislature in March, 1854. John Neumann was held up as an object of scorn because he was a foreigner. The hierarchy of the United States was scored as arbitrary in its use of power, and any attempt by it to control the temporalities of the churches was branded as despotism. Of Neumann they wrote:

That Bishop Neumann was appointed to the See of Philadelphia through Austrian influence and by the management of his friend, the Austrian Chargé at Washington, was well-known. Are the pieces published at the time in the newspapers forgotten? Were not also these pieces in some

measure instigated by Bishop Kenrick and is not the reason given in them for Bishop Kenrick's leaving Philadelphia, that if he did not accept the Archbishopric of Baltimore, an Austrian would be appointed to it? Who also does not know that the good and virtuous Pius IX is scarcely more than a prisoner in Rome, and the affairs of the Church are conducted by an Austrian cabal, headed by Cardinal Anotelli [*sic*].

The virulent and malevolent trustees went even further, attacking the religious body from which the bishop had come, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer:

Another miserable equivocation is about the Redemptorists—the monastic order to which the Bishop belongs. The question is not where it exists, for it is almost altogether in the Austrian dominions that it exists, though it may have some churches and convents elsewhere. In the United States they consider themselves missionaries from Austria. The order is also entirely under Austrian influence and has its principal churches, convents, &c., in Vienna; there also resides the ruler or rulers of the order.

Austria has a missionary society expressly for the United States, at the head of which is the Prince Archbishop of Vienna. This society has a number of missionaries in this country, all monks—no secular priest being trusted. From the published accounts of these monkish missionaries it appears that politics is as much their mission as religion, and some of these stupid simpletons even express a strong hope of being able to destroy the heresies of our republican government and of bringing us back to the true faith of monarchy. Bishop Neumann is also in correspondence with this society. There is a letter from him published in their transactions, in which he states that he has no expectation of becoming possessed of the property of Trinity Church, in accordance with the will of the Bishops; his only hope now is that the Church will be destroyed by [legal] processes and that though the majority of the congregation are opposed to surrendering their corporate rights, yet the continual litigation of opposing trustees will, in the end, ruin it—he, therefore, begs help to build a new church. So a foreign Bishop comes here to destroy corporate rights and to bring a church to ruin by instigating continual law suits; for who is it that excites pretended trustees to contest the right of those regularly elected by all the members of the church, and who but he furnishes money to them to carry on their litigation? But instead of ruining Trinity Church, he now complains of the heavy expenses he is put to.¹⁶³

John Neumann stood up calmly under the fusillade of abuse. He made no angry retort nor did he take to the public prints in warm rebuttal, but he did, literally, have his day in court. The Bishop of Philadelphia based his appeal to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania against the anti-bishop party on the ground that the insurgent trustees

of Trinity Church were not Catholics in a true sense and that they could not be trustees of a Catholic church. The final dramatic clash, as related in a newspaper and in the court records, took place before Judge Woodward in March, 1854, in the Supreme Court chamber. Woodward was not even baptized and the lawyer for the anti-bishop party was a Jew.

"Tell me," said the judge to the bishop, "why do you call your church Roman Catholic?"

"Our church is called Roman Catholic because the Pope, who is its head, resides in Rome. According to the laws of the Pope, the bishops administer their dioceses; and according to the laws of the bishops, the pastors govern their congregations. If anyone wants to be a member of our Catholic Church, he must be united through the pastor with the bishop and through the bishop with the Pope. The union is effected through spiritual obedience. Whoever does not render this obedience does not belong to the Catholic Church because this arrangement is its essential unchangeable constitution."

The judge thereupon asked the anti-bishop party whether this were true.

"Yes," came back the answer.

The American judge then rebuked them. "You Germans are a disgrace to our city. For ninety years you have been quarreling with your bishop!" That was a complete overstatement of the case, for the church in the United States had had bishops for only sixty-five years, since John Carroll became its first prelate, but he was right about the quarreling. The judge continued, "You had an Irishman for bishop, an American and now you have a German. You are satisfied with none, obedient to none. If you want to be Catholics you must obey the Pope and the bishop in all ecclesiastical affairs. You cannot expect that the Court will protect your disobedience."

The Jewish attorney entered a protest. "It is known that the Jesuits want to gather to themselves all the wealth of the world. This bishop too is a Jesuit, at least in secret. He wants to deprive the Germans of their church."

"Shut your mouth," said the judge, "do not believe that you are going to deceive us with such foolish talk. If the Jesuits come and in a legal manner acquire the whole city of Philadelphia, our laws will protect them. If the Germans are not satisfied with their church and bishop, they can give up their faith anytime; there is freedom of

religion with us. But as long as they remain Catholics, they must obey the Pope and the bishop in all religious matters. . . .”

Turning to the jury, the judge addressed them. “Decide according to justice and not according to passion; the case is important. By their complaints against the bishop the Germans are making an attack on our Constitution, on our freedom, and, what is most sacred, on our religious freedom. If you protect this attempt, others will soon follow, and our freedom, our pride and our fortune will be lost.”¹⁶⁴ The jury returned the verdict—victory for the bishop. The anti-bishop trustees were deprived of their office, and a new election was ordered.¹⁶⁵

John Neumann recovered legal possession of the Holy Trinity Church property. The bishop had sought no personal triumph; he wished merely to vindicate the rights of the church. He was anxious enough to bury the past, but the trustees refused to surrender the church and spoke of calling on the legislature. Judge Woodward had the contumacious men summoned back into court again. On April 8, 1854, several members of the anti-bishop party were declared guilty of contempt of court and ordered taken into custody by the sheriff of Philadelphia.¹⁶⁶ They spent some weeks in Moyemensing jail, a house of detention of forbidding appearance. Later they were released with a warning that any further refusal to abide by the court’s decision would bring a sentence of several years in prison.¹⁶⁷ That threat broke the opposition. Neumann had without much fanfare won one of the country’s major victories against trusteeism. With loyal trustees in office, Holy Trinity Church was soon reopened¹⁶⁸ and began to thrive. The bishop himself gave confirmation there on several occasions. When the celebrated missionary, Francis X. Weniger, S.J., gave a parish mission there in 1857, such crowds attended that some climbed in the windows to be present. German-speaking priests from St. Peter’s and several diocesan priests heard confessions day and night, so great were the numbers desirous of reconciliation in the sacrament of penance.¹⁶⁹

The bishop was delighted, but his desires went even further. He made long and charitable efforts to win back the disaffected. Thanks to the pacifying work of the new pastor whom the bishop had appointed, Father Peter Carbon, the opportunities for discord because of trustees was settled forever when in 1859 an amendment to the charter of the parish allowed the bishop to name the trustees.¹⁷⁰ A

Jesuit contemporary called this move by Neumann "a masterly piece of policy."¹⁷¹ The whole sixty-eight-year-old sore spot that had tormented bishops since the days of John Carroll was healed. Holy Trinity parish went on to take an honored place in the Catholic life of Philadelphia.¹⁷²

The second difficulty facing Neumann was how to complete the construction of the cathedral on Logan Square. Of all the building operations that engaged him, the most arduous was that of the unfinished cathedral. The fact that Neumann, it was said, had been so successful in building churches, remarkable churches, in Pittsburgh and in Baltimore, was a contributing factor to his choice by Archbishop Kenrick, who on leaving Philadelphia ardently desired to see the magnificent cathedral he had planned brought to completion.¹⁷³ When the new bishop arrived, he found the two side walls and the rear wall of the cathedral erected up to the line of the roof. The façade would cost much more.¹⁷⁴ Great blocks of brown stone brought down from the quarries were piled around the building while stone cutters went to work on them before lifting them into place. So far the operations had entailed a large debt. At this time there was no money in the cathedral treasury.¹⁷⁵ Bishop Neumann early laid down the rule that the work would be carried forward only as money for making payments was available. No new debts were to be contracted on the great edifice until it was nearly completed.¹⁷⁶ After that decision, he called a meeting of the committee in charge of gathering funds and drew up plans for further collections.

The circular of May, 1852, left the matter of collections to the individual pastors. They were to appoint collectors for their parishes. Various priests were selected to travel around the diocese to the individual churches in a special drive for funds that fall.¹⁷⁷ Although the first year's returns were disappointing, only \$5,000¹⁷⁸ being gathered, one can hardly blame the pastors, for that was the very year when so much expansion in the building of schools and churches took place. The cathedral project was almost suspended, to the disappointment of Kenrick.¹⁷⁹ The following year the bishop brought the lagging state of the cathedral to the attention of the clergy at their synod, and they responded generously by giving many personal gifts themselves and promised to give every aid.¹⁸⁰ The returns mounted fourfold. The bishop took pains to express his satisfaction to the people.¹⁸¹ He issued another circular on the unfinished state of the cathedral,

hoping for a vigorous advance in the work for 1854.¹⁸² The sum raised that year fell off to \$11,000, and the work proceeded slowly.¹⁸³ It was apparent, too, that the expenses were exceeding the estimated cost. As the bishop had often avowed his determination not to continue without sufficient funds, the hopes for a speedy completion of the work faded, much to the chagrin of Father Waldron in charge of construction.¹⁸⁴ The cautious policy of Neumann irked this priest, and the latter's letters to Kenrick clearly indicate that he was chafing under the restraint imposed by it. No effort was spared to bring in the necessary funds—frequent editorials in the Catholic papers, appeals by select preachers in the various churches, two circular letters, one to the laity and another to the clergy—but nothing could move the bishop to contract new debts.

These activities left too little time to the hard-pressed prelate. And he was conscientious in his use of time. The vow never to waste a moment's time, his director reported to his nephew, he observed.¹⁸⁵ He took no vacations and was never known to go out of the diocese except on business—a quick trip to Baltimore¹⁸⁶ or to Loretto, Pennsylvania, to assist at the consecration of the new church in the town hallowed by the missionary labors of Prince Gallitzin, the eminent Russian convert who had died there in 1840.¹⁸⁷ He went to New York to be present at the dedication of the Redemptorists' majestic new church on Third Street, east of Avenue A. Here the German Catholics rejoiced to see a splendid house of God built for them with a tower mounting into the sky higher than that of Trinity Church on lower Broadway.¹⁸⁸ Another trip he made to Pittsburgh to assist at the consecration of the cathedral and to visit his former parishioners at St. Philomena's, where he was greeted with a torchlight procession, serenaded by the people, and given a large and beautiful monstrance.¹⁸⁹ Two weeks he spent in Buffalo in 1854, conducting two retreats for the clergy, one in German and the other in English.¹⁹⁰ Aside from attendance at these functions outside of Philadelphia he was always present in the diocese and working therein diligently. While at home, he heard confessions in the cathedral chapel, took his turn in responding to sick calls, often delivered one or the other of the three sermons in the various Forty Hours devotions held in the city; he presided at the patronal feasts of various churches; frequently he dropped in at the different schools and quizzed the youngsters in catechism. He took particular pains to see that his seminarians, living in their domicile near the cathedral, were properly instructed in

sacred lore. Every day was a full one for him. The hands of the clock generally approached midnight as he laid aside his breviary and finished his night prayers.

One characteristic strikes a student of his life. Although he was always in need of money during those years, he was very generous in allowing outsiders to make collections in the diocese. He graciously allowed Irish priests to live with him at Logan Square while they made the rounds of Philadelphia to collect funds from their fellow countrymen for the proposed Catholic University of Ireland.¹⁹¹ They garnered handsomely, sending over to Ireland more than \$7,000 at a time when the Bishop of Philadelphia was looking for money for his own cathedral.¹⁹² Other urgent collections were allowed. A Passionist Father, planning to start a foundation of his order in the City of Pittsburgh, was authorized to collect money in Neumann's jurisdiction.¹⁹³ Another interesting item at this period was a collection to help defray the fine unjustly levied by an English court in the notorious Achilli trial. The defendant, whom Bishop Neumann called "my unhappy namesake," was John Henry, later Cardinal, Newman of England.¹⁹⁴ Not much was gathered, for the times were financially bad. Over and above these, the Propagation of the Faith collections were introduced into the diocese.¹⁹⁵ Although these collections without doubt cut into the bishop's own revenue, he made no complaint about them. In the case of the university he could hardly refuse to allow a contribution to a great Irish cause by his Irish pastors. His people were particularly liberal when one considers the numerous means that were employed to help support the various activities of the diocese—fairs, musical entertainments, paid admissions to Catholic lectures, oratorios, subscriptions, and the like. The hospital of St. Joseph, the Widows' Asylum, the Orphan Asylum, not to speak of the churches and schools, needed these aids to keep them from financial ruin.

The strain of all this work called forth the greatest energy of the bishop. No man could deny the industry and piety that he displayed during these years. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that there were no criticisms of his regime or dissent from his policies. Several of the activities he resolutely carried through found little endorsement from some of his priests. When the Fathers of the First National Council met in Baltimore in May, 1852, they petitioned the Holy See, as already mentioned, for the erection of a new diocese in

Newark, New Jersey. Kenrick was desirous of erecting the see in Trenton; but since Archbishop Hughes favored the location of the episcopal city at Newark, the latter site was recommended to the Roman authorities.¹⁹⁶ This decision soon became known to the clergy. Before the matter was acted upon by Rome, the question of the limits of the new diocese was a matter of concern to some of the priests of the Philadelphia diocese since there was a possibility that those of them living in the parishes of southern New Jersey might be cut off from the See of Philadelphia.

Already convinced that the Diocese of Philadelphia was too large to be handled properly by one man, Neumann advocated that the New Jersey portion be transferred to the bishop of the new Diocese of Newark. He wanted to give concentrated attention to the Pennsylvania-Delaware sections.¹⁹⁷ Not in accord with this, the Philadelphia priests then in New Jersey wanted the Diocese of Philadelphia to be left in *statu quo*. Neumann heard their side of the question but thought their arguments weak.¹⁹⁸ When the Diocese of Newark was erected in 1853, it took in the whole State of New Jersey. The priests of southern New Jersey remained members of the Diocese of Philadelphia, though four of them were temporarily loaned to the new Bishop of the Diocese of Newark, James Roosevelt Bayley. Eventually these had to relinquish their offices as pastors and start anew in the expanding projects of Philadelphia. As is usual, the division of the diocese worked some hardships and was not everywhere favorably received.¹⁹⁹

Moreover, the new Bishop of Philadelphia soon became aware that some of the priests in the diocese entertained views upon other matters far different from his own. In accordance with the suggestion of the National Council of 1852, a diocesan council was to be set up in each diocese to help in the administration of affairs. Neumann immediately created such a council, but he was soon cognizant of the assertive and outspoken manner of one of the men he had selected. At first the bishop thought it nothing more than a show of exuberant character; but, when he was led to think that the priest was unstable in character and given to partisan views, he consulted the Archbishop of Baltimore. Kenrick confirmed his suspicions. Neumann then quietly dropped the unsatisfactory consultor, thus obviating potential disturbances. When Sourin, the vicar-general who was likewise on the council, kept clear of committing himself one way or the other on

many questions, Neumann realized that the work of this diocesan group would be ineffective and confessed to Kenrick that for the time being it was a failure.²⁰⁰

Apart from these troublous matters and the fact that all quickly recognized that the Bishop of Philadelphia was no social lion, the diocese steadily progressed. Finally a breathing spell in all these activities, after thirty months of incessant work, came to John Neumann. At the invitation of Pope Pius IX he was going to Rome to be present at the solemn promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.



THE MOST REVEREND FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK
THIRD BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA
1830 - 1851



CATHEDRAL OF SS. PETER AND PAUL, PHILADELPHIA

CHAPTER XIII

European Interlude: 1854-1855

The strenuous work of two and a half years was interrupted by a trip to Europe, the first and only protracted absence of Bishop Neumann from his diocese during the entire term of his episcopate. The invitation to visit Rome had been extended to him by the Holy Father through Kenrick. In a general way, it had been given to all the bishops who could conveniently go to the Eternal City for the solemn ceremony of the definition of the dogma of Mary's Immaculate Conception.¹ Probably because of the short notice, only Archbishops Hughes of New York, Kenrick of Baltimore, and Bishops Timon of Buffalo, O'Connor of Pittsburgh and Neumann embraced the opportunity.

John Neumann eagerly accepted the invitation for more than one reason. First and foremost, he had a very tender devotion to the Mother of God. His affection for the Blessed Virgin Mary he would never hesitate to show even if it necessitated the hardships in those days of a trans-Atlantic voyage. This particular journey would have other attractive features. What cleric could fail to look forward with pleasure to seeing Rome, the heart of Christendom? The proposed celebration would bring together the largest number of prelates in centuries. While some people were even calling the gathering an Ecumenical Council, it was not exactly that. Nevertheless, the Catholic hierarchy was to be there in force to give proper setting to the sublime declaration about the unsullied soul of Mary, the Virgin Mother of God. Furthermore, this journey would furnish him the occasion to make his *ad limina* visit to the Holy See. This official visit is periodically required of every bishop. With keen pleasure, too, he anticipated a visit to his family. When he first came to America, Neumann never thought he would see his homeland again; but, once made a bishop, he joyfully informed his family that when he went to make his *ad limina* visit, Prachatitz would certainly be on his itinerary.² With filial devotion, he looked forward to the meeting with his father who was almost eighty years old. That parent's fond hopes had been blasted when young John set out for America before ordination. Now, as bishop, he would lay his consecrated hands on the

head of the father who had never received the blessing of his priestly son. He would see his nephew, John Berger, for the first time—and his own sisters, for whom, though separated by the broad ocean, he always cherished a deep affection.

Before leaving Philadelphia, the prelate composed a pastoral letter on the forthcoming proclamation of the dogma. The pastoral breathes forth his own pious sentiments and devotion to the all-pure Mother of God. A clear-cut exposition of the Catholic doctrine on the Immaculate Conception, it ended with the beautiful prayer:

Hail! Holy Queen, Mother of Mercy! Guard the kingdom of the Christ-loving Pius, our Chief Bishop. Pray for the people, intercede for the clergy, protect the consecrated virgins. Unto us all give strength against our enemies and thine, courage to the fearful, joy to those that mourn, peace to the contrite of heart, perseverance to the just. Let all experience Thy protection, Virgin and Mother through whom the nations are brought to penitence, the demons are put to flight, and they that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death be filled with the knowledge and love of Thy Son.³

Archbishop Kenrick led the way to Rome, joined by Bishop Timon and Bishop O'Connor as he sailed from New York on the *SS. Atlantic*, October 14, 1854. Archbishop Hughes, with his secretary, took the Cunard Line *SS. Canada*, October 18. They were followed three days later by the Bishop of Philadelphia on a smaller vessel, the *SS. Union*.⁴ The ships moored to the docks of Manhattan grew dimmer; and the outline of many masts, protruding into the sky like giant trees, faded from his view as the vessel passed through the Narrows, New York's gateway to the sea. The wide expanse of the rolling Atlantic was before him.

The journey back to Europe was not overshadowed with uncertainties as was his voyage from that continent in 1836. Alone on the ship, the Bishop of Philadelphia could well reflect on the change wrought in his life from that June day eighteen years before when he landed with only one dollar in his pocket. He was not sure of being ordained then; now he was a bishop of one of the largest sees in America. The years had brought strange triumphs to him, each triumph after an apparent failure. He was ordained without delay for the Diocese of New York after he had long been plagued with misgivings about his acceptance by a bishop. Broken in health and anxious about himself, his career, his destiny, his whole life from beginning to end as a diocesan priest, he was called by God to be a

Redemptorist. He was elevated to the office of superior of the Pittsburgh house and then abruptly relieved of that duty only to find himself unexpectedly appointed general superior of all the Redemptorists in the United States. Hardly had his plea to step down from the office of vice-provincial placed a note of seeming failure on his career, when he was elevated to the episcopal See of Philadelphia. The Providence of God, in which he so firmly trusted, had manifested itself in strange ways.

The *SS. Union* was faster than the *Europa*, the vessel on which he had travelled in 1836. Whereas his first crossing to America had consumed over forty days, this return trip was made in less than half that time. He enjoyed privacy, which on the first journey was denied him. To be sure, it was a stormy voyage not without danger. In fact, so many trans-Atlantic ships were in trouble with the storms and so many had been lost during that year that marine men and harbor folk called it "The Black Year of 1854."

After seventeen days aboard the *SS. Union*, he debarked at the busy port of Havre. This time he did not have to haggle over the price of a lodging as he had eighteen years before. A day later he was in Paris, writing to his father the glad news that he was on European soil and that after he had gone to Rome for the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, he would visit his old home again.⁵ Although it was great news for his aged father, on learning that the bishops were going to the City of the Popes for the definition of the dogma concerning Our Lady, the old man remarked, "Why do they have to bring American bishops to Rome to tell us that the most holy Virgin was conceived without sin when we have always believed it here?"⁶

The bishop went across France by rail, through Dijon, thence through Lyons, the great, beautiful Lyons, noted for its literary as well as its religious past, the second commercial city of France, which in the second century had been a flourishing Christian community. Then he went on to Marseilles, the great seaport of France on the Mediterranean.

Three days after leaving the steamer in Havre, Neumann was being rowed out from Marseilles in a small boat to the Neapolitan steamer *Capri*, on which he was to sail across the Mediterranean for Civita Vecchia, the port for Rome. A number of distinguished fellow passengers were on that little steamer. The Princess Borghese; her

nephew, the Duke of Rochefoucault; a red-robed cardinal from Lisbon, and a number of other ecclesiastics and Italian nobles were aboard. The sea was rough and the headwinds stubborn as the ship ploughed its course through the Mediterranean. Many aboard were seasick the first night. Twenty-four hours later as they sailed between the Island of Corsica and the mainland, the raging waters had calmed, and everybody had a chance to rest. The next morning almost all the passengers were on deck, watching the Italian shore with keen interest as the ship moved southward.

Of Bishop Neumann's thoughts and activities on that trip, available records reveal that he met an American non-Catholic, Mrs. Sarah Peters. Experiencing doubts about her religious position, this high-born American lady had gone to Bishop Purcell in Cincinnati and become somewhat interested in the Catholic religion, but only in a vague devotional way. While in Philadelphia, some of her family, perhaps she herself, had gone to some Catholic services, but these visits ended abruptly when her Episcopalian minister objected. Again she found another Catholic prelate. Her conversation with him proved to be the turning point in her life. Some time later she found peace of soul in entering the Catholic Church.

By twelve noon the *Capri* had arrived at Civita Vecchia, described by Mrs. Peters as that "poor old town which is the horror of travellers from the endless vexatious delays and endless impositions to which they are exposed."⁷ Shortly afterwards, the vision of Rome met his gaze—immortal Rome, the See of Peter, historic witness of both pagan splendor and Christian sanctity.

For the next two months the Bishop of Philadelphia was in the Eternal City an honored guest of his fellow Redemptorists in the community of Santa Maria in Monterone. The confreres well remembered the visit of the Redemptorist from the City of Brotherly Love. They noted that he was pious and humble, that he was most regular in the observance of the rules; he wished to avoid any special marks of respect and was averse to having any exceptions made for him, especially at table. He dressed in the habit of the order. There was nothing to distinguish him from a simple cleric even when he went out on walks through the city—no customary green or gold cord on the Roman hat the bishops wear. As a rule, he went about Rome on foot. Not once but five or six times did he make the pilgrimage of seven churches in the Holy City on foot, usually fasting. Any-

one who knows how fatiguing such a pilgrimage can be will appreciate the fact that making it while fasting is no pleasurable excursion. Sometimes his former companion in Baltimore, who was a general consultor to Father Rudolf Smetana, the Redemptorist Father Joseph Fey, accompanied him; sometimes a layman who served at the church in Monterone was his companion; and, sometimes, when there was a heavy downpour of rain, the bishop went out alone.

He said Mass at St. Mary Major's, the large ancient Basilica, where the relics of the Holy Crib are preserved and where the tomb of St. Pius V stands. He said Mass also at St. Paul's Outside the Walls, where pillars of alabaster and precious malachite and lapis lazuli won admiring glances. On one occasion, accepting an invitation to San Andrea della Valle, that severely majestic church where the Society of the Propagation of the Faith was holding a celebration in honor of St. Francis Xavier, he sang the solemn Pontifical Mass. He sought to celebrate Mass at other famous shrines, among them that of St. Pudentiana, where the wooden table used by St. Peter in celebrating the Eucharistic sacrifice is venerated.⁸ The nearest diversion of a social nature was his presence at the palace of the Spanish ambassador to Rome for a reception held in honor of a Spanish cardinal. Mrs. Peters said of this visit, "Archbishop Hughes and Bishop Neumann were there and seemed very glad to see me and talk over our travels. They are dear and holy old men and innocent and guileless as children."⁹

All these episodes, however, were merely incidental to his main purpose in Rome. The preliminary meetings relative to the approaching definition of the Immaculate Conception occupied most of his time. By the latter part of November, 1854, over 150 of the highest ranking prelates of the Catholic hierarchy from all parts of the world were already in the City of the Popes. On November 17 the Holy Father presided at a meeting of these bishops at the Vatican. The gathering of prelates,—cardinals, archbishops and bishops,—besides numerous other clergymen in the lower grades of Holy Orders, was the most distinguished group of ecclesiastics assembled in Rome for hundreds of years. Notable among the members of the sacred college were Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman, the first cardinal to reside in England since the days of the Reformation, and Joachim Cardinal Pecci, of Perugia, Italy, the future Pope Leo XIII. Of the 154 prel-

ates at this convocation, Neumann was one of the most recently appointed.¹⁰

On four different days thereafter, these bishops met in the Eternal City under the presidency of three learned and distinguished cardinals: Brunelli, Catarini and Santurce. The papal bull on the Immaculate Conception having been drawn up and prepared for final revision, the bishops of the world were invited to discuss its wording. At this assembly Neumann was present. Archbishop Kenrick and Bishop O'Connor voiced their opinions on the text of the bull, but Bishop Neumann, as far as can be ascertained, took no active part in the discussions. (Usually a bull is issued at the time a dogma is proclaimed.) The deliberations of the assembled churchmen, however, had an effect on the manner of the proclamation—the decision first to proclaim the dogma and only later to issue the bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*.¹¹

These preparatory gatherings were but as a rehearsal for the great day of the proclamation. Not since the closing of the Council of Trent had the Catholic Church ever witnessed such a stirring, colorful event as the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception on December 8, 1854. Rome was excited that day as it had not been for centuries. Fifty-three cardinals, 140 bishops and more than 50,000 priests, religious and laymen crowded into St. Peter's, the foremost basilica of the Catholic world. The rich royal red vestments of the cardinals were embellished with silver, edged and embroidered with gold, and the other prelates stood garbed in white silk, satin or damask. The old bronze statue of St. Peter was robed in crimson damask with pipings of gold. On its head was a tiara studded with precious stones; on its finger, a gold ring; and on its feet were richly jewelled slippers.

As Pius IX with his attendants moved slowly down the long nave of the historic edifice, more than a thousand priests in alternate choirs sang the litany of the saints. It was a scene that moved every person in the edifice to the depths of his soul. Reaching the altar, the Pope commenced Pontifical High Mass, the epistle and gospel being sung in both Latin and Greek. After the gospel, the Dean of the Sacred College, Cardinal Macchi, advanced to the throne of the Holy Father and there entreated him to define infallibly the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception. Upon assenting, the Pontiff knelt to invoke the Holy Ghost in the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Spontaneously, as if with one voice, the mighty throng joined in the invocation. Then

standing at the throne, the Pope began in his clear, pleasant voice to define the dogma. Tears streamed down his face. The rapt attention of every man, woman and child testified to the solemnity of the occasion. An unusually deep silence pervaded the basilica as if everyone held his breath so as not to lose a word. The vibrant tones of the Supreme Pontiff could be heard afar off as he uttered the words of the celebrated definition :

We declare, pronounce and define that the doctrine which holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her conception by the singular favor and privilege of Almighty God in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of the human race, was preserved immune from all stain of original guilt, has been revealed by God and therefore must be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful.

As the words of the solemn definition reverberated through the vast building, the sun shone on the Pontiff and on the scene around him, while the guns of San Angelo boomed in the distance as if re-echoing the great truth of faith to the whole world. Never before had such a mighty throng assisted at the Holy Sacrifice, according to Bishop Timon, with religious sentiments so general, so deep, and so holy. That famous night St. Peter's was illuminated and all Rome was ablaze with light. The brilliant tongues of fire extended all along the old Roman Forum outlining the arch of Titus and the Coliseum. Immense wax candles stood burning before the palaces of Doria, Colonna and Orsini. At every corner were found statues and pictures featuring the Immaculate Mother. Illuminated arches spanned the streets. Carriages thronged the highways, moving slowly among the solid masses of happy people celebrating the great event.¹²

John Neumann, shepherd of Philadelphia, was happy to be in St. Peter's on that historic occasion. In a letter to his friend, Dichtl, Neumann penned his impression of the great ceremony, "I have neither the time nor ability to describe the solemnity. I thank the Lord God that among the many graces He has bestowed on me, He allowed me to see this day in Rome."¹³ To the people of Philadelphia he wrote, "To have been present on so glorious an occasion, to have taken part therein as chief pastor of the Diocese of Philadelphia and one of the representatives of the church in America, is an honor and happiness which my words cannot describe, but for which I return and forever will return humble thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ."¹⁴

Still other ceremonies took place in Rome. On the day following

the definition, the Pope held a secret consistory in the Vatican. After the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons thanked the Holy Father for proclaiming the dogma, the Pope responded eloquently and joyfully. To each of the bishops he gave a medal specially struck for the occasion; these were made of Australian gold, the gift of the people of Australia. The next day, Neumann travelled out to St. Paul's Outside the Walls for the solemn consecration of that famous basilica by Pope Pius IX.¹⁵

One important item on Neumann's agenda was that of rendering an account of the Diocese of Philadelphia to Propaganda. The report was submitted on December 16. The bishop could well be satisfied with this official statement, especially that part which was concerned with building churches and erecting schools. The parochial schools numbered thirty-four with almost nine thousand children in them. The whole report elicited words of praise from the Roman officials.¹⁶ Pope Pius IX greeted him paternally: "Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia, isn't obedience better than sacrifice?" said he, alluding to the fact that the bishop had to be commanded to accept the mitre.¹⁷ The bishop had planned well for the future of religion in his diocese, but hereupon he made mention of the pressing need there for an orphan asylum.

Providing an orphan asylum for the bereaved children of German immigrants was an idea Neumann had cherished for a long time. On this occasion when speaking with the Pope, he mentioned the fact that he would like to get the Third Order of St. Dominic for the work. While the Holy Father approved of the idea, he thought it might be wise if the bishop himself trained the women he wanted for such a task and placed them under the patronage of St. Francis of Assisi. At that very time, three women had been endeavoring to form a religious community under the guidance of the Redemptorist, Father John Hespelein in St. Peter's parish, Philadelphia. Since they were seeking episcopal approbation, Hespelein had sent a letter to him in Rome, asking for that approval. The way appeared clear to the bishop. Here in his own diocese were the very women to start such an orphanage. Neumann communicated with the superior general of the Franciscan Fathers in Rome and obtained from him permission to receive and profess members into the Third Order of St. Francis. Thus was born the well-known Philadelphia branch of the Franciscan Sisters, a community that has since spread far and wide.¹⁸

As the year was ending, the Bishop of Philadelphia left Rome. His journey took him through Loreto, where he visited the famous shrine

and Holy House and there offered up Holy Mass, then off to Venice—city of the canals—then to Bologna. So simply did he travel that no one could distinguish him from an ordinary priest. This procedure had its drawbacks. Once when an Austrian gendarme challenged the bishop for his passports, the prelate gave them to him. Since they were written in English, which the gendarme did not understand, the bishop was ordered out of his conveyance and forced to walk in the deep snow to the police station. There he made known his identity by showing his episcopal cross and was allowed to proceed on his way.

Another untoward event occurred when Neumann lost a large package with many treasured relics he had laboriously collected in Rome, Loreto, and other holy places. The bishop sought the package in vain, telegraphing to each place where he had been. The answer was always the same—"not here," "not here." Turning to St. Anthony, the bishop promised to say the next Mass in that saint's honor and to promote special devotion to him in one of the churches of his diocese. No sooner had he made that promise than a young man accosted him, saying, "Bishop, here is your lost package." Overjoyed at the recovery of his relics, the bishop turned to thank the young man, but the latter had suddenly disappeared. John Neumann was still wondering how the messenger could recognize him for a bishop since there was no outward sign of the episcopal dignity on him. It was all very strange to the prelate,¹⁹ but he did keep his promise to St. Anthony.²⁰

On January 13, 1855, he arrived at the Redemptorists' House at Leoben, Austria. The next day, the feast of the Holy Name, he pontificated and in the afternoon gave a sermon on our Blessed Lady. The following day, he visited the Redemptorist rectory in Mautern.²¹ During a stopover at Graz, where he met his old friend Adalbert Schmidt, now a seminary director, they lived over again their boyhood days.²² By January 21 he had arrived at the Redemptorist rectory at Maria Stiegen in Vienna.²³ At last he was in the city made sacred by his fellow Redemptorist, St. Clement Mary Hofbauer, thirty-five years before. The stay at the capital of the Hapsburgs was made pleasant by Father Coudenhove, the rector of Maria Stiegen, one of Neumann's former subjects on the North American mission, who had been in charge of St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia when Neumann arrived there as bishop in 1852. Once again the bishop preached on the Immaculate Mother of God.

Later, in company with Coudenhove, he went to Prague, where he was the dinner guest of the ex-Emperor Ferdinand, who had abdicated from the throne in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph in 1848. Most gracious with the bishop, the ex-emperor gave him a large donation and honored him by making him a member of the *Nepomucine Heredität*, a mark of distinction in the Austrian Empire. The money could be put to good purpose, but the honor meant little to this prelate.²⁴ After visiting the motherhouse of the Sisters of St. Charles, where Coudenhove's sister was a nun and where Neumann's own sister Joan, who as Mother Caroline, was superior, the Philadelphia bishop left on the evening of January 30 for Budweis.²⁵

Bishop Valentine Jirisík of Budweis received him hospitably and took great interest in everything that concerned his guest and the Diocese of Philadelphia. After visiting his old alma mater, the Budweis preparatory seminary, and the college and hospital of the city, Neumann prepared to leave for his birthplace, smilingly refusing Bishop Jirisík's offer of the use of his sleigh with the words, "If I go in your sleigh, the children will say, 'There goes the Bishop of Budweis.'" He had asked that his arrival in Budweis be kept secret because he wanted to go to Prachatitz quietly at night. But he failed to reckon with the civic pride of his fellow townsmen. Prachatitz was all aflutter with expectation, and everyone wanted to see the local boy who despite seemingly insuperable obstacles had dared cross the Atlantic to work for souls. No other cleric in the quiet village had ventured it—and Neumann was coming back a bishop. Particularly were the folk who lived on his street in the village anxious to know when he would arrive, for they planned to decorate their houses for the event. Smartly, they had the foresight to provide a courier, a young Prachatitz boy of the Budweis gymnasium. On the alert, this lad received reliable information of the bishop's departure and the route he was taking. Speedily he returned ahead of the distinguished episcopal visitor to herald his coming.

The snow was on the ground and the winter air was crisp as the Bishop of Philadelphia went along in a simple sleigh. It seemed strange to him that the people were out in little groups kneeling in the snow for his blessing as he went by. As the sleigh drew into Nettolitz, the church bells were ringing, and the townspeople came streaming from their homes. They stopped the sleigh and made the bishop stay overnight with them, giving him such a hearty welcome that he was heard to say, "God forgive these people for tempting

me to vanity." To his nephew who was with him—Catherine's son, John Berger,—the bishop whispered, "Let's send the sleigh back to Budweis and walk into Prachatitz by the back road. It's only three hours and I know the way. I walked it many a time as a student."

When about to leave Nettolitz, he found to his surprise that the sleigh was not the simple one that brought him from Budweis but the smart-looking sleigh of Prince Schwarzenberg. They were going to bring him home in style, whether he wanted it or not—four horses driven by a liveried coachman cantered along in the bitter cold of that February morning. From house to house the word had sped, and outside the town of Prachatitz the people were assembled in force to greet their famous neighbor. Bells were ringing, a band was playing, guns were fired from the hilltops—priests, altar boys, city officials and a cheering mass of people gave him a rousing welcome. Armed guards saluted as he passed through the ancient city gates gayly decked with pine boughs, signs of greeting and the bishop's own coat of arms. Welcome Home! Welcome Home! After a visit to the Real Presence in the local church and, with a milling crowd crying and laughing around him, he walked down the street to the old homestead—home again nineteen years almost to the very day he left it. His grey-haired father and the youngest of his sisters, joyful Louise, stood before him as the crowd surged around. "My Son, My Son!" The grey-haired octogenarian shook with emotion as he literally lifted his boy,—his boy the bishop,—off his feet and swept him up in joyful embrace. There were tears in the eyes of the bystanders, but one of them ineptly said, "Too bad his mother is not here!" The bishop rose to the occasion and smilingly replied, "Mother is happy, looking down on us today."

For seven days the bishop stayed in his own home town, delighting his old friends and his relatives by his kindness, friendliness and affability towards all. He said Mass in the parish church daily before a crowded congregation. On several occasions, too, he preached, and with such effect that one old anti-clerical who heard him declared, "If I listen often to that man, I shall be converted whether I want to or not." The townspeople gave him both public and private receptions and presented him with a finely ornamented memorial book with all their names inscribed therein. One old friend said that, while Prachatitz had many celebrated sons return to her, none had come back a bishop. Neumann replied that, if anyone else had accompanied

him to America, this person would have been chosen bishop before him. On another occasion someone remarked that the bishop had done much for the church. The bishop replied in the familiar German proverb that even a blind hen can sometimes find a kernel of corn. All in all, it was a splendid homecoming which Prachatitz citizens long remembered.

If he failed to escape a public celebration on his homecoming, the bishop took care to avoid any such thing at his departure. The people crowded into the parish church to assist at Mass, and others came to the Neumann house only to be politely informed that the bishop had departed secretly at daybreak without any formal ceremony. One priest who accompanied him declared that Bishop Neumann's last look at his home town brought tears to the prelate's face. Four hours after daybreak, Neumann said Mass at the shrine of Goyau.²⁶ After visiting friends and relatives, he was in Budweis on February 12. To please his sister, Mother Caroline, he visited the Sisters of St. Charles at Wittingau. He was still thinking of the need of nuns for his diocese, for he said: "I will do all in my power to prepare a field of work for them soon in Philadelphia, where until now hundreds of children of immigrants have been lost to our holy church every year."

Bidding farewell to the Bishop of Budweis, who repeatedly entertained him with brotherly love and hospitality, he departed from Budweis on February 13 for the Cistercian monastery at Hohenfurth. He was happy to join the monks the next day in celebrating the name-day of their abbot, as he said, "to show by my presence the love and gratitude which I have always felt for this holy order since I learned to know so many of its members." Travelling via Linz, he was at Altötting to visit some fellow Redemptorists three days later. So heavy was the snowfall that all travel was blocked, forcing him to stay three days. Though he was anxious to get back to Philadelphia, he was, nevertheless, pleased that the blizzard made his visit among his brethren longer.²⁷

By February 21, 1855, the bishop was in Munich. While there, he stayed as a guest at the house of Mr. Stiessberger, who had a brother a Redemptorist at St. Peter's in Philadelphia. The simplicity of the prelate was remarkable to those accustomed to old-world ceremony. The people were charmed by his pleasant and unaffected manner. On one occasion when Neumann went walking with the

father of Mrs. Stiessberger, the skies darkened and the walkers got thoroughly drenched with rain. The old lay companion wanted the bishop to change his wet shoes before dinner. Laughingly, the bishop replied, "If I change my shoes, I'll have to put the right one on the left foot, for I have only one pair of shoes to my name!" On another occasion when the bishop went to the cathedral to attend the funeral services of a public official, to everyone's surprise he himself carried his vestments to the church.²⁸

While in Munich, he was tricked into sitting for a portrait of himself, the only one made of him as bishop. Although on more than one occasion the request had been made of him, he refused to sit for a painting, saying that portraits are made of celebrities and he was no celebrity. This time his friends pleaded with him to allow a photograph be taken so that it could be sold in Prachatitz and the proceeds given to the poor in that place. The ruse succeeded.²⁹

On February 25, Neumann and Timon attended the general meeting of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Munich.³⁰ Afterwards, in the company of Timon, he went via Augsburg, Stuttgart, and Bruchsal to Speyer, where Bishop Nicholas von Weis, the renowned editor of *Der Katolik*, showed them the recently restored cathedral, famous for its size and beauty as well as for its historic past. The great St. Bernard, reformer, writer and orator whose natural eloquence thrilled thousands, but whose most lasting influence was in the popular devotions he established, had preached there seven centuries earlier.

The last day of February the bishop reached Paris, eager to be on his way to Philadelphia. When he found that the next steamer from Havre would not leave until the middle of March, he changed his plans, went to London, and took the SS. *Atlantic* from Liverpool for New York,³¹ with Archbishop Hughes and Cyrus W. Field as fellow passengers. They reached port on March 28 after a stormy seventeen-day trip. The arrival of the fast packet ship was anxiously awaited, not because Bishop Neumann or Archbishop Hughes and Cyrus W. Field were aboard, but because Americans wanted to know whether the report of the death of Czar Nicholas I of Russia were true.³² That very night Neumann entrained for Philadelphia, where he was joyfully received by the people. The fearful oceanic storms that were raging during March had many Philadelphians concerned about the safety of their bishop.³³

The twenty-three weeks away from home had not been idle weeks. Besides taking part in the solemn ceremonies of the promulgation of the dogma of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception, Neumann made his *ad limina* report, visited his relatives and friends, collected alms for his diocese and arranged for more priests to come to America. During his tour of Europe he had made valuable contacts. He was enthusiastic for the spread of devotion to Our Lady under the title of the Immaculate Conception.

He was glad to be home, but the joy of his homecoming was soon dissipated.

CHAPTER XIV

Bigotry and Progress: 1855 - 1857

With prayer in his heart and relics in his hands John Neumann came back to Philadelphia. He spoke glowingly of his experiences during his trip abroad. "Our dear Bishop, thank God, is at home again," wrote Mary Frances Allen to Kenrick. "We went to see him the very next day, and he showed us many relics he had brought with him and gave us medals, pictures, etc. Among other things he gave me a very small bell which came from the Holy House of Loreto, which I prize highly."¹ Two days after his arrival Neumann was at St. Peter's Rectory taking dinner with his Redemptorist confreres and telling them all about his European journey.²

In early May he issued a second pastoral on the Immaculate Conception in which he urged all the pastors of the diocese to celebrate the event by a triduum in their churches.³ The parishes in the city vied with one another to give this three-day honor to the Immaculate Queen of Heaven. St. John's celebration honoring Our Lady was a noteworthy event in the history of the parish; Assumption Church, St. Malachy's, St. Joseph's and St. Augustine's held solemn services, and the chronicler of St. Peter's surpassed himself in describing how remarkably beautiful that church was, decorated with hanging garlands and scores of floral bouquets, so that visitors to the sacred edifice seemed to be in a heavenly garden.⁴ The bishop was proud to have taken part in the great festivities in Rome, and he entered into the celebrations at home with evident fervor and delight. But the inward peace of his soul was disturbed by the forebodings of a gathering storm. A bitter, anti-foreign, anti-Catholic movement known as Nativism was spreading throughout the country.

Basically, Nativism grew out of two unfounded fears in the minds of many American-born citizens of the United States, a baseless dread of foreign domination, social and cultural, and a frenzied concern about the resultant submergence of the American government and American institutions. Since the Catholic Church was growing enormously through the influx of foreigners, unreasoning hostility to the church was concomitant with the dread of alien influence in this segment of the American population, and at this time it crystal-

lized it to open hatred.⁵ The attack on the Catholics which had been along theological lines in the days of the Hughes-Breckinridge and Purcell-Campbell debates had shifted so that the onslaught emphasized national, political and social differences. Orestes E. Brownson, a convert and one of the ablest apologists of the church in those days, pointed out that the Catholics were disliked because in their agitated state of mind many Americans thought, first, that the church was a foreign organization and was opposed to the American way of life; secondly, that it was illiberal and incompatible with republicanism; and, thirdly, that it was anti-industrial and opposed to the material growth and prosperity of the nation.⁶

The heavy German and Irish immigration had for long years aroused antipathy in people who were descended from previous immigrants but who now wanted to reserve exclusively for themselves the right to live in America. With a lamentable lack of vision the Nativists failed to see that these immigrants, so often in pitiable condition on landing in America, would soon be vitally instrumental in the growth of the United States, adding to the general population and the production of the agricultural sections, promoting manufacturing and expanding the transportation system by building highways, canals and railroads. To many Americans of that day, the immigrant was erroneously considered a liability, in most instances a carrier of disease, an instigator of disorder and immorality and a burden on the property and business interests of the native-born.⁷ They feared that these foreign-born groups could never be assimilated, and in their fear they forgot the melting-pot process and cried out to keep America for Americans. The bias that had always been noticeably present against the church was stirred once more under the guise of patriotism. Shrewdly linking their ill-will for Catholics with fear of foreigners, the enemies of the church began hysterical flag-waving and violent attacks upon it. Lecturers mounted the rostrum, stigmatizing Catholics as disloyal to the country, enemies of the Constitution, destroyers of tolerance and advocates of the union of church and state.⁸

A number of incidents had fanned this bigotry into consuming flame during the earliest years of the 1850's. The visit of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot or revolutionary who had been a leader in his country's ill-fated attempt to win independence from Austria, stirred up anti-Catholic sentiment throughout the United States.⁹ A little over a year later, the arrival of Gaetano Bedini,

Archbishop of Thebes, on his way to Brazil, where he was to be nuncio at the court of Emperor Pedro, gave occasion for serious outbreaks against the church. The archbishop had been papal governor at Bologna when the Austrian government executed a number of Italians as rebels, including a Father Ugo Bassi. Although the death sentence had been carried out without the knowledge of the prelate, the friends of Bassi attacked Bedini as among those who favored exacting the supreme penalty from the erring priest.

The presence of the archbishop in this country gave anti-clerical Italian exiles a fresh opportunity to revile the church in his person. He was personally singled out for attack in several riotous demonstrations here and hung in effigy in various cities throughout the country. The nuncio had an *ad interim* mission in the United States en route to Brazil; and, in the course of his journeys to carry out this mission, he was followed by a fiery ex-priest, Alessandro Gavazzi, who poured forth invective against him. The Italian radicals sought cooperation from their counterparts among the Germans, some of the promoters of the abortive revolutionary ideas of 1848 in Europe; the two groups fomented to the boiling point the fury of the Native Americans. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that acts of hatred, even of violence, would break out.¹⁰ Nativists in Ellsworth, Maine, tarred and feathered a Jesuit Father, John Bapst. More shocking to public decency was the spectacle of the Massachusetts legislature appointing a committee to inspect convents, especially when it was discovered that the inspectors who pried into the convent of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Roxbury, Massachusetts, were accompanied by a loose woman whose expenses had been charged to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. A violent scene of mob rule was presented in Louisville, Kentucky, where Catholics were attacked, two blocks of homes burned and over twenty persons left dead. These were but the better known incidents of a general attack on Catholic people.¹¹ Decent non-Catholics everywhere protested these outrages and at length their protests prevailed.

In Philadelphia no mob scenes were enacted as they had been in 1844, but during those early years of Neumann's episcopate the heavy influx of Germans and Irish had not gone unnoticed in Pennsylvania and in the City of Brotherly Love. The German immigration was outstripping the Irish and one-third of the Germans coming into the United States were settling in Pennsylvania. While many of the immigrants went into the outlying regions of the state where they

could earn their livelihood more readily, large groups remained on the banks of the Delaware. Their deplorable social condition made their presence in the city acutely offensive to the older inhabitants. In that metropolis, over sixty per cent of the inhabitants of the almshouse were foreign-born, while the convict records showed in the houses of detention twice as many foreigners as natives, a total completely out of proportion to their numbers.¹² The church was so identified with them and blamed for their shortcomings that, from the earliest days of his regime, Neumann experienced hostility to the Catholic cause in the city of his episcopal see.

When Pope Pius IX, then ruler of the Papal States, a temporal kingdom as well as a spiritual realm, sent a block of marble from the historic Temple of Peace in ancient Rome for the Washington Monument, a protest meeting was held in May, 1852, outside the State House Building in Philadelphia and a resolution was drawn up to demand rejection of such a gift, saying:

The offer of Pius IX to place in the Monument a block of marble dug up from the prostrated Temple of Peace which found no resting place in his own land and its acceptance by the Washington Committee is an outrage upon the spirit which dictated the tribute by Washington's countrymen.¹³

The Know-Nothings, that sinister group of politicians who won their name from refusing to tell what went on in their secret meetings, were an important factor in political life. Their rise to power and importance was mainly due to their opposition to the Catholic Church and foreigners. They and their partisans in the country were incensed when President Franklin Pierce appointed James Campbell, a Catholic from the Diocese of Philadelphia, to the office of Postmaster General. One Catholic paper humorously asked the Nativists whether they expected James Campbell to let the Jesuits in Georgetown open all the Protestant mail.¹⁴ At its national convention in Philadelphia in June, 1855, the Know-Nothing Party put a plank in their platform that promised:

Resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tendency of the Roman Church in our country by the advancement to all political stations—legislative, executive, judicial and diplomatic—of only those who do not hold civil allegiance to any foreign power, civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education and training, thus fulfilling the maxim that Americans only shall govern America.¹⁵

The attack on the church reached the halls of Congress when in January, 1855, Congressman Banks of Massachusetts charged that Catholics held the doctrine that "the Pope is supreme not only in matters of Faith but also has a temporal power that can not only control governments but, in fitting exigencies, may absolve his disciple from his allegiance."¹⁶ One of Bishop Neumann's Philadelphia Catholics, Congressman Joseph R. Chandler, answered the canard. In a brilliant and devastating reply, Chandler showed the absurdity of this shop-worn argument and in ringing words pointed out that the outcry against Catholics was:

... sapping the confidence of people in each other, undermining the foundations of Christian charity, breaking the bonds of social life, relaxing the ties of moral obligations, setting creeds in hostile attitude, bringing down the whole system of domestic, social and political life to the planes and ends of socialists and atheists who laugh at the existence of God and seek their triumph in the obliteration of the doctrines and teachings of Christianity.¹⁷

More ominous for the future of the Catholics in the Diocese of Philadelphia was the political success of the Know-Nothing party in Pennsylvania and more particularly in the City of Philadelphia. By skillful manipulation in 1854, the violently anti-foreign, anti-Catholic minority held the balance of power between the Democratic and the Whig parties in Pennsylvania, and in the City of Brotherly Love the rampant Nativists completely triumphed in the fall elections of that year while Neumann was in Europe.¹⁸ The hostile attitude of anti-Catholic forces found an outlet in an attack upon the Church. Nor could it be gainsaid that the German origin of the bishop, as well as the fact that he came from a religious order, made him a vulnerable target for the declamation of the demagogues who wrapped themselves in an American flag and shouted for protection from foreigners. The Know-Nothings and their stupid followers were riding on the crest of a wave of anti-foreign bigotry when Neumann returned from his visit to Rome. As far as he personally was concerned, they could print their scurrilous attacks against him until their ink gave out. He well understood that this is the lot of a follower of Christ, hence no one should be surprised at this persecution, least of all himself. He held aloof from the bitter arena of newspaper polemics, but he feared that bigotry would visit disaster on the flock for whose welfare before God he was responsible.

There was good reason to entertain this fear; for, when Neumann

first arrived in Philadelphia in 1852, a fight over the control of church property was in full force in the states of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and Illinois. In its wider aspects, the whole problem of church property was an evolution of the vexing trustee trouble. The victory over the rebellious trustees by the Catholic bishops, of which the Holy Trinity case in Philadelphia was an outstanding example, enraged the defeated church wardens, especially when the bishops began for purposes of corporate security to hold the church property in their own names. This was particularly the case in Pennsylvania, where the prelates of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh under an act of the Pennsylvania legislature could hold newly-acquired property in trust for their various parishes. This holding right gave the disgruntled trustees, aided and abetted by Know-Nothing support, an opportunity to air their unjust complaints. Charging that they had been robbed of their property, they had printed an appeal to the lawmakers at Harrisburg. In vitriolic language the document declared that the attempt of the bishops to wrest the deeds of the church property from the trustees was unchristian and tyrannical. French and American-born prelates previously governing the dioceses in the United States had never attempted such an innovation, and only when a new group of prelates came on the scene were these ideas introduced from the councils of Baltimore. The appeal continued:

Such doctrines are too monstrous and arbitrary to be tolerated, thus to place the legacies and donations of our forefathers, the monuments over their graves, at the arbitrary will and pleasure of one man, he not often a citizen of the United States, or to have forced on our congregations against their will monks or jesuits [*sic*] inimical to our republican institutions.

These monks, the petition stated, should not be allowed to be pastors since they were teaching that the people have no right to govern themselves and because their monastic training made them illiberal, opposed to republican forms of government and decidedly unfit to have charge of free men.

Bishop Neumann was not expressly mentioned in the appeal, but his religious brethren came in for a full share of the anti-clerical jibes:

... redemptionists [*sic*], a German or more properly an Austrian order of monks, somewhat like the jesuits [*sic*] not only oppose our republican forms of government, but even our public schools, and do not allow the members of their churches to send their children to such schools, and under penalties and denials of religious rites force the weak-minded to take their children from the public schools and send them to their own.

Denouncing the religious orders as excrescences on the Catholic Church, berating the bishops for their lack of knowledge of canon law and openly accusing the sons of Liguori of seeking to acquire property and influence by every possible means, the petition called on the legislature to curb the monks and bishops by refusing to charter any church, the deeds of which were not controlled by the lay trustees elected by the pewholders. An added safeguard was requested, forbidding any bishop or monk to receive donations or legacies for religious purposes. These should be given only to churches controlled by the aforesaid trustees.¹⁹

The well-informed Bishop O'Connor had warned his brother bishops of the possibility of hostile legislative action resulting from the circulation of such ideas.²⁰ While not known with certainty whether the petition mentioned above ever arrived at the Pennsylvania Capitol, one petition of like character did reach there. Suspiciously enough a bill which embodied similar ideas was introduced into the Harrisburg legislature around this time. This bill was known as the Price Bill from the name of the legislator who advanced it. Stripped of its legal verbiage, the bill provided, first, that bishops be prevented from transmitting the title of church property to their successors in office, and, secondly, that property be subject to the control of lay members of the congregation. These two provisions of the law were clearly sympathetic with the ideas of the rebellious trustees. The bishop was allowed to hold the property only in trust for the congregation. Actually, this was not much different from what he had been doing heretofore. By civil law he had the property in his own name, but by canon law he was merely holding it for the congregation. The point at issue was that before the civil law the bishop no longer could hold such titles and that in the event of rebellion by trustees in any parish, the bishop could not claim the property for the diocese or for such a corporate entity as the Catholic Church.²¹

Although the origin of the bill is shrouded in mystery,²² it fitted in well with the purposes of the Know-Nothings and the rabid anti-Catholics of the day. The fact that the two leading Catholic prelates in the state were foreign-born gave the Nativists a plausible ground for cheap, abusive and unjust attacks. The whole set-up was grist for the Know-Nothing mill. The Nativistic press pictured the prelates as greedy to acquire property in their own names as "Prince Bishops" of great wealth in the midst of republicans. Bishop O'Connor argued eloquently against the proposed bill in his *Pittsburgh Catholic*. In

vain he and Father Sourin appealed to the legislature for fair play.²³ The charge was especially ridiculous as applied to the Bishop of Philadelphia, who, far from being rich, did not have even a good second pair of shoes to his name. One of his defenders spoke the truth when he wrote of Neumann, "In reality he is not personally worth a dollar. If rich in anything, it is in debts and toils and manifold cares which he knew would be his estate from the hour when, believing it to be heaven's will, he consented to wear a crown of thorns in the shape of a mitre."²⁴

In vain the Catholics of Philadelphia sent through Sourin a counter-petition, called a "Remonstrance," to the legislature during the bishop's sojourn in Europe.²⁵ The *Dispatch* declared that the remonstrance was obtained by threatening the Catholics of Philadelphia with ecclesiastical censure,²⁶ a diabolic calumny, but in those days any printed statement could masquerade as truth in the partisan newspapers of a seething anti-Catholic, Know-Nothing era. Almost unanimously in April, 1855, the Price Bill was passed in the Pennsylvania legislature as was a similar anti-Catholic piece of legislation, the Putnam Bill, in New York.²⁷ Bishop O'Connor's hopes for a more just law, which had been high as late as March 28, 1855, were blasted.²⁸ The *Catholic Herald* of Philadelphia remarked concerning the enactment of this unfriendly law:

These are Know-Nothing times, and we must look out for all sorts of things, but perhaps they will not injure the Church as much as they intend. In the present state of the public mind, opposition from Catholics only serves as a stimulus to the "No Popery" feeling by which such legislation is dictated. Hence we have refrained from agitating the subject in our columns.²⁹

The passage of the Price Bill made an already difficult task still more difficult. Marc Frenaye was getting old and growing more forgetful about deeds.³⁰ Handicapped by the lack of a smooth-running diocesan chancery to handle the problems of legal tenure of church property, Neumann himself had constantly striven in his letters to his pastors to secure their cooperation in protecting ecclesiastical rights. Directions about mortgages and bonds, about deeds and debts, were constantly bobbing up in the bishop's correspondence.³¹ They were no little source of worry to him. The anxiety they occasioned was the more keen since he had to be away from the city so much on visitation tours; and like his great contemporary, Archbishop

Hughes, he appears to have had little taste for the details of finance.³² The visitation tours, moreover, were plainly showing Neumann that some of his pastors were a little careless in keeping their accounts, particularly when they came to distinguish between personal debts and those contracted for their churches.³³

The Price Bill being the law of the state, Neumann was obliged to watch over the property rights of the church even more intently since the Know-Nothing legislature in enacting it had refused to recognize the law of the church. The bishop hesitated to shift a pastor from one post to another until the pastor's papers and financial accounts were balanced and in order.³⁴ This and other regulations to safeguard diocesan property were to bring the Philadelphia prelate into conflict with some of his pastors. But for all that, events proved that the hostile law did not effect what the bitter anti-Catholics hoped it would. The bishop ordered that all new deeds should be made out "To the Right Rev. John Neumann, Bishop of Philadelphia, and his heirs and assigns in behalf of the Roman Catholic Congregation of . . ." ³⁵ Except in one or two cases, Catholic congregations continued to function peacefully with laymen as trustees, laymen loyal to the church.³⁶ As far as the effort to keep bishops from amassing great wealth was concerned, the law was completely unnecessary, for all true Catholics know that church property is never the personal property of a bishop. There was, however, one clause in the law, the significance of which was to be better realized later,—the prohibition given bishops of Pennsylvania to bequeath the title of the churches to their successors in office. Indeed the whole problem of church property that had been raised had wide, deep and unpleasant repercussions for Neumann very shortly.

The depressing economic conditions of the times was another concern of his sensitive nature. A scarcity of money during the winter of 1854-1855 brought on a business depression that affected many of his flock and made the collection of funds for the churches difficult. Thousands of poor laborers were out of work and on relief in Philadelphia that winter; Mayor Conrad was forced to call a great relief meeting to establish soup kitchens to alleviate hunger—the keenest suffering of the people.³⁷ In a caustic hint to urban workers the editor of the *Catholic Herald* suggested their moving from the city to seek employment, stating that, whereas the eastern seaboard had an overabundance of laborers, farmers were crying for help in their fields during the spring and fall. According to the editor's

account, there were too many idle laborers in Philadelphia. Many Irish, he said, were on the street corners with rounded shoulders, folded arms, pipes in their mouths and bad brandy in their stomachs, while Americans squatting in groups on planks or hogsheads, surrounded with tobacco spittle, scowled on every passerby with the look of people already foredoomed. "Hard times are coming," warned the editor.³⁸

Bishop Neumann was keenly aware that hard times were coming. In face of the money shortage the difficulty of supporting the existing social agencies of his diocese was enormous. The lack of ready money was evident in his church building program in the City of Philadelphia, where the business depression was felt most. The Church of St. Alphonsus, which had been hastily built to save the faith of the Germans in South Philadelphia, was under a heavy debt. Before it could swing into smooth operation, it came close to a financial debacle. Because the vexatious trustees of Holy Trinity Church had been stripped of their powers, this church reopened, and many of the Germans for whom St. Alphonsus' Church was built could return to Holy Trinity. Thus, the parish of St. Alphonsus was still loaded with debt while its numbers diminished. The first difficulties were overcome in 1854, when the bishop borrowed \$5,000 from Frederick Horstmann, the father of the future Bishop of Cleveland.³⁹ The crisis continued so that the sheriff was just around the proverbial corner, ready to claim the building because thousands of dollars immediately due in payments were not to be had.⁴⁰ As the months went on, the financial strain on the parish became more grave. Neumann hurried to Baltimore in an effort to get the Redemptorist provincial, Father George Ruland, to take over the parish; but, as the first Redemptorist parish in Philadelphia, St. Peter's, was already heavily burdened with debt, the offer was refused.⁴¹ Some people urged the bishop to allow the edifice to be sold at auction. Then it could be bought back for less than the debts due on it, but Neumann's conscience would not allow this legal maneuvering.⁴² To satisfy the clamoring creditors, he went more deeply into debt by acquiring loans from the people and by taking up collections throughout the diocese.⁴³

St. Bridget's Church in the city⁴⁴ and St. Joachim's in Frankford⁴⁵ were just about able to edge through, so great were their difficulties in meeting payments. At this time, too, Neuman was offered eight acres of land on which to build an orphan asylum. Sisters of St. Charles from Prague promised to take care of it and

a wealthy Catholic layman of Philadelphia was to be financial sponsor for the building. When a disastrous fire brought ruin to the layman's fortune, the promised donation was not forthcoming,⁴⁶ and the bishop himself later had to buy land for the asylum.

The building of the cathedral continued to be the greatest of his financial worries. Building operations were not progressing as quickly as either the bishop or others thought they should. While Bishop Neumann was in Europe, the editor of the *Catholic Herald* endeavored to arouse more interest in the collections. He wrote openly his opinion that the rich Catholics of Philadelphia were not doing their part. He deplored the apathy of some well-to-do members of the faith. On the bishop's part there was no apathy. The editor was certain about that; for, speaking of Neumann, he said: "How well is it known that his zeal and piety have become proverbial with those who value high things, that his activity in his sphere is almost unparalleled, that his acts are purified by the highest motives and his energies *literally never rest*."⁴⁷ While this appraisal of the bishop was true, the slackening of monetary aid could hardly be ascribed to indifference alone; for, though some refused to believe it at that time, a financial crisis was growing throughout the country.⁴⁸

Clearly irked at the stinging remark of the *Catholic Herald*, Father Waldron, chairman of the cathedral collection committee, replied quickly that the *Herald* failed to appraise the work of the committee correctly, saying: "Progress during the past year of building has been more rapid than any other year, and more money has been received than any other year since the cornerstone was laid."⁴⁹ The answer may have been true, but it neglected to say how much was left undone. There were regrettable effects of this slow progress in completing the cathedral. Until it was completed, the bishop was without a real parish church, without a staff of priests who could serve in the parish and aid him with his chancery work. Finally, Bishop Neumann was being deprived of an income that would render him more financially secure. Returning to the subject the next week, the editor of the *Catholic Herald* told the faithful of Philadelphia that the half-finished cathedral reflected deep discredit on the 110,000 Catholics in the City of Brotherly Love. To attempt to persuade themselves otherwise would be foolish, he declared, and it would be far more honest and creditable to plead guilty of neglect in the past and to make generous efforts to amend in the future.⁵⁰

When the first collection for the cathedral during the year 1855

was taken up at St. Philip's Church, the editor of the *Catholic Herald* once more wrote bluntly on the necessity of a cathedral for the bishop, declaring:

We are right glad to see this business on foot and to know that there are many whose opinions on these matters run concurrently with our own, as previously expressed in the Herald. We emphatically deprecate the utter want of sympathy on the part of some Catholics with their bishop, which this neglect implies. His piety, his zeal, and singleness of purpose should be, if properly regarded, a reproach to those who would, if they could, render him a mitred anomaly in Philadelphia. . . . If he be a bishop by legitimate appointment, let him be one by recognition of his office both theoretically and practically. If the Pastor have his house, his church and his congregation, let the Bishop have his Cathedral and his flock!⁵¹

The prodding of the editor seems to have awakened life in the flagging interest of the people. On June 17, 1855, Bishop Neumann presided over a general meeting of the Catholics in Philadelphia held in Concert Hall. The idea of depending on the individual parishes was abandoned, and a new resolution was adopted to get fifty Catholic gentlemen to collect \$400 apiece. With \$20,000 they hoped to put on the roof that year. They collected only half that amount.⁵²

The number of the faithful moving into the cathedral parish was growing; and the chapel in the bishop's residence, where services were held, was badly overcrowded. By April, 1856, it was evident that the system of fifty gentlemen collecting \$400 apiece was ineffective; at least, some were critical of it. It was left to the option of the pastors either to continue as before or to seek other means to raise funds. As the amount realized that year was again only half what was desired, the walls of the great building were completed, and the facade raised higher, but there was no thought of constructing the roof.⁵³

Still another plan was advanced in October, 1856. The wealthy Catholics of the diocese were to be marshalled in a four-year plan. Fifty were to be asked to pay \$200 a year; one hundred, to give \$100; 200, to give \$50; and 400, to give \$25. On the motion of the Jesuit, Father Ryder, this plan was amended to solicit these same people to raise such amounts, not necessarily give it themselves.⁵⁴ So the matter dragged on while the bishop saw his cathedral advance very slowly.

Perhaps it was the poor progress in raising funds for the cathedral that made Bishop Neumann later say that he found himself lacking in the capabilities needed for the administration of temporal affairs.⁵⁵ Under the circumstances one could hardly blame him for the slowness of the building. He attended all the meetings for the project. He addressed circulars to the laity and the clergy and urged upon the faithful that this was the most important duty facing them.⁵⁶ There were other extenuating circumstances, too,—the expansion in schools and churches in the diocese and his frequent absence from the city on long visitation tours. One wonders, though, how it came to pass that the churches of Philadelphia contributed so generously for the Cathedral of Armagh, Ireland, while Father Waldron's committee was having a difficult time.⁵⁷ Yet, the bishop could hardly refuse to allow the Primate of all Ireland to appeal to the Irish priests who had come to serve America and to the Catholics of Philadelphia, the majority of whom were of Irish birth or of Irish extraction.

While the country was seething with many activities those days, the bishop was thinking only of one thing, promoting the honor of God. Americans were excited about the slavery question; hundreds rushed to hear Lucretia Mott, the charming woman who was resolutely determined to get women's rights and a more liberal divorce law, and William Lloyd Garrison, whose firebrand tactics were forcing the issue of slavery, more than Southern people thought just and even more than many Northerners thought prudent.⁵⁸ People were talking about the advent of marvelous railroads supplanting the once colorful stagecoach as carriers of mail to and from Philadelphia, about the introduction of the police and fire alarm systems, about the new uniforms the police were to wear,⁵⁹ about the Crimean War and the siege of Sebastopol. The air was thick with arguments about the presidential election—those important national elections when James Buchanan headed the Democratic ticket and James Fremont, called a German-Jew by his political enemies, was the standard bearer for the newly-born Republican party, and President Millard Fillmore, who seemed fair enough personally, but was, nevertheless, running on the Know-Nothing ticket. Strange though it was, a prominent New York woman tried to get Bishop Timon of Buffalo to put pressure on Bishop Neumann to come out for Fillmore. Needless to say, the Buffalo prelate, seeing through her artifices in promising charities to his diocese, refused to exercise any such influence.⁶⁰ Unworried about all these developments, the Philadelphia prelate

kept right on laboring in his own sphere of corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

The 1856 national elections were hinging greatly on Pennsylvania, and the Democratic party knew it. The Benedictine, Abbot Wimmer, reported that in another section of the state efforts were being made to have the Catholics come out in a body for the Democrats, since the Democrats were more favorable to the immigrant and did not carry with them the anti-foreign tinge of some Whigs in the new Republican party nor the anti-Catholic bias of the Know-Nothings.⁶¹ The Bishop of Philadelphia confided in a private letter to a friend in Europe that in his opinion most Catholics would vote for the nominee of the Democratic party, but he did not fear harm for the church from any of the presidential candidates. Naturally, no expression of his views went out to his subjects.⁶² James Buchanan from Wheatland, near Lancaster, Bishop Neumann's diocese, in winning by a scant margin was aided greatly by the Pennsylvania vote, over which Neumann had exercised no influence. The prelate was busy about his own affairs, and his indefatigable industry brought heartening results in new social works, new parishes and new schools.

The social work inaugurated by the bishop was centered in two undertakings, the building of an orphan asylum and the establishing of a group of nuns whose rule of life would admit of wider services to the church than that of teaching in schools. Though neither of these moves attracted much attention in their day, both were destined to bear immense fruit in the future. As Neumann had told the Holy Father on his *ad limina* visit, the orphan asylum for children, particularly of the German immigrants, was an idea that had long before germinated in his mind. He himself first described his sentiments on this particular phase of pastoral work in a letter written in 1841 to the Archbishop of Vienna, inveighing against the practices of sending German Catholic children out to respectable non-Catholic families to be clothed, housed and fed. He cried out against it as folly which was bringing spiritual ruin to many souls. Asylums for German children, he declared, similar to those into which the Irish and French children were sent, were the remedy, saying: "Asylums for our German children are most important and most necessary. These must be regarded as the best and only means of wresting them from the grasp of error, of infidelity and even godlessness."⁶³ He had seen his brother Redemptorists solve this phase of the social problem by successfully organizing orphan asylums for German

children in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, New York, Buffalo and New Orleans.⁶⁴ On arriving in Philadelphia, he had found the two asylums so overcrowded that he resolutely set out to remedy the situation despite hard times.

A St. Vincent's Orphan Society was organized in the summer of 1855 with the aid of the three pastors of the German churches in Philadelphia—Holy Trinity, St. Alphonsus' and St. Peter's. In spite of the opposition of Tschenhens, who wanted the Redemptorists to have nothing to do with the venture, a committee was appointed to draw up a petition to the Pennsylvania legislature for a charter.⁶⁵ By the first week in October the St. Vincent's Orphan Society bought two farms comprising fifty-three acres of land in Tacony, outside Philadelphia, for a sum between \$16,000 and \$17,000. The committee then proceeded to mark off building lots on the surplus space of the acquired land and sold all but seventy-five of them in November of the same year for \$29,000. The cornerstone of the asylum was laid on Thanksgiving Day of that year. St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum was on its way despite the difficulties of the times.⁶⁶

The Sisterhood for social work began in much humbler fashion. The permission, already mentioned, which the bishop had received from Rome to start a Third Order of St. Francis in Philadelphia was quickly put into operation. Father Hespelein's three pious women were ready for their task. Mrs. Anna Bachman, a widowed lady who wanted to give herself to God, and the Misses Barbara Boll and Anna Dorn were invested with the habit of St. Francis on April 9, 1855, at St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. Under the personal direction of the bishop, who later with his own hand wrote out a rule of life for them, the new community continued to live in Mrs. Bachman's home. A year after their investiture the three brave pioneers made their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience in the bishop's chapel.

Their first activity was to visit the sick and provide a lodging for homeless girls, but on the bishop's advice they gave up this type of work except for a short period during the winter of 1857-1858. At that time a small-pox epidemic made it imperative for the Sisters to open their house to working girls who had contracted this disease. Here they received not only careful nursing but also the spiritual attention not permitted them in many non-Catholic homes in which they worked. The Sisters continued day nursing service and with the bishop's advice went into school work.

How keenly interested he was in the formation of this religious group is seen from the fact that he purchased for them a motherhouse on Reed Street after they gave up Mrs. Bachman's home. The first postulant to the new group was Miss Teresa Bucher, a convert to the faith who was charmed with the bishop's amiability on first meeting him on his visitation tour. Following his direction, she entered the new community and later became the well-known Mother Mary Agnes, the second mother general, an energetic and gifted woman whose administrative skill was to spread the order far and wide. The rigorous fasting and the abject poverty of those first Sisters showed them to be of heroic mold as they went forth daily for their varied tasks to the sick—a social service that blossomed later in the erection of St. Mary's and St. Agnes' hospitals in Philadelphia. Thousands of American girls were to join that order, begun so humbly under the fourth bishop of the see.⁶⁷

Unabated was the bishop's drive for churches. Time and again during those years the *Catholic Herald* carried the announcement: "The bishop has contracted for a new church." Working under heavy odds, the prelate saw those churches go up to meet the challenge of immigration.

To begin with, the City of Philadelphia, which included the whole of Philadelphia County, was growing rapidly, numbering half a million inhabitants. In many respects it was the leading manufacturing city; and, while it could never rival New York as a commercial center, its importance was steadily mounting.⁶⁸ It was the task of the bishop to see that the number of Catholic churches kept pace with the growth of the Catholics in the city. He did that first by erecting Our Mother of Consolation Church at Chestnut Hill. This church he began with misgivings, but the capable Augustinian, Father Moriarity, assured him that the edifice could be successfully financed and it was.⁶⁹ Moreover, a chapel was erected in the new St. Joseph's College on Filbert Street,⁷⁰ and St. Alphonsus' was readied for services in its upper church.⁷¹ But it was in the country that the churches began to mushroom. St. John's Church in Haycock,⁷² St. Gabriel's in Hazleton,⁷³ Seven Dolors in Parkesburg⁷⁴ were dedicated in 1855. The following year churches went up at Hawley,⁷⁵ Minersville,⁷⁶ Doylestown,⁷⁷ Pottstown,⁷⁸ Berlinville,⁷⁹ Tremont,⁸⁰ Lykenstown,⁸¹ and Bethlehem—Nativity Church.⁸² At Tuscarora, too, Catholics soon had their house of worship, a build-

ing purchased from non-Catholics.⁸³ The bishop felt sheer joy in seeing these sacred temples rise for the glory of God.

The year 1857 witnessed an even greater drive for the establishment of churches in the outlying districts of the Philadelphia diocese. The Immaculate Conception Church in Safe Harbor was constructed,⁸⁴ the Annunciation⁸⁵ and St. Lawrence's⁸⁶ in Catasauqua, St. Simon's in Dunmore,⁸⁷ St. Joseph's⁸⁸ and St. Maurice's⁸⁹ in Ashland, St. Boniface's, in Williamsport,⁹⁰ and a church purchased from the Episcopalians was blessed for Catholic services in Montrose.⁹¹ In all, eleven new places of worship were erected that year. Little wonder that a correspondent in the *Catholic Herald*, speaking of the country sections of the diocese, declared: "Catholicity is spreading far and wide through these old forests."⁹² Without the zeal of the co-laborers in the vineyard and the faith and generosity of the laity, the challenge to the youthful American church could not have been successfully met, but behind these achievements were the energy and the guiding spirit of the chief pastor of the diocese. Mrs. Allen regretted that the bishop was away so much from Philadelphia, thus depriving her of the benefit of going to confession to him; she said, "Bishop Neumann is away, but wherever he is he is doing good."⁹³

He did find unusual ways of doing good as the people of Trevorton could testify. When the bishop arrived there in 1857, he found some Irish who could not go to confession because no one was able to hear them in Gaelic. They soon had their opportunity, however; for the zealous prelate, who already spoke German, French, Italian, Bohemian, Spanish and English, had studied enough Gaelic to hear their confessions, thus delighting the good old Irish people in the Pennsylvania hills. Said one of them, thrilled at her newly found confessor, "We have an Irish bishop!"⁹⁴ Long years afterwards, remembering the charity that Bishop Neumann had shown them, they exclaimed in that sweet Irish phrase, "May the heavens be his bed!"⁹⁵

The building of schools went on unceasingly, not at the accelerated pace of the first years but with steady progress. In the City of Philadelphia the parishes of St. Ann⁹⁶ and St. Paul⁹⁷ built parochial schools, considered large for those days. St. Alphonsus⁹⁸ and Holy Trinity⁹⁹ parochial schools opened their doors, and in Assumption parish, Father Carter built an industrial school for girls.¹⁰⁰ In the country parishes the movement was gaining; the Jesuits at Conewago had two schools,¹⁰¹ Hawley boasted of one, while the two Catholic

parishes at Easton, Pennsylvania, possessed two more such educational centers.¹⁰² It was not surprising that a correspondent of the *Kirchenzeitung* wrote at the time, "Bishop Neumann has shown the same zeal for schools both before and after he went to Rome."¹⁰³

Neumann's interest in schools, as already evidenced, went much further than the erection of school buildings; he desired capable Catholic teachers and a discipline according to Catholic principles. For teachers he brought into the diocese a number of teaching orders, both men and women. The Holy Cross Sisters, the Holy Cross Brothers, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur¹⁰⁴ and the Christian Brothers¹⁰⁵ were engaged to take charge of the young pupils. He was constantly on the lookout for other orders to take over this work of educating youth.

A thoroughly Catholic formation of these pupils was his goal. In the diocesan synod of 1855, he imposed regulations that may well serve as directives for Catholic schools today. They read:

In order that our parochial schools may truly produce Christian virtue it is necessary that the children advance in the knowledge and love of God at least with equal pace as in the knowledge of human sciences. Therefore, we exhort the pastors to stress particularly, in their direction of these schools, religious instruction and the cultivation of good morals and not to confide these matters to the teachers alone, especially secular teachers. Indeed, if it can possibly be done, the pastors themselves should catechize and instruct the pupils and instill into them the simple truths of Christian Doctrine. Later, a more detailed exposition of it should be given to those whose age and advanced intelligence demand it.

As to discipline, the bishop ordered:

The pastors should bring home to the pupils that God wishes them to obey their parents in a spirit of humility and filial fear, that they teach chastity, love of God, meekness and charity.

Wayward children are not to be expelled from school too quickly. On the contrary, while the pastors are to watch over these more strictly lest they infect others, they should endeavor to bring them to a happier frame of mind by patience and instruction. Only when they have found out beyond all doubt that they are incorrigible are they to dismiss them.

Rounding out his advice for the schools was the bishop's injunction:

Pastors are to watch sedulously that no books be used in the schools that contain errors against the Faith or which are likely to instil false principles or religious indifference. The text books put out by the Brothers of the Christian Schools are recommended.¹⁰⁶

The erection of schools, their organization on a diocesan basis, proper teachers, good textbooks and patient dealing with pupils—these were Neumann's contribution to the parochial school system of the Philadelphia diocese, which bore fruit in magnificent abundance. It was one of his works of which he was justly proud, though he ascribed its success to the goodness of God.¹⁰⁷

One event that brought joy to Neumann's heart during those years was the arrival from Prachatitz of his young nephew, John Berger, who came to America in 1857 to study for the priesthood. The uncle warned the boy that "he must not forget that in America as everywhere else strenuous effort is necessary to get ahead." Young Berger got a warm welcome and wrote to his mother how eagerly his uncle had shown him upstairs to his room in the episcopal residence and inquired all about the folks at home.¹⁰⁸ Since Berger had not finished his classical course and since he could not enter the Philadelphia seminary immediately, the bishop sent him off two months later to the Benedictines at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, for more preparatory schooling.¹⁰⁹ The prelate visited him there once,¹¹⁰ and during one summer he took him along as a companion on a visitation journey.¹¹¹ Berger enthusiastically looked forward to the day when he could be a parish priest in the Philadelphia diocese with his mother,¹¹² Bishop Neumann's sister, Catherine, as his housekeeper. A meeting with the Redemptorist Fathers, however, set him to thinking of the advantages of religious life, and he joined the sons of St. Alphonsus in 1859. His uncle was pleased.¹¹³

Other matters, however, hung heavily on the heart of the bishop. The seminary almost lost its president when a deranged physician tried to take Dr. O'Hara's life.¹¹⁴ Also, a tragic accident befell the parish of St. Michael. The parish was having a picnic in the country, and the picnickers were to leave by the Pennsylvania Railroad at 6 A.M. The timing was important; the picnickers' special had to be on a side switch outside the city when another train coming from the opposite direction on the single track was due at the same point. A gala day it was to be for the parish, that July 17, 1856, a successor to a similar enjoyable picnic the preceding year at Chestnut Hill. The engineer was nervous, however, because the train was ten minutes late in getting started. In a desperate effort to make up for the lost time he sped out of the City of Philadelphia. He never made up the time. The two trains crashed head on. Both engines reared; three cars were crushed. Scalding steam and roaring flames made

a holocaust of many of the picnickers. The agonizing screams of hundreds rent the morning air. It was a terrible scene of wreckage and confusion, of dead and mangled bodies. Sixty-five people were killed and hundreds were injured, many of them children from St. Michael's School, which Neumann had struggled so hard to build. The headlines of the nation's newspapers carried the tragic details of the crash.¹¹⁵ Bishop Neumann, far out in the country at Silver Lake, sped back from his visitation.¹¹⁶ He went to the hospitals of Philadelphia to visit his beloved subjects, administering the sacraments, and, with a compassionate heart, uttering words of consolation, resignation, and encouragement.¹¹⁷ The whole tragedy tormented him more than people knew.

In spite of the vexation of soul occasioned by the Know-Nothing movement, the Church Property Bill and the hard times, John Neumann worked tirelessly for his diocese. That fact was evident to all. What was not generally known was a move he made for the welfare of his people shortly after his return from Rome. In the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in an unusual act of self-denial for a man in his position he asked to have his diocese divided into two—he to head the less important see.

CHAPTER XV

Travail of Soul

With the approval of the Roman officials and the kind words of the Holy Father to encourage him, and with the applause of his townsfolk re-echoing in his ears, John Neumann had come back to Philadelphia from the Eternal City with the justifiable pride of having rendered an account as a just steward. He was indeed conscious that the diocese had advanced during his term of office, as he wrote in a letter at the time.¹ Nevertheless, he was convinced of one outstanding fact,—the diocese over which he ruled was too big for one bishop. As early as November, 1852, when there was question of forming the territorial lines of the new Diocese of Newark, he had written to Archbishop Francis Kenrick:

For my part it is my sincere wish that the diocese [of Philadelphia] might be made as small as possible and it is no little consolation to me to think of having even the Pennsylvania part divided into two or three at any time when you and the other Bishops of the Province think it feasible.²

Two years later, when asked about his ideas of the subjects to be treated in the next provincial council of Baltimore, he replied:

I would like it very much, too, if this Diocese could be divided into two or three—but the difficulty of finding a city or cities to be their [the bishops'] residences, and of subjects having the proper gratifications—makes us rather backward to broach the subject.³

Now that the New York archdiocese had been stripped of Long Island and northern New Jersey to form the dioceses of Brooklyn and Newark, the Diocese of Philadelphia had the largest number of churches and priests in the country. The task of caring for it, as Neumann thought it should be cared for, was difficult. Making long visitation tours and endeavoring, besides, to carry out the administrative details of a large diocese required more time than one bishop could find. He wrote to a friend in Europe:

My present occupation is indeed very laborious since I have no one at my side to help me. Such is the lot of bishops in America, but Our Lord God will stand by me, since He so manifestly shows His mercy to the church here in America. This trust in God alone makes me bear up under

my difficulties. I might say they become desirable, since they contribute to His glory.⁴

The situation could be ameliorated by dividing the diocese, just as New York had been divided. Such a division would mean that the new diocese would have to be erected at some distance from Philadelphia. Naturally, since the new diocese would have neither the prestige nor the resources of Philadelphia, the question would come up, in case of a division, whether or not Neumann would stay at Philadelphia.

Some priests in the City of Philadelphia and some of the laity, too, never reconciled themselves to the selection of a bishop not showily brilliant for that see. John Neumann was retiring in disposition and devoted to the interior life, oftentimes avoiding company to escape to his room to work and to pray.⁵ Even though his regime brought progress for the diocese in general, his disinclination for purely social functions and his inability to shine as a public figure merely confirmed some of his critics in their prejudice against him.

Neumann saw much in Old Philadelphia that he abhorred. He considered many of its customs involving class respectability and class exclusiveness as far removed from the gospel teachings.

To him brilliant receptions and sumptuous banquets were empty forms and extravagant ceremonies.⁶ The selling of obscene books to boys and young men at the steamboat landings and elsewhere,⁷ the growing practice of suicide,⁸ the brazen advertisements for wives and husbands in the "Want Ad" columns of the newspapers,⁹ and the so-called concerts which drew hundreds of young men under twenty-one years of age to sip beer while they gazed lustfully on scantily clad women entertainers¹⁰ may well have been in his mind when he referred to his episcopal city as "this Babylon of Philadelphia."¹¹ That he was not the only one thinking along these lines is evident from a current editorial of the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, which stated:

Some of our citizens are becoming alarmed, and with reason, at the progress of modern extravagance. The age is evidently a fast one. . . . The old-fashioned notions of our fathers, their moderate habits and economical principles, are ridiculed and laughed at. The few, moreover, who attempt to imitate them are regarded as niggardly, narrow-minded, and behind the times. . . . The almost universal desire is to live for display, to excite admiration, to foment jealousy and envy.¹²

Such considerations and the imperative needs of his diocese were in his mind as he left McSherrystown after investing three young ladies in the habit of the Sisters of St. Joseph on May 4, 1855, and headed south for the opening of the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore.

This provincial council naturally had not the splendor of the national council celebrated in the same city three years before, boasting neither the number nor the nationally known personages of the 1852 assembly of the hierarchy. Besides, it was limited in the scope of its legislation, for all prior councils in Baltimore had enacted laws for the whole American church while this one was regulating affairs for the province of Baltimore alone. Only eight rulers of dioceses were present; Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, a shining intellectual light, was at their head. Answering the roll call, too, were Michael O'Connor, Bishop of Pittsburgh, considered by some second only to Archbishop Hughes as the most influential prelate in American public affairs;¹³ the convert, Bishop Josue Young of the newly erected Diocese of Erie, Pennsylvania;¹⁴ Bishop Richard Vincent Whelan of Wheeling, Virginia;¹⁵ Bishop John McGill of Richmond;¹⁶ Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia; and two administrators of vacant dioceses,—Father John Barry, who was holding the reins of ecclesiastical government in Savannah after yellow fever had killed Bishop Gartland the year before,¹⁷ and Father Patrick Lynch, who functioned in the same capacity after the death of Bishop Reynolds in Charleston, South Carolina.¹⁸ Although this group of prelates was not what could be called outstanding, their council accomplished notable results. For Neumann this meeting was a crucial event in his life.

After the usual preparatory session held in the archbishop's house on Saturday night and the solemn opening of the council on Sunday, the Fathers came to grips with the problems before them, spending the whole week in the discussions which preceded each decision. From the first private meeting of the gathering, Neumann, who seemed so reserved on other occasions, was much in evidence. He was enthusiastically in favor of having December 8, the anniversary of the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, set apart as a holy day of obligation. That suggestion, however, was not then followed.¹⁹ He joined his fellow prelates in unanimously approving the erection of an American College in Rome.²⁰ The previous year Pius IX had sent to the bishops of the United States a proposal

for such a college.²¹ While it seemed at first that the Archbishop of New York was not entirely in accord with the idea,²² he later seconded the suggestion wholeheartedly.²³ From the start, however, the prelates of the Baltimore province were enthusiastic. Neumann was selected with O'Connor and Father John Lynch to draw up a report on the practical details that had to be considered before starting such a college. The question was then to be discussed by the council once more. Among other things, the committee proposed that the Holy See be requested to designate three bishops who would meet and after mature deliberation act on this matter, but that, meanwhile, the Archbishop of Baltimore would speak for them and that a well-known priest skilled in such matters should go to Rome to make the preliminary arrangements. The proposals were quickly carried.²⁴ Though these were modified later by the decisions of Rome to wait until other provinces could be heard from,²⁵ later historians of the American College have declared that it was the work of this council that gave "the final impulse that sent the idea of an American College into every congregation in the country."²⁶

The Fathers of the council, however, were not of one mind concerning the proposal then advanced to erect a new see in the City of Washington. Those who favored it saw a great advantage to the Catholic Church in having a see in the Capital, but others argued against it. To these latter, it seemed that such a see would expose its bishop to political pressure; its establishment at that time would further inflame the anti-Catholic spirit in the country. They contended, also, that such a diocese would hardly have a sufficient number of churches in it; that its diocesan priests would be few; and that, since it was only two hours distant from Baltimore, it could just as well continue to be attended by the archbishop of that see.²⁷ Neumann voted with those who opposed its erection. His views were not supported by the majority, however, and the vote stood four to three for a bishopric in Washington, Archbishop Kenrick not voting.²⁸ All these proceedings were recorded in the minutes of the council and in a letter of O'Connor to the Holy See. The request for a new see in Washington was not approved at that time, though subsequently, in 1939, the Archdiocese of Washington was created.²⁹

When a discussion arose as to a better method of proposing to Rome the names of candidates for vacant sees, Bishop McGill of Richmond suggested that the opinion of all the clergymen of a diocese be sought by the metropolitan of the vacant see. Neumann

asked that the opinion of the consultors of the diocese be heard. The Richmond prelate's idea was not adopted, but that of the Bishop of Philadelphia was followed. In order to have a broader view of the clergy's opinion, the number of diocesan consultors, heretofore four or five, was raised to ten or twelve. This solution of the question was voted into the decrees of the council, although a saving clause declared the asking of the opinions of diocesan consultors was not to be understood as mandatory.³⁰

The really important part of Neumann's work at the council, however, was his effort to have his diocese divided. In the first private meeting he submitted such a proposal. Informing the Fathers that the care of 145 churches and almost 200,000 souls scattered over a wide territory was too much for one man, he asked that the northern portion of his diocese, to which access was difficult from Philadelphia, be withdrawn from his jurisdiction. On making this motion, he said nothing about where the headquarters of the new diocese should be located; for as he finally confessed, there were difficulties attached to any choice. Thereupon, the Bishop of Pittsburgh arose to suggest that the portions to be detached from the Diocese of Philadelphia be assigned to the Diocese of Erie. It was true, O'Connor declared, that the northern portion of Neumann's diocese was no less inaccessible to the Bishop of Erie than to the Bishop of Philadelphia, but he did not consider the inaccessibility of the region as constituting the real difficulty in the matter. Since the Diocese of Erie was small, the Bishop of Erie would be able to give to the region detached from Philadelphia the attention which could not then be given by the Bishop of Philadelphia, whose presence and constant care was so much needed in the southern portion of his domain. At this point the further deliberation of the matter was postponed to a future session of the council.³¹

Two days later the discussion was resumed. Neumann arose to propose that the upper portion of the Diocese of Philadelphia be erected into a separate diocese, specifically assigning as its territory sixteen counties with a Catholic population of 60,000. On the motion of O'Connor the Fathers of the council voted on two separate questions, first, whether such a diocese with the territory proposed should be erected, and, secondly, what city should be made a see within the confines of the proposed diocese. The erection of a new diocese was then voted affirmatively, five to two. Thereupon, Neumann moved that the see for the newly proposed diocese should be at Pottsville.

The selection of this town as a suitable site of a see looks out of place to modern American Catholic historians, but in those days of shifting populations it was not so strange. The argument against its selection was that it had only 4,500 Catholics with two churches, one German, composed of a third of the town's faithful, and one English. Neumann declared that, while Pottsville was not a very large business center and was not growing in population, on the other hand it was not decreasing either. He pointed out that it was centrally located and possessed the most stable population of all the towns in the territory of the proposed diocese. Under the circumstances, if a see were to be erected, Pottsville offered the best site for it. The motion was passed to have a new see in Pottsville, with O'Connor voting in favor, and Kenrick emphatically dissenting, though not proposing any alternative.³²

Kenrick then brought forward another proposal. He made a motion that Philadelphia be erected into an archiepiscopal see with the dioceses of Pittsburgh, Erie and Pottsville as the suffragans. Long in favor of making the important City of Philadelphia, as well as Boston, archiepiscopal sees, the archbishop had already sounded out by mail the opinions of some fellow archbishops. Although the archbishops seemed willing, the suggestion met with no great enthusiasm in the Eighth Provincial Council, and Neumann took the floor to oppose it. He argued strongly against the elevation of Philadelphia to metropolitan rank on the grounds that it would have too small a number of suffragans, that Philadelphia had no cathedral and in all likelihood would not have one for several years, and that the diversity of usages and church discipline that might be introduced in contiguous ecclesiastical provinces could produce confusion and embarrassment among the Catholics residing in the border counties. Whatever worth there was in that address, it, at least, definitely showed that John Neumann was not looking for the pallium of an archbishop. The proposal was withdrawn.³³

With the creation of the new diocese agreed upon, there remained the question of selecting a bishop for the See of Pottsville. Neumann made a proposal which may have startled some of the assembled prelates, but which he had evidently long pondered. He volunteered to leave Philadelphia and to act in the humbler role of Bishop of Pottsville.

The motives which led the bishop to make this humble proposal are nowhere expressed in one complete statement. If the fourth

Bishop of Philadelphia had continued his so-called diary or journal, he might have written them down as he had done in his seminary days and as a young priest; but, unfortunately, that diary was discontinued when he became a Redemptorist. Only by a diligent examination of his writings and by a study of the circumstances in which he was placed can his attitude be visualized. He was a very humble man. He had never completely eradicated from his own mind the idea that he was not in his element in the society of Philadelphia. Moreover, he was fearful from the start, as Kenrick later testified, that his nationality was a handicap in a city whose Catholic population was predominantly Irish. He was conscious also of the fact that during his three years as bishop most of the monetary difficulties were in the City of Philadelphia. He had no relish for the details of finance. On the whole, the financial situation, though shaky in spots, was still under his control; but looking to the future good of the church, he felt that a more prudent management of finances was needed while he was absent on rural visitations. Since the new see would be smaller than Philadelphia, he was aware that many could be found who would be willing to be Bishop of Philadelphia but who would hesitate to undertake the difficult task of forming the new Diocese of Pottsville.³⁴

Furthermore, Neumann well knew that some in Philadelphia did not consider him qualified for the position. Neumann was thinking of the general welfare of religion and not about his own prestige. Inured to hardships and sacrifices, he preferred to labor among the poor and abandoned in the wide stretches of the Pennsylvania backwoods. In 1921, Pope Benedict XV declared that this offer of Bishop Neumann to go to Pottsville was "positive proof of his magnanimity of soul."³⁵

Since the discussions of such a proposal are a private matter with the bishops, and usually not recorded in the minutes or acts of a council, the full reaction of the assembled prelates to the offer of Neumann cannot be known. He spoke with the bishops about the matter, apparently for several days, manifesting to them the motives that constrained him to seek a less important diocese, declaring his intention of making such a request to the highest authorities in Rome. A cold appraisal of John Neumann's work up to that time could hardly warrant his departure from Philadelphia. Nobody had suggested it. He himself had proposed it. He sought to convince the others that it should be done.³⁶

Leaving the matter of Neumann's staying or departing from Philadelphia to the decision of Rome, the bishops decided to send two distinct *ternae* (lists) of three names to Rome, one for the See of Pottsville, should that be erected, and another for the See of Philadelphia, should Neumann's desire to go to the less important diocese be honored by the Pope. For Pottsville the names proposed were Richard O'Connor of Philadelphia; William O'Hara, president of the Philadelphia seminary; and Tobias Mullen, a young cleric who once made a spiritual retreat under Neumann in Pittsburgh and whose fine work as a parish priest in the Diocese of Pittsburgh and Erie attracted the attention of both O'Connor and Young. For Bishop of Philadelphia, in the event that Neumann should go to Pottsville, the three priests proposed were Father James F. Wood, a native of Philadelphia, then making a splendid reputation for himself under Archbishop Purcell in Cincinnati; Father John McCaffrey, the scholarly president of Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg; and William Elder, who had been previously nominated for Philadelphia in 1852.³⁷ The request for the erection of the Diocese of Pottsville was sent to Rome. The reasons given were that the Diocese of Philadelphia was too large for one bishop; accordingly a part of its territory should be detached and erected into the Diocese of Pottsville. Even in its smaller compass, Philadelphia would need a most zealous bishop. Accompanying this request were similar petitions for the erection of new sees at Wilmington, N. C., and Washington, D. C., and for a vicariate apostolic in Florida.³⁸

Two weeks after the council closed, the Bishop of Philadelphia wrote a letter to Cardinal Franzoni, prefect of Propaganda, in which he said:

From the acts of the Provincial Council of Baltimore, held at the beginning of this month, it will be evident that I have petitioned the Fathers that this Diocese of Philadelphia be divided into two, because in the number of priests caring for souls, and the number of its churches at present under the authority of the one Bishop of Philadelphia, it is larger than any other diocese or archdiocese. We have between one hundred and forty-five and one hundred and fifty churches, very many of which are still burdened with debt. Very often they are long distances apart and, though they have numerous parishioners, these are shifting so that it is hard to organize them properly. Because of the great distance from the episcopal see it is very difficult to watch over the priests who are often only slightly known to me and who come from various parts of the old and new world with different customs. From the 11,600 baptisms of the year 1853, we estimate

that there are 250,000 Catholics in the 26,000 square miles of the territory comprising the Diocese of Philadelphia. Although I have been occupied every year for at least five months on holy visitations, there still remain missions which I have been unable to see. The foundations of the Cathedral Church of Philadelphia were laid ten years ago, and it was to be larger and more magnificent than was reasonable in view of the limited resources. Every year collections must be made throughout the diocese in order to continue its construction and to maintain the seminary, the orphanage and the hospital.

The new Diocese of Pottsville will have 60,000 Catholics and about half the area of the present Diocese of Philadelphia. The priests proposed for the See of Pottsville are learned, pious, hard-working, and it appears to me that whichever one is chosen by the Holy See will make a good bishop. As for myself, day and night I am filled with uneasiness and perpetual fear. The debts left me by my venerable predecessor cause me much anxiety. Because of circumstances here, a man of sharp insight, brave and accustomed to direct temporal affairs is required. I, however, am timid, always hesitating, and possess a horror of business and pecuniary transactions.

To be sure, I am aware that all care regarding temporal things should be cast upon the Lord Who hath a care for us. My faith is weak, however, and the sins and negligences by which I have offended the good God strike fear into me, lest God abandon me and the faithful committed to my care. The City of Philadelphia, which has more than five hundred thousand inhabitants and (if you will pardon the statement) a very worldly character, needs someone else instead of myself who am too plain and not sufficiently talented; besides I love solitude. Since there is a proposal to erect many new dioceses, I thought it my duty to inform Your Eminence that I am most willing to be transferred to another see where a less gifted man would be required. For more than fifteen years I was occupied on the North American missions; I have loved corporal labors and journeys in the mountains and through the forests. Visiting Catholic families separated from one another by long distances and preaching to them, etc. has been my greatest pleasure. The Vicariate of Florida, the Diocese of Wilmington in the State of North Carolina will be very poor and most laborious fields, and it will not be easy to find priests to take up the episcopal burden there. Because of my character, however, a great field of this kind would be most pleasing to me, provided the Holy Father, according to the light which God gives him, would declare it to be the Will of God.

The three priests proposed for this see by the assembly of bishops appear very well-suited for the administration of temporal affairs; and, without doubt, any one of them would accept the See of Philadelphia. If it would please the Holy Father to transfer me to Pottsville, even that would be welcome and acceptable to me, although I would prefer the poorest diocese, namely, Wilmington. Daily I pour out prayers to the Father of Lights that not my will, but His be done. After the experience of the past three years, my fellow-bishops of this province may know me and my character

better. They seemed to share my opinion and they will corroborate my suggestion. Would that a merciful decision may very soon be made regarding me, for I am in great distress here, passing my days and nights without sleep and filled with affliction of spirit.³⁹

To make doubly sure about the decision on the whole question, the good bishop wrote to the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation, Monsignor Barnabò, in the same strain. Referring to the Eighth Provincial Council, Neumann declared :

I manifested to the Fathers my desire to be named to another See where I would not be overwhelmed with financial transactions, for which I find myself daily less equal, both on account of my way of life and the habits of my mind which abhor such things, and on account of the great fear I have that the financial affairs of the diocese might suffer greatly unless they are entrusted to hands more skilled than mine. Up to the present, spiritual matters have shown progress, and, indeed, temporal matters have not become worse, but danger seems to be threatening. I have always loved the labors of a missionary, travels, visitations, the heat of summer and the cold of winter and the like. I have even sought them, but I have a horror of debts and financial transactions. The priests proposed for this See of Philadelphia and for the new See of Pottsville excel in temporal matters, and undoubtedly they will make advances in spiritual affairs.

If it please the Holy Father, the See of Wilmington in North Carolina, above all, would be most to my liking. Because of the few Catholics in that state, there is less responsibility. I could therefore more easily attend to their spiritual and temporal needs. The Diocese of Philadelphia is supplied with both priests and parishes.

Because of my poor talents and lack of insight, I commit mistakes especially in the administration of temporal matters, and I fear these will involve me and my successors in greater difficulties and obligations which they will be unable to remedy. It must be clear to you that a bishop of such a great diocese should be a man who shines by his authority, who is prudent in taking counsel and most strong in carrying things through. Although I endeavor sincerely to fulfil all the obligations of my office, it daily becomes more sure and clear to me that I cannot, without presuming to tempt God, expect that all things will advance prosperously in the future. I beseech you not to take this declaration of mine as an expression of humility. Before God it is the truth which I have thought should be manifested to those whose office it is to care for the welfare of this diocese. . . .

Once more he pointed out that, considering his temperament, a poor diocese like Wilmington would be much more suitable for him than Philadelphia. Because of circumstances it would not be easy to find a priest, even among those proposed by the bishops for Wilmington, who would wish that see. Bishop Neumann continued :

But that diocese would suit me very well in every respect. Although I did not offer myself for the Diocese of Wilmington in the last Council but for Pottsville, I now do so, having thought out the matter and obtained the consent of my confessor. I beseech Your Excellency to defend my cause and the cause of those churches in the [Sacred] Congregation, particularly with [the Holy Father?]. The faithful of this diocese and of this city, although they appear to love me well enough, will be very satisfied with my transfer, and they will obtain a bishop better suited for this church. I hope that the archbishop and the other bishops of this province will approve of my petition, if their courtesy, consideration and charity toward me will permit it.⁴⁰

Shortly after this Neumann informed his good friend, Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore:

. . . I wrote to the Cardinal Prefect, & to Monsgr. A. Barnabò that I find myself very much behind our age in financiering capacities so necessary in a city like Philadelphia; so much so that I am in constant fears to embroil myself and the Diocese in inextricable difficulties. I exposed to them, moreover, that I despair in ever making any progress in the accomplishments of this world—urbanity—graceful deportment, & all that sort of necessities of life, that I would feel more at home at Wilmington (N. C.), or Pottsville. I really think before God that Wilmington would be the very place for me. As there may be some difficulty, if not an impossibility, to find a Priest willing to go to Wilmington, my prospect is brighter of finding there the desired *otium cum dignitate*. I fear, however, that they will regard my protestations and statement as nothing but a fine display of very praiseworthy or crooked humility, & leave me splashing in the midst of my floating and non-floating debts. As the three Rev. Gentlemen proposed for Phila. & those for Pottsville would certainly find less difficulty in the administration of the temporalities especially, I am quite serious in my proposal for Wilmington . . . there will be no occasion for retracing steps. Your recommendation would certainly be almighty in Rome. I would beg of you, Most Reverend Sir, to mention my desire favorably and to support it, if necessary, with reasons, which are certainly not wanting.

Several Gentlemen in Phila. are already aware of some proposed change. I am, however, as yet not aware of any bad effects. I think even our stock will rise when their suspicions will become a fact.⁴¹

Kenrick immediately wrote back to his friend in Philadelphia urging him to remain quietly in his post and leave his case in the hands of God.⁴² Monsignor Barnabò wrote to the Bishop of Philadelphia informing him that his petition to be allowed to accept a less important diocese would be weighed by Rome, but he warned:

I do not believe that the petition to leave Philadelphia can be readily admitted. The Sacred Congregation well knows with what solicitude you

rule the Diocese of Philadelphia and, though excellent names are sent for that place, very great inconveniences might result from a change of this nature.⁴³

The cardinal prefect wrote in the same strain.⁴⁴ Even though John Neumann had written to both of them with a thorough depreciation of himself, the Roman prelates were not ready to accept his own humble self-evaluation.

How correctly did John Neumann appraise himself? He said he was timid, always hesitant, with a horror of pecuniary transactions. He was hesitant in some affairs, but little timidity was evidenced in a man who ventured on visitation tours five months each year, who had by this time added forty-five new churches to the one hundred he found when he came to the diocese. So strenuously had he promoted Catholic elementary education that within three years he had multiplied the number of children attending parochial schools eighteen times. There was nothing timid about the way he had handled the trustee problem in Holy Trinity Church. Neither was there anything timid about his clearly expressed views at the councils. He was conscious of the fact that with his love of retirement from the world he was not at home among some rich and important people. Their ideas he found worldly; and, being other-worldly himself, his conscience steered him from them. Perhaps nothing shows better his conscientious exactness in all things than the difficulties he put to the Holy See when asking for a solution. In the very letter which he wrote to Monsignor Barnabò calling himself unfitted for Philadelphia, he asked such detailed questions as how long a priest from one diocese could be retained in another without being incardinated. He wondered, likewise, if a convert on being baptized could receive Holy Communion on the same day, since the placing of salt on the tongue of the person baptized might seem to break the fast. He petitioned that he be dispensed from the requirement of sending to Rome the names of persons joining a rosary society or other confraternity, many of which he had organized, so that those joining such a society might not be deprived of the indulgences attached to membership because of failure to comply with that requirement.⁴⁵ Many more such doubts were in his letters. These were matters of conscience with him, and he wanted to be correct in his manner of acting. On closer inspection, that horror of pecuniary transactions of which he spoke is found to have resulted mainly from four cases in which the bishop had been embarrassed by financial entanglements.

The first of these financial transactions was the case of a former pastor in Mauch Chunk. Although particularly irritating because of the small amount of money involved, it could not be ignored on account of the principle at stake. In taking a bond and mortgage on his church in 1851, Father Patrick Hannegan, without authorization, had made Bishop Kenrick responsible for debts contracted by the pastor. The succeeding pastor refused to pay the creditors for Hannegan's personal debts, and the case dragged on in court with much annoyance to the bishop until it was finally settled in favor of the parish.⁴⁶

Then again, the building of the cathedral never advanced as some would have liked, but Neumann would not go ahead until he had money. If he had not pushed his parochial school program, there might have been more progress on the cathedral. To the uninformed, the slow-moving construction indicated a lack of fund-raising ability.

Another source of financial difficulty was St. Alphonsus' Church. The construction of the church at a time when there was no place of worship in South Philadelphia for the Germans, as already seen, had boomeranged when the Trinity trustee trouble was settled and the priest in charge of the new parish could not meet the necessary payments for debts contracted in building his church. The subsequent appeal to other churches to take up collections for impoverished St. Alphonsus' laid the bishop open to the charge of not knowing how to handle finances. One Catholic paper carried a broad hint about the inadvisability of building on too large a scale.⁴⁷ The point to be noted was that St. Alphonsus' Church, begun at a time when Holy Trinity Church was closed and not to be opened in the foreseeable future, was constructed on a large scale so as to be adequate for the care of all the Germans in South Philadelphia. There were enough parishioners to carry the financial burden. The unexpected court victory over the Trinity trustees, however, and the reopening of that church before St. Alphonsus' could successfully operate, divided the Germans between the two parishes. With the number of its parishioners diminished, the Church of St. Alphonsus appeared too large for its needs and, worse, its income was too small to support it. Neumann took the blame but who could have foreseen such a change of circumstances?

Still another money problem was the case of the building purchased in St. John's parish for a school house. The finances of this parish

had been bound up in legal red tape by the financial agent, Marc Frenaye, and the former pastor, Father, later Archbishop, John Hughes. Because of these complications, the present pastor, Father Sourin, said that St. John's was greatly embarrassed. The people were contributing money; but, after years of giving, Sourin found that the interlocking financial arrangements drained everything.⁴⁸ One such arrangement now came to embarrass Neumann. A piece of land was bought on which the people of the parish erected a school. After the completion of the building it was discovered that the original deeds of the land contained a clause which forbade its use for a public school.⁴⁹ Who made the error was not clear. Frenaye was the financial agent of the parish and stood for some share of the blame; but, since Neumann was putting on a drive for schools, he stood forth as a target for criticism. He did not mind the criticism; but the \$30,000 extra debt entailed for a school house that could not be used was an unnecessary burden imposed on the laity, for which he held himself responsible. Strangely enough, a court decision soon after declared that the clause specifically prohibiting the use of the land for a public school could not be interpreted to prohibit its use for a Catholic school.⁵⁰ Before that decision was obtained, however, Neumann had chosen another solution. Meanwhile, he suffered the accusation of poor financiering.

Likely enough, these difficulties were in his thoughts when he said he had a horror of business transactions. In his humility he considered his deficiencies as a punishment of God for his sins. It would be incorrect, however, to consider these several financial problems as other than exceptions to the rule. Hundreds of other business transactions did not involve any unpleasant consequences. The core of Neumann's difficulties was deeper than a fear of financial transactions. The spiritual good of the flock was of supreme importance. In fact, it alone was important to him as a final objective. Temporalities had their importance, too, inasmuch as they were inextricably bound up with the spiritual. While determined that the spiritual must always be his first concern, he found that it occupied so much of his time and energy that he did not have sufficient time for the temporal affairs in Philadelphia. Furthermore, as he had no special training, taste or talent for business, he was convinced that the burden in Philadelphia would be better entrusted to one more fitted. Only when all the circumstances are viewed, can one get a true picture of the prelate.

Archbishop Kenrick now stepped in and wrote his own version of the situation to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, saying :

The Bishop of Philadelphia has made known to me that he has written to the Holy See asking to be transferred elsewhere because of a lack of skill in finances and other matters. It seems to me that he should by all means be retained in the See of Philadelphia since he is a shining light because of his piety and his labors. I, indeed, confess that he is wanting a little in managing affairs, but I believe that he can appoint a vicar general, consultors and helpers, whose assistance will enable him to clear the debts and to smooth out matters. He is beloved by the clergy and people, although certain ones would like to see more urbane and polished manners.⁵¹

This more balanced view took all facts into consideration. No man was more competent to give an opinion than the former bishop, who, after several personal visits to his friend, knew the difficulties that Neumann was facing.

The Sacred Congregation still had to pass on the council's petition for a division of the Diocese of Philadelphia and, should Pottsville be erected, to choose a bishop for the new see. So far, the information received from Kenrick had given a strong argument for retaining Neumann in Philadelphia in spite of that prelate's own depreciatory words about his qualifications. Further information on the situation went to Rome when Bishop O'Connor wrote to Propaganda authorities in the middle of August, 1855 :

Another matter treated [in the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore] was the transfer of the Bishop of Philadelphia to a new see to be erected in the City of Pottsville. Much as I dislike writing about this, still I cannot but indicate some facts which may influence the Sacred Congregation. The Bishop of Philadelphia is a man conspicuous for zeal and sanctity, and in the performance of his sacred duty he has effected very much good. But he is very timid, is not so well versed in the language as to be able to address the people effectively; his manners are inclined to keep him aloof from the clergy and the people, and therefore there is no love or affection toward him. Some, unjustly indeed but in truth, hold him in low esteem [*eum minimi habent*]. The Germans are few and it would be a fatal error to think that they are more influential than others in public matters. I do not know whether they are more content with him than they would be with another. Although many of them are querulous, they are scarcely more content with their own than with others. The good accept everyone as good while the evil find some pretext against everyone. But it cannot be doubted that there is a deep persuasion in all Americans and in others who use the English language that a great injury was done to them when he was sent as bishop. This is the opinion or wish not so much of the Irish as of the Americans, particularly of the higher class of whom

Philadelphia has many. Because these latter have a greater veneration for the office itself than the former, the priests are often of the same mind and hold the bishop in little esteem. Up to the present no grave evil has resulted from this. On the contrary the zeal of the bishop has effected much despite these obstacles. If, however, a situation should arise, as might occur any day in these parts, in which great strength of mind would be necessary as well as great skill in selecting and carrying out a course of action, if difficulties present themselves from bad priests, from conflicts with the government or with mobs or some such events, it is greatly to be feared that things would go badly and that the bishop will not be able to command the support of either the people or the clergy; and he will not be able to avoid the storm [*evitare procellam*]. On the other hand, it would be a sad thing that a bishop be dispossessed from his see for such causes. He feels these things, and they are the reason why he desires to be removed. It is known that when he returns from a visitation of his diocese, he is accustomed to say that he feels like a man, as it were, being led to the gallows. He feels himself repelled by many and he cannot conceal this, which in turn repels them again. I hesitate, nor do I know what I should recommend to Your Eminence, whether to accede to his request or not. I have judged it my duty to relate the condition of affairs according to my power. It is certain, however, that such an opportunity will never again occur. He, himself, acting entirely on his own initiative, has sought the transfer. Many other bishops more or less admit the utility of it, or at least they have hesitated only because the example of such a transfer would be bad. Unless I am mistaken, there is no one who does not admit that he would be better able to function as a bishop in Pottsville than in Philadelphia. They hesitate only about the change, and they do not wish to move in such a delicate matter. Since he himself has sought the change and since no others, neither the clergy nor the people, have expressed such a desire, this does not appear to be a difficulty. However, I leave the whole matter to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, Who will aid the Sacred Congregation and the Sovereign Pontiff.⁵²

The letter was repeating in its essence what O'Connor had always held, that Neumann was a pious man but not suited for Philadelphia. How valid was this conclusion of the Bishop of Pittsburgh? It was true that, in the ceaseless endeavor to save his distressed parishes from financial ruin, he was often perplexed, not because of timidity, but because of the difficulty of finding a way out of his embarrassment. The churches of St. Malachy and St. Alphonsus in the city as well as St. Peter's in Progress (Riverside), New Jersey, were instances in point.⁵³ Another reason for his hesitancy was the Price Bill. Church property in Pennsylvania, it seemed, would go completely into the hands of trustees, resulting in all the old disturbances. With a law on the statute books, enacted with the intention of denying

the church's claims, he had to safeguard the church's rights as well as possible without risking any decision in the courts. In this emergency the wider experience of Archbishop Kenrick came into play, and the Baltimore prelate advised that no steps be taken without first consulting competent lawyers. Neumann was not so adept at handling such a situation as Kenrick. For that matter neither were many other bishops. But the Bishop of Philadelphia could take advice.

The whole question of safeguarding church property was aired in the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore. Later, it was discussed by the Pennsylvania bishops at a meeting in Pittsburgh,⁵⁴ but no common policy could be devised.⁵⁵ Hesitancy in making decisions in such grave matters was not necessarily timidity. It should be noted, too, that some people confused the bishop's meekness of manner with timidity of soul. His calm but effective rulings to his priests at this time were far from timid. However, he did not take to the press or to the platform to confute attacks on the church, as did John Hughes and Michael O'Connor, perhaps because he did not possess the controversial talent. Yet, his whole manner of acting indicated that he did not think that in the state of the public mind such procedure would be so effective in the long run as patience under false or misleading accusations, which in God's good time would fall to pieces by the weight of their own falsity.

It was strange that Bishop O'Connor should say that the Bishop of Philadelphia could not address his people effectively. True, he was no orator; but he tirelessly gave earnest, sound, simple sermons adapted to the listeners' intelligence. At this time he went to Villanova, where, addressing the graduating students, he declared the Catholic Church was always the warmest and most generous patron of learning. She sent the missionary with the cross in one hand and the lamp of knowledge in the other, he asserted, and it was a stupid fable to associate her with ignorance.⁵⁶ He never lost an occasion to bring home a message to his people; and, though the Bishop of Philadelphia did not have the graces of pulpit eloquence that shone in the Jesuit, Father Ryder, or in the imposing Augustinian, Father Moriarity, or in Bishop O'Connor himself, he could give an instructive and often touching discourse that bore fruit.

It is difficult to understand, also, how it could be said that Neumann was aloof from his people and clergy. He was assiduous at attending celebrations, Forty Hours, St. Patrick's Day ceremonies, commence-

ment exercises and meetings of the clergy. Almost at the time Bishop O'Connor was penning his letter to Rome, a writer in the *Catholic Instructor*, speaking of Bishop Neumann, declared:

We know and have conversed with most of the clergymen of the diocese; we only record our own sentiments and theirs when we repeat the assertion 'that no one unites in a greater degree the amiable character of Father and friend—none is more beloved by his flock and none certainly more endeared to the hearts of his clergy.'⁵⁷

The sweeping statement of O'Connor, it seems, should have been considerably modified. The best proof of whose sentiments the bishop was voicing came from the two sentences in the letter, "Some, indeed unjustly, but in truth, hold him in little esteem" and "It cannot be doubted that there is a deep persuasion in all Americans and in others who use the English language that a great injury was done them when he was sent as bishop." That statement seems to indicate that the prejudice against John Neumann when he came to Philadelphia was still alive among some of the people. At any rate one can hardly reconcile the statements of O'Connor that all would rather see him in Pottsville with the statement of Kenrick that John Neumann should, by all means, be retained in Philadelphia, where his labors and his piety made him a shining light and where he was loved by both the clergy and the people.

Before sending his letter to Rome, O'Connor added a postscript to it: "Since I have written this letter I have come to Philadelphia, and I hear that things have become much worse than I knew, and there is great danger that serious evils may arise."⁵⁸

The Roman authorities soon had another piece of information before them. When Archbishop Bedini returned to Rome from his trip to North and South America, he gave a report of conditions in America. Concerning Bishop Neumann, he wrote:

The Bishop of Philadelphia seems a little inferior for the importance of such a distinguished city, not in learning nor in zeal nor in piety, but because of the littleness of his person and his neglect of the fashions. He is indeed very holy and full of zeal, but more as a missionary than a bishop. He is not able to forget the very humble customs of the Order to which he belongs (Redemptorists), but the populous City of Philadelphia, rich, intelligent, full of life and importance, surely merits a bishop of another type. He himself, I am sure, would be delighted to be transferred to a new diocese, one entirely poor, because this is much more in accord with his habits and his true and great humility.⁵⁹

That was the archbishop's judgment—the "city" merited another type. Nothing was said about the other parts of the Diocese of Philadelphia and nothing about those sections of Philadelphia which were not "rich, intelligent and full of life and importance." The suave archbishop, as his itinerary shows, had not seen the diocese as a whole while making a short stay in Old Philadelphia.

While these reports were going to the highest ecclesiastical authorities, some events in the diocese cast a deeper shadow on Neumann. He made several moves that aroused the opposition of some of the clergy. The first in importance was the transfer of the Church of St. John in the city to the Jesuits. The pastor of St. John's, Father Edward Sourin, had been thinking of joining a religious order. In fact, he seems to have entertained the idea of becoming a Redemptorist at first,⁶⁰ though later his thoughts turned toward the Society of Jesus. Before making any decision in such a matter, he had to clear up certain difficulties in his parish, considered the elite parish of Philadelphia.

One of Sourin's difficulties concerned the building already mentioned, which he had intended to use for a parochial school but which, because of a clause in the deed, apparently could not be used for that purpose. How could he utilize the empty building for the benefit of the parish?⁶¹ The pastor suggested a solution to the impasse by proposing that the building be used by the Jesuits, not for a parochial school but for a new site of St. Joseph's College. Willing's Alley was not nearly so good a site for a college as this large building on Broad and Juniper Streets. If the Jesuits would take the building and its debt of some \$30,000, St. John's parish would be the gainer and education in Philadelphia would be advanced.⁶² Moreover, since Sourin was leaving St. John's parish to enter the Society of Jesus, the bishop offered to give St. John's to that order. It must be stated that the Jesuits did not make any suggestion, remaining passive, while the bishop and Sourin saw in the proffered solution the hand of God. A contract was drawn up, still extant, showing the nature of the agreement and establishing the fact that all concerned in making it—Father Sourin, Bishop Neumann and the Jesuit Provincial, Father Charles Stonestreet—deemed the agreement equitable for all and good for the diocese, inasmuch as it would further higher education in the city.⁶³

Some of the secular clergy of the city and some of the laity, unaware of the full ramification of St. John's legal entanglements and relatively weak financial condition, were highly discontented with the transaction. Some went so far as to express their dissatisfaction in a thinly disguised story in a secular paper.⁶⁴ Made at a time when it was widely whispered that the bishop was leaving the diocese, the arrangement drew heavy criticism, and even Archbishop Kenrick seemed surprised at the move.⁶⁵ Under the circumstances the Jesuits did not get a warm reception, but the Bishop of Philadelphia was confident that in the long run the diocese would benefit by the plan.⁶⁶ John Hughes in New York made a somewhat similar contract in regard to his St. John's College, which he surrendered to the Jesuits and which later developed into Fordham University. St. John's College, however, did not have quite the personal interest for the New York clergy that the fashionable parish of St. John in Philadelphia had for Philadelphia pastors.⁶⁷

A series of regulations laid down in the Synod of 1855 concerning the finances of the parishes came in for more criticism. These regulations were to become standard practice later without much apparent criticism, but their introduction at this time awakened definitely unfavorable reactions. Learning of the condition of each parish from his thorough-going visitations, Bishop Neumann prepared to remedy some defects. He became fully acquainted with the fact that careless handling of the parochial accounts was causing difficulty. Because of the manner in which the church property law of the State of Pennsylvania was drawn up, it was important that its provisions be carefully observed. The so-called timid Bishop of Philadelphia showed that he was not so timid by insisting on the separation of the pastor's personal property from the parochial property. Thereafter, each parish was to supply the furniture for the rectory, which was not to be removed on the death or transfer of the pastor. Also, all revenues of the church were to be deposited with a treasurer, either the pastor or some other duly appointed person. Every parish church was to have a parochial residence for the pastor and curates; there was to be careful recording of receipts and expenses and a yearly report of financial conditions. The pastor and curates were to have fixed sums as salaries. Two laymen of the parish, appointed by the bishop, were to be consulted in matters of importance. These regulations were given to the pastors in printed form.⁶⁸ Moreover, in the same synod Bishop Neumann put into the statutes of the diocese a regulation

that the deeds of church property were to be handed over to the bishop within three months; this he ordered to be done under pain of forfeiture of the parish.⁶⁹

These regulations were not haphazardly or impulsively made. They were enacted to correct manifest abuses in parochial administration, abuses of which the bishop was well aware. Thus, when dissatisfaction gave rise to complaints by parishioners about the seventy-three-year-old pastor, John D. Berrill, which made his ministry ineffective, Bishop Neumann changed him from St. Dominic's parish, Holmesburg, to Nicetown. His successor at Holmesburg, Father Matthew McGrane, was confronted with the fact that Berrill held legal title to the rectory and refused to surrender it, even barring the new pastor from entering it. Berrill had made collections for it in various places, and apparently he considered the collections his own personal property. The new pastor had to rent a house in the vicinity of the rectory. When Berrill died next year, a lawsuit followed over the ownership of the rectory. The court's verdict was that the legal possession rested with the former pastor. The building was ordered sold and the money realized from the sale given to the heirs of Berrill.⁷⁰ Similarly, when another pastor died, the new priest arrived to find the rectory without any household furniture since the dead pastor's sister claimed that all the furniture was her own.⁷¹

The whole question of church property was annoying. One pastor appealed to the archbishop against the Bishop of Philadelphia, but the Baltimore prelate refused to listen to the appeal until the church property was surrendered to Neumann.⁷² Although it was easy to see that regulations were needed, the process of disentangling church property from personal property was not popular.

One wonders, however, why these regulations entailed so much agitation. They were enforced practically *in toto* by Bishop Neumann's successor twenty years later.⁷³ There were perhaps two regulations which some might have resented. The first was the obligation of the pastor to consult two laymen, appointed by the bishop, in financial and other important affairs. The statutes of the synod held at this time somewhat modified this regulation. The pastors were allowed to name the two laymen to be consulted; and, if they were satisfactory to the bishop, he would approve them. Another regulation allowed only \$100 yearly for renting a house to serve as a rectory wherever no diocesan rectory existed. That may have come as a shock to those

having grandiose ideas of a parochial residence. This restriction disappeared in later years after Neumann's death. The Bishop of Philadelphia was mild-spoken in enforcing these rules; but he was, and had good reason to be, insistent on them. Archbishop Kenrick was to say of Neumann later, "If he appeared in any circumstances tenacious of his prerogative, it was only under a sense of duty."⁷⁴

At this time, the fall of 1855, Neumann was expecting that his request for a transfer to another see might be honored. The rumor of his transfer had reached the clergy of Philadelphia, and this notably added to their mounting resentment against the regulations. Then, too, from the beginning the German Bishop of Philadelphia labored under the handicap of dealing with priests, the majority of whom were Irish-born. The Fifth Synod of Philadelphia, at which the regulations were promulgated, heard some of this resentment openly expressed. A number of Irish-born priests, forgetful of good manners, spoke to the prelate in such a fashion that the German-speaking priests, and even some English-speaking priests, highly resented their manner of voicing their objections.⁷⁵

Probably at this synod, likewise, the incident narrated by the bishop's nephew took place. Neumann spoke of the indecency of obliging people to pay money at the door of the church, declaring that the practice, common in some places, was keeping the poorer people from attending divine services. When the bishop asked for the opinion of the priests, a number of them arose and vehemently objected to any "innovation." By cutting off these sure revenues of the church, they argued, a great injury would be done. Whoever would abolish the custom would plainly show that he knew very little about a certain class of people. It was a personal attack. Everybody in the synod expected to hear a strong rebuke in reply. The bishop, calm and imperturbable, answered, "Some of you appear to differ on this matter with me. Your reasons I regard as weak. I, too, have reasons, very grave reasons, for my opinion. Since we do not agree, we must allow the Holy See to decide." The Philadelphia priests came away from that synod convinced of their bishop's humility. His most outspoken critic, regretful of his manner of speaking, quietly confessed, "We indeed have a holy bishop."⁷⁶ The proposal to abolish "door money" was no innovation in the church in America. Bishop Amadeus Rappe of Cleveland spoke of submitting it to a council, and later the Third Plenary Council was to enact it into a law.⁷⁷

This was a difficult period for the Bishop of Philadelphia, who sought only the welfare of souls. These painful events combined to make his life uneasy. Shortly after the synod, Bishop Neumann, speaking of the annoying suit at Mauch Chunk, wrote to his friend, Archbishop Kenrick:

This unhappy affair & other similar ones that have occurred, strengthen me very much in my determination to have committees appointed in every congregation to assist the Pastors in the management of the temporalities of our churches. Though I think that I have nothing in view but the good of this diocese, I am getting from one trouble into the other, on account of my indecision and want of experience, so much so that I wish always . . . to be released if such be the Will of God.⁷⁸

The letter was an example of what Bishop Neumann meant when he spoke of his own "lack of experience." Archbishop Kenrick, fearful that he himself might be made responsible for the loans contracted by Hannegan at Mauch Chunk, as related before, asked Neumann to put the matter in the hands of a lawyer. The Philadelphia prelate did so, but informed Kenrick that he need not worry—Philadelphia would take care of any loans charged to him.⁷⁹

Several priests left the diocese at this time,—two for financial reasons, at least finances were involved in their departures.⁸⁰ Three seminarians were dismissed from the seminary.⁸¹ While in none of these cases was there any patent fault on the part of Neumann, they indicated that there was unrest among some priests and seminarians, for Bishop O'Connor wrote on April 11, 1856, to Archbishop Kenrick, "I find the dissatisfaction and *rebellion* in Philadelphia likely to become most serious. It would appear that serious outbreaks may be apprehended amongst his clergy."⁸² Though the full details of this agitation among the clergy of Philadelphia remain unknown, likely the priests who were checked by the regulations or were changed from their churches because of their failure to comply with them scandalously gave voice to their resentment. But an unbiased view would indicate that these malcontents were relatively few.

The letter of the Pittsburgh prelate to Kenrick gave no intimation of the reasons for the agitated state of mind of the Philadelphia clergy. The statement seems to labor from the defect, not unusual in such generalizations, of not giving specific details. A letter written by the Archbishop of Baltimore at this time also showed evidence of the unrest, though it pointed out something of the source of it. On

July 23, 1856, Kenrick, writing to Bedini, then secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, gave further information on the state of affairs in Philadelphia. The Archbishop of Baltimore had recently been to Philadelphia to celebrate the funeral Mass of John Keating, a staunch Catholic and his warm friend. The archbishop declared :

The vicar-general of Philadelphia came to lay before me the state of the diocese which was otherwise known to me, and to ask my advice. The bishop is very pious and labors like an apostle, occupying himself almost constantly in the visitation of his diocese; nevertheless scandals are increasing, and he does not find it easy to apply a remedy to them. It seems that he would not like to believe unfavorable rumours or is unwilling to despair of the improvement of those who are manifestly unworthy.

The archbishop went on to relate the case of one Philadelphia priest whose conduct was reprehensible. On becoming aware of the priest's behavior, Bishop Neumann withdrew his former confidence in the cleric. Kenrick described what followed :

This irritated the priest, and he sought to arouse some opposition to the holy bishop among the clergy and people, even writing some anonymous letters in the newspapers. The bishop put up with his conduct but did not fail to give him opportune admonitions. . . . I do not think there is anything one could blame in the manner of action followed by the bishop in regard to him; but I fear that in other cases, as perhaps in this, he may have yielded too much to the inspiration of charity that hopes for all things.

For the temporal affairs of the church, the bishop finds greater difficulty, not understanding them, and not taking care to apply his mind to them. The consequence can be very grave in the circumstances of that diocese, which is among the most important in the United States.

Kenrick's assertion that Neumann was not applying his mind to unravel the difficulties was far from the truth, though the Philadelphia prelate's reticence and his long absences from the city on visitation tours seemed to give that impression to the nervous Father Carter and others. The archbishop instanced only one case of questionable value to support his statement, that of the transfer of St. John's to the Jesuits. Even then he did not condemn it openly, but merely stated that "a transaction of such importance should not have been done without the consent of the Apostolic See." Kenrick continued :

I do not wish to expand any more on such things,—although I thought I ought to report these to Your Excellency. I repeat again that the bishop

is without blemish, and adorned with the ecclesiastical virtues. I do not make bold to suggest that he be given a coadjutor, according to his desire already manifested,—much less that the administration of the diocese be taken away from him. We have been waiting for many months to hear the will of the Holy See communicated to us regarding the decrees of the [Eighth Provincial] Council of Baltimore.⁸³

Archbishop Bedini replied to Kenrick on August 25, 1856:

The confidential notes with which you so graciously favored me regarding the spiritual and temporal status of the Diocese of Philadelphia are fully in accord with the information I find is had by the Sacred Congregation; and the opinion that is had of this prelate, in other respects most commendable and endowed with extraordinary gifts, is not dissimilar. With equal confidence and reserve therefore allow me to ask you for your thoughts and judgment about the method that could be employed for the better government of the diocese and for the honor and respect which this bishop richly merits, so that backed up by these secret reports, I may be able to act and the Sacred Congregation may rejoice in the solution of an affair of such importance. I trust that you will be kind enough to attend to this for me.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, in Rome the decision concerning the division of the Diocese of Philadelphia and the appointment of a new bishop or new bishops, as Rome judged best, were not forthcoming. All wondered why. A possible explanation was the fact that the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, James Franzoni, was dying. His death on April 20, 1856, was followed by the elevation of Monsignor Barnabò to the post of cardinal prefect on June 16 of the same year, and Archbishop Bedini was appointed to succeed Barnabò as secretary of Propaganda.⁸⁵

With the new prefect and secretary in charge of affairs, the deliberations of the Roman officials on the matter were resumed. The documents already in their possession were submitted, as is customary, to a consultor, who was to pass on the merits of the two questions,—one about the proposed division of the diocese and the other about the transfer of Bishop Neumann. The consultor's reply concerning the proposed division was decidedly in the affirmative. When he came to discuss the transfer of Neumann, the consultor was not so sure of its advisability. Perplexed as he analyzed the documents, he dissected the information bit by bit.

John Neumann, he pointed out, had been recommended by the vote of the bishops of the United States for the See of Philadelphia, notwithstanding the very strong remonstrances raised by his own

religious modesty and the fervent supplication of his superiors, who wished to prevent his nomination and keep for their Congregation a religious of such virtue and merit. He had been held in high favor by the American prelates. In the consultor's own words:

. . . The esteem in which these prelates still hold him confirms the high reputation which he had acquired with them from the beginning. All of them consider him at all times a holy bishop and hold it an honor to proclaim him as such.

After establishing the disinterestedness of Neumann and his reputation for holiness, the consultor moved on to discuss the original fitness of his appointment for the See of Philadelphia. The consultor declared:

However, this See of Philadelphia was, perhaps, not the one which would have suited him best; and the bishops who proposed him for it and who ought to have known the character and preferences of the citizens of Philadelphia should also have been easily able to foresee that Neumann, a member of a religious congregation, a German by birth and education and finally not well versed in the English language, could turn out less pleasing to them, no matter what his virtues and merits might be. . . .

That was what the consultor gathered from the documents before him, in none of which was it clearly brought out that the choice of John Neumann was not made solely on the character and preferences of the City of Philadelphia but on the character of the people of the whole diocese and on the needs of that diocese. Nowhere did this letter indicate that work on visitation tours, development of the church outside Philadelphia, as well as in it, and particularly his acceptability to the faithful outside Old Philadelphia were enough to offset any dislike of the appointment arising from some persons in the city.

Passing on to consider the motives for the requested transfer, the consultor thus summed them up:

. . . His natural timidity, which he himself admits in his letter . . . a timidity which his fellow prelates now seem to recognize in him, and by reason of this he considers himself incapacitated in the difficult situations which easily arise in important affairs of that city . . . the little practical knowledge, or none at all, that he has of managing the temporal affairs, the distressed financial condition of the diocese. . . .

These were the motives given by the bishop himself for a transfer. If the consultor had had before him a letter that Neumann wrote at this time to his former spiritual director in Austria, Hermann

Dichtl, he might have seen another reason for the requested transfer. The fourth Bishop of Philadelphia wrote:

Forming a new diocese is fraught with certain inconveniences, so that it is difficult to find priests who are willing enough to devote themselves to them. My long years in the hard service of the Church have not only made such misery agreeable but have entirely unfitted me for living as is the vogue in this Babylon of Philadelphia.

That declaration about his willingness to go to a place where others might be unwilling to go, was not the sentiment of a man trying to escape difficulties. He honestly thought that in a missionary diocese he would do better work more easily than others. But the consultor did not have that letter. He did have the letter of O'Connor, and this was his analysis of it:

This letter, written with a spirit more preoccupied with gloomy worries for the future than impressed with the reality of the present, shows the intention of its author in the uncertainties and (permit me to say so) the contradictions in which it entangles itself; I point this out, since in this letter the transfer requested by Monsignor Neumann is treated as an 'opportunity,' a good occasion that should not be allowed to slip from one's hands. 'It is certain that such an opportunity will not occur again.' It seems to manifest in the Bishop of Pittsburgh more than an opinion, a desire that this transfer be quickly effected no matter what its motives may be. I do not think that one should ask the Sacred Congregation to proceed lightly in such a delicate affair, as the same Monsignor O'Connor calls it, *in re tam delicata*. And if I did not fear, by my vote, to be prolonging a state that is so painful to him. I admit that the above-quoted letter would induce me, instead, to advise most decidedly to reject the requested transfer, repeating with the illustrious Monsignor Kenrick, 'It seems to me that he should by all means be retained in the See of Philadelphia!'

The consultor pointed out that if the difficulties of Neumann and the ensuing distress to his soul could not be relieved by another means, this could become a canonical reason for a transfer from the diocese, or even for resignation from the episcopal office. In order that the Sacred Congregation might proceed safely, however, he advised that further and more precise information should be sought from the Archbishop of Baltimore by consulting with his assistants, culling the ideas of the suffragan bishops, and inviting each one of them to write separately to the Sacred Congregation to give his opinion on the usefulness and opportuneness of such a transfer. The consultor concluded:

If it would truly be seen from the dispassionate testimony of these bishops that the state of Bishop Neumann is dangerous both for himself and for the welfare of the diocese entrusted to him, there would no longer be any doubt about granting the requested transfer. But if on the contrary, from these reports thus received it would become evident that it is rather nothing but idle scruples which disturb this prelate and if in this way he is shown worthy of the above mentioned phrase of Msgr. Kenrick, 'He is beloved by people and clergy,' then it is equally clear that we should not grant his request but should, instead, by means of an appropriate letter from this Sacred Congregation, exhort him to continue with holy courage in the good spiritual government of his diocese, recommending to him, moreover, to procure for himself according to the advice of the same Mgr. Kenrick the help of capable and honest persons for the administration of the temporal interests, if he alone is unable to attend to them because of the many other cares of his sacred ministry.⁸⁶

The Sacred Congregation, agreeing with the views of the consultor, deferred action on both the request for the erection of a new diocese at Pottsville and for the transfer of Bishop Neumann until further information to clarify the situation was forthcoming.⁸⁷

The Roman authorities were about to dispatch letters to Archbishop Kenrick to gather further information from him and his suffragans concerning the Philadelphia situation when two more letters arrived in Rome, one from the Bishop of Pittsburgh and the other from the Archbishop of Baltimore.⁸⁸ The message from the Pittsburgh prelate reiterated the idea that Bishop Neumann's offer to leave Philadelphia presented an opportunity to correct the unfavorable state of affairs that had arisen in the City of Brotherly Love. O'Connor had been in touch with some Philadelphia priests, at least he had passed through the city on his return from Europe the preceding year, but nowhere does he seem to have made a sufficiently thorough study from all sources. However, the information coming to him was of such a dark nature that he felt urged to write to Rome. In giving his ideas, he stated, "I am the only bishop of the province to hear much of what goes on in Philadelphia." He gave his opinion that, while the archbishops of New York and Baltimore might give information, the Archbishop of New York would likely not interfere in any such matter since New York was not in the Baltimore province. As regards Kenrick in Baltimore, O'Connor felt he was indisposed to touch anyone, even for the most manifest lack of ability. On the other hand, the Baltimore prelate's character and bearing, O'Connor asserted, kept him too removed to hear much of what went on in

Philadelphia. The Pittsburgh bishop asked outright that all further plans to make provisions for the proposed Diocese of Pottsville be suspended for a little while longer; he further declared that information was necessary about the state of things in Philadelphia, "where it seems that a change of bishops is more or less absolutely necessary, and I am sorry to have to say this since I admire the piety, learning and zeal of Msgr. Neumann. It seems that he is entirely lacking in vigor, is like a child and incapable of keeping things in order." The bishop further declared:

From all sides are heard serious and innumerable complaints. Priests and laymen, religious and secular, persons of piety and those who practice little religion, all, or at least very many of every class, say the same. The things I fear I said in my last letter are coming to pass more or less from day to day. Everywhere they speak of the bishop with unbelievable disrespect. . . .

The letter went so far as to say that he had heard of two movements, one by the clergy to ask the bishop to resign and the second by the laity to denounce his appointment and administration. Taking this hearsay report for a fact, O'Connor advised that the offer of Neumann to be transferred be accepted, and added:

I suggest a delay only in case the Holy See does not want to erect a see at Pottsville or that it does not want to transfer Msgr. Neumann to that place. If the Holy See is thinking of accepting his proposal of transfer, then my suggestion would be in favor of immediate action.⁸⁹

The sweeping statement of O'Connor concerning the relations of Neumann with the clergy and laity of Philadelphia makes strange reading in the light of what followed. The existing documents both of the preceding years and of this very period singularly fail to corroborate the information O'Connor presented. There was criticism against the bishop, to be sure, but it was neither so widespread nor so strong as O'Connor alleged. What was remarkable about the letter of the Pittsburgh bishop was that it gave no explanation for the disaffection of the clergy and laity. It said nothing of the spirit of ultra-nationalism which had been a sinister force working silently among a small group of priests and lay people since the beginning of Neumann's term. O'Connor seemed to have forgotten that he had written only one short year before, when he mentioned the prejudice that existed, "Some, *unjustly* indeed, but in truth, hold him in low esteem" and "It cannot be doubted that there is a

deep persuasion in all Americans and others who use the English language that a great injury was done to them when he [John Neumann] was sent as bishop."

Furthermore, the Pittsburgh prelate failed completely to say anything of the spirit of discontent stirred up by a disappointed native priest whose actions were altogether unbecoming and who had been checked by Neumann. Moreover, it mentioned nothing in defense of the Philadelphia prelate whose just laws on the administration of church property were to become the accepted rule in the diocese. Perhaps the best answer to the charge that Neumann was weak and unable to control things is seen in the record of dismissals from the diocese of undesirable subjects and his energy in promoting new churches and schools. It must be added, likewise, that for a man pictured as acting like a child, Neumann's regulations enacted in the synods of 1853 and 1855 manifested a remarkably clear insight into the workings of his diocese and vigor in seeking its good.

Three times the Bishop of Pittsburgh had written to the Holy See concerning Neumann; and, though each time he proclaimed the Philadelphia bishop's piety, yet, on all three occasions he wrote unfavorably of him. Far from being hostile and certainly never malicious, O'Connor really seems to have thought he was doing Neumann a service since from the very beginning he believed that he was not suited for Philadelphia. Always able and often brilliant, the Bishop of Pittsburgh had given evidence of one failing common to many brilliant men—on occasions he was precipitate. In 1852, he had persisted in having his own choice, Father Edward Purcell, placed first on the list for the See of Philadelphia; and at this very time he was urging the nomination of that priest for the office of Coadjutor of Pittsburgh, principally because he regarded him as a good manager of financial affairs. Yet, ironically enough, future years were to show that this very priest, as vicar-general of Cincinnati, was to lead that diocese into one of the worst financial debacles in American church history.⁹⁰

O'Connor further impulsively displayed poor judgment when he wrote in October, 1852, to Archbishop Kenrick that no German or quasi-German should be placed on the list of those proposed to succeed him in the Diocese of Pittsburgh;⁹¹ and yet, eight years later, when leaving that diocese, he himself proposed among those to succeed him the Redemptorist, Francis Xavier Seelos, a good, solid Bavarian.⁹²

His precipitate forcing of the issue in having himself made first Bishop of Erie after he had heard objections to the organization of that diocese was another case of injudicious haste. O'Connor's departure from Pittsburgh, where he was doing good work, was deeply deplored by Kenrick and called by the same prelate "suicidal with injury to religion."⁹³ In a little over one year the Holy See had to send him back to Pittsburgh.⁹⁴ There were likewise other instances of the bishop's committing to writing his first impressions before thoroughly studying all the angles of a question. With this view of these defects of mind, his withering note to Propaganda must be studied. Indeed, there is little doubt that O'Connor failed to sift thoroughly the information he received about Neumann and that he gave too much credence to hearsay reports written by some Philadelphia priests with axes to grind. Certainly, not all the clergy were of the opinion he very glibly reported to the Holy See. Neither the Jesuits nor the Redemptorists nor anywhere near a majority of the diocesan priests held the administration of Neumann in such low esteem as O'Connor declared, though the criticism about the transfer of St. John's Church to the Jesuits seems to have been widespread.

The latest letter of the Pittsburgh prelate gave every evidence of precipitancy, and the report of the Roman officials on it was: "The latter [Bishop O'Connor] returns with even greater vehemence to his usual theme."⁹⁵ In all probability O'Connor's message to Propaganda would have failed to impress the officials just as his two previous unfavorable reports had failed, had not another letter arrived in Rome from the Archbishop of Baltimore.

In spite of what O'Connor said concerning the inability of any other bishop besides himself to get knowledge of what was going on in Philadelphia, the Archbishop of Baltimore was being duly informed of proceedings there. Father Waldron, in charge of the building of the cathedral, as well as Marc Frenaye, the financial agent, Father Carter and others were regular correspondents of Kenrick's. Waldron was impatient with the slow advance of the cathedral. When the parish of St. John was handed over to the Jesuits, he tried to get Kenrick to give his opinion of the transaction, which the Baltimore prelate refused to do unless all parties asked it.⁹⁶ Carter, who had succeeded Sourin as vicar-general, was now in closer touch with the metropolitan. He was alarmed at the precarious state of the diocese's finances. The debt was mounting, principally

because, it appears, of the investment in the land at Tacony for the orphan asylum. Some months later he induced Marc Frenaye to write to the archbishop warning him of the danger.⁹⁷ It was strange that Carter did not seem to know the real nature of the transaction and its self-liquidating methods. Nor does he seem to have weighed the alternative fact that failure to finance churches in the outmissions carried an equally menacing danger of the more serious loss of thousands of priceless souls to the faith. Later Waldron was to be called impractical and lacking docility. Eventually he left the diocese.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the opinions of these men, as well as the complaints received by the Bishop of Pittsburgh, were made known to Kenrick.⁹⁹ Even the loyal heart of that prelate seemed to waver, particularly when he heard of the transfer of St. John's parish to the Jesuits. His appreciation of Neumann's piety was too high to allow Kenrick to suggest his withdrawal, yet he was led to believe from the reports received that the situation was getting out of hand in Philadelphia and that help was needed. The Baltimore prelate wrote to Cardinal Barnabò on August 25, 1856:

I have felt it my duty to refer what Charles Carter, the Vicar-General of Philadelphia, and others have repeatedly told me. The bishop of that diocese, John Nepomucene Neumann, is endowed with every virtue, but he scarcely knows the art of government, for the clergy respect his authority too little.

The archbishop went on to state that grave scandals were being given by some priests. Most of the clergy, he declared, were not involved, but a number were giving offence to the laity. In defense of Neumann he stated:

By admonition and censure the bishop has endeavored to correct them, but so far with little fruit. He travels throughout the diocese as a shining light and with indefatigable labor promotes the devotion of the Forty Hours and very many other things to cultivate the piety of the faithful. The clergy must be checked lest all things grow worse. Moreover, it is regrettable that the bishop is unable to carry on the temporal affairs of the diocese, a fact which he himself acknowledges. He does not know how to reduce the debt under which the diocese is laboring, and is in great anxiety that he is unable to solve the financial difficulties. I fear that all things may become ruined unless the Holy See gives him a coadjutor to handle the financial situation and to check the disorders.

This letter was far from the glowing declaration of the previous year that John Neumann was loved by the people and the clergy.

But even at that, the archbishop spoke of no transfer for Neumann. Advising the appointment of a coadjutor, he added, "In very truth the bishop is worthy of every honor and is most pious though, as I'm afraid, he is not quite suited for the office."¹⁰⁰

The archbishop was leaning heavily on the reports that were coming to him. A candid examination of the conduct of the clergy at this time reveals that some of the priests were failing to give good example, but they were not nearly so derelict in their duty as the letter seemed to intimate. Some priests from Europe quickly proved themselves unsuited for the trying turmoil of immigration parishes, but these were a small minority compared with the great number of excellent clerical workers in the Philadelphia diocese. What was really needed was a smooth-running chancery to clear routine matters, especially while the bishop was away on visitations. Kenrick was advising this indirectly when he recommended a coadjutor. However, he failed to make that clear. Moreover, if he had told of the striking growth of churches and schools and Neumann's difficulty in keeping up with chancery work in face of this growth, he might have put the Bishop of Philadelphia in a better light. Taken in itself, the Baltimore archbishop's report might not have caused any great alarm in the Roman authorities; but arriving in the Eternal City at the same time as the damaging letter of O'Connor, it had a dramatic effect.

The two letters were given by Archbishop Bedini to the same consultor who had weighed the letters of the previous year.¹⁰¹ He had previously refused to countenance the suggestion of O'Connor, written in August, 1855, that Neumann's transfer from Philadelphia be accepted, principally because Archbishop Francis Kenrick's letter of July 4, 1855, contradicted it. Now he wrote:

Since the same Archbishop of Baltimore also shows himself convinced and persuaded, because of grave disorders mentioned by him, that the otherwise very pious prelate is unfitted to bear conveniently the burden that was imposed upon him, I would not have any more doubt about it; without looking for any further source of information, I would also be of the firm opinion that the resignation of the Bishopric of Philadelphia made by Msgr. Neumann himself be accepted at once and unconditionally. I do not think it would be very prudent to transfer him to another diocese in the United States, where he has already fallen from common esteem; and because of the way that his inability to exercise the Pastoral Ministry has been spread abroad, one could not easily expect that he would en-

counter any manifestations of sympathy from other people, and much less the ready and docile cooperation of some other clergy. Now, without this sympathy and cooperation a timid and pusillanimous man like him would encounter the same sort of difficulties again that today force him to resign from the government of the diocese entrusted to him.¹⁰²

No one can read the documents without realizing how much the consultor had misinterpreted the letter of Archbishop Kenrick. The letter itself had asked that a coadjutor be appointed and named the three men proposed for the see by the council of 1855 as suitable for the office of assistant bishop. That specific recommendation, which Archbishop Kenrick maintained he had always advanced, was lost completely on the consultor reading his message.

Since at this time there was no meeting of the cardinals of Propaganda who handle such affairs, the alarmed Archbishop Bedini took to the Holy Father the opinion of the consultor and the documents concerned. Pope Pius IX declared himself ready to accept Neumann's request for a transfer, but he ordered that the decision was to be reserved until there was another meeting of Propaganda. He approved, however, a decision to make known in Philadelphia that it was almost certain that the petition of Bishop Neumann for a transfer from the diocese would be accepted.¹⁰³ The Propaganda officials sent to both Kenrick and O'Connor letters informing them of the sentiments of the Sovereign Pontiff and advising them to let the information be known in order to calm the agitation allegedly felt by the clergy of Philadelphia "and also in order to quiet the conscientious anxieties of the excellent bishop."¹⁰⁴ Bishop Neumann, whose apostolic work was known throughout the nation, certainly entered the shadows when that information was spread in Philadelphia. He said nothing.

Before the scheduled meeting of Propaganda, however, two more letters from Archbishop Francis Kenrick arrived in the Eternal City. Both of these letters were written before Archbishop Bedini interviewed Pope Pius IX. Had they arrived in time, Bedini might well have hesitated to act as he did. In the first of these, written in Baltimore on September 19, 1856, the archbishop related that, previous to the year 1855, the bishops of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia had been able to possess and administer church property in the diocese, but the church property law passed in 1855 had complicated matters. Kenrick declared:

Affairs at Philadelphia become more sad and involved. Because of a law passed last year by the Pennsylvania Legislature concerning church property in the dioceses of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh . . . it is hardly proper to erect a new see at Pottsville or to yield to the desire of the bishop who desires to retire from [Philadelphia] inasmuch as he certainly will be able to retain all the ecclesiastical property until death by virtue of the prior law, and he will be able to transfer them by deed, testament or some other lawful contract. But I think that he should be given a coadjutor to help him with the temporal affairs and offer assistance in spiritual matters, for the diocese is very large and needs strenuous work.¹⁰⁵

In this letter the Archbishop of Baltimore suddenly dropped the theme of the discontent of the clergy, that theme which had made such a bad impression on the Roman authorities, perhaps because he realized the weakness of it, inasmuch as it emanated from relatively few. He may have well realized, too, that the agitation was further inflamed by the rumor that Neumann was to leave Philadelphia. Neumann himself became painfully aware that this report contributed to the outspoken attitude of those who wished another bishop, and he made no public move to indicate a coming change in his position lest it should give rise to further excitement.¹⁰⁶ At any rate, when news arrived from Rome that the Holy Father was ready to accept Neumann's offer to leave Philadelphia, the Baltimore prelate wrote in his letter book concerning the renunciation of the see:

I have answered that it should not be accepted, since he [Bishop Neumann] shines by his distinguished gifts, his piety, zeal and holiness of life. But he should be given a coadjutor who knows how to handle temporal affairs.¹⁰⁷

This declaration of Kenrick is conclusive proof that when the Roman consultor read into the archbishop's previous letter the idea that Kenrick desired Neumann's departure from Philadelphia, he was overreading the document. In following the consultor's line of thought and rushing with it to the Holy Father, the Propaganda officials had altogether missed the recommendation of the Baltimore prelate for the appointment of a coadjutor.

The Kenrick letter of September 19, written before he received the information about the probable transfer of Neumann, was really an answer to that letter from Cardinal Barnabò. However, Kenrick

wrote once more to Rome, this time to Archbishop Bedini on October 16, 1856:

I am convinced that it is necessary to give the most worthy Bishop of Philadelphia a coadjutor, without actually taking away from him the administration of the diocese. But it might be possible to recommend to him that he make use of the coadjutor for the temporal affairs of the church. The good bishop recognizes his own meagre ability in such things, and he declares that he, too, is convinced of the necessity of having a coadjutor capable of regulating them. . . .

I have already made clear to His Eminence the reasons why it seems to me inexpedient to change the bishop's title or to erect the City of Pottsville into an episcopal see. By a law of the State of Pennsylvania made in the year 1844, the Bishop of Philadelphia holds in his name all the churches of the diocese, except a few that were assigned to lay administrators or to religious communities. By a law made last year, the perpetuity of the title was abrogated in such a way that the actual bishop possesses these goods during his episcopate, with the power of transmitting them by a will or other legal instrument. If for some reason the administration is taken away from him, there is danger that the goods may fall into the power of laymen, according to a clause in the last law. Leaving him in his office, we can hope that with the passage of time we may obtain some modification of the law to protect the interests of the church. For the same reason I do not think that a new see should be made at Pottsville; moreover, the bishops in the council consented to its erection principally in order to give the bishop a way of retiring honorably from a position for which he declared himself little fitted. The city [of Pottsville] is in the midst of coal mines which in those regions are almost exhausted, and there is nothing else to give the city any importance or consideration.¹⁰⁸

Archbishop Kenrick again proposed a coadjutor, naming Fathers John McCaffrey, James Wood, Patrick Lynch and William Elder as suitable. He declared, however, that Father William O'Hara, the future Bishop of Scranton, though a good priest, did not appear to have the necessary vigor for such a post. There was no mistaking his sentiments as expressed in these two letters, and their arrival in Rome gave pause to the decision of the Propaganda officials.

Meanwhile, the news that Rome was inclined to accept the resignation of Bishop Neumann from Philadelphia unfortunately was publicly divulged. It was to have definitely harmful repercussions later, though no one knew their full extent at the moment; for the gossip convinced many that it was only a question of time when

Neumann would step down from the office of Bishop of Philadelphia and another would take over the reins of government.

As he worked indefatigably through that cold winter of 1856, the whole situation was distressing to the man whom all called holy. After receiving the intimation that the Holy Father was inclined to accept his resignation from Philadelphia, he looked forward to it as his letter to Archbishop Kenrick on November 14, 1856, shows:

Bp. O'Connor has had the kindness to get drawn up the form of an Instrument by which I can assign all I hold in trust to a Priest, who will have to make it over again to my successor or successors, in case the Holy See would remove me from here, & appoint perhaps another one than me to Pottsville. . . .

I have myself received as yet no communication from the Propaganda & wait with all patience & resignation for the decision from Rome. In things of this sort I have to rely only in [*sic*] divine Providence.¹⁰⁹

Some of Wood's friends, who rejoiced that his name had been proposed for Philadelphia, were showing a bit of impatience. Father David Whelan of Wheeling wrote to Archbishop Purcell:

Have you any news of the Philadelphia nominee's fate? It is a trying thing to be kept so long in suspense. What if, after all, there should be a disappointment?¹¹⁰

Eleven months later, Archbishop Purcell wrote to Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans:

The last news from Rome rec'd here is a letter to Rev. Mr. Wood of 2nd Dec. from Cardinal Barnabò. It is simply a reply about a half a dozen lines to the biennial letters which the latter as a student of Propaganda lately addressed to him. Not a word to intimate that he was named for any See or that anything had been done in that direction at all. It certainly is mysterious, and it must have some deeper cause than a few conflicting letters sent to Rome by our Prelates in contravention of Conciliar action.¹¹¹

Philadelphia and its bishop were discussed in many a letter of the hierarchy. Bishop Timon, who at first had feared the consequences of changing Neumann from Philadelphia,¹¹² wrote: "Permit me humbly to doubt if the coadjutor would cause the troubles to cease. Why not transfer the good and holy bishop to Richmond and let the Bishop of R[ichmond] go to P[hiladelphia]?"¹¹³ Archbishop Kenrick was

unalterably opposed to the erection of a see at Pottsville and for a time thought that, if Neumann were to leave Philadelphia, it might be better to transfer him to Quincy or Alton, Illinois.¹¹⁴ Writing to Bishop Spalding of Louisville, the same archbishop declared:

Bps. Newman [*sic*], Fitzpatrick and McGill have been here recently. They are all well and in good spirits. The conversation of Bp. N[eumann] manifests good sense, and his piety, learning and zeal are unquestionable, yet he appears to be wanting in the art of government, and particularly deficient in the management of temporal affairs. W[aldron], a most upright and devoted clergyman, is most anxious for his removal, deeming him entirely incompetent. Several laymen of zeal and good sense share this feeling. I have all along opposed his removal, although I felt that he ought to be aided by an efficient Coadjutor, and have recommended the Holy See to select one of those proposed by the Council of 1855 for the See of Philadelphia. Rome leaves us to ourselves for the present.¹¹⁵

The Baltimore prelate now felt that Neumann's very zeal for religion had kept him a stranger to the real needs of the faithful.¹¹⁶ All these unfavorable reports were made while John Neumann was gaining an enviable record in the development of the diocese, adding more churches, more schools than any other bishop in the United States. He devoted more time to episcopal visitations than any other prelate during those years. The one dissenting note in the chorus of episcopal voices came from Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, who stood out in strong contrast. Referring to Neumann, he said, "It will be a sad day for the Diocese of Philadelphia when it shall lose him."¹¹⁷

In the designs of Divine Providence, however, Philadelphia was not to lose him. After reading Archbishop Kenrick's latest letter and another reported as coming from O'Connor, the Propaganda officials declared that the new information considerably modified the previous information. They regretted that they had authorized the publication of the fact that the Pope had expressed willingness to transfer Neumann from Philadelphia.¹¹⁸ Reversing themselves once more, they recommended that a coadjutor be given to the Bishop of Philadelphia. The definitive solution of the case was given by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on December 9, 1856, in which nine cardinals recommended James Frederick Wood for the office.¹¹⁹ The official information of the choice of Wood was not sent until February 17, 1857,¹²⁰ and Kenrick received the decision on March

30, 1857,¹²¹ twenty-three months after the Bishop of Philadelphia had offered to go to another diocese. Wood was chosen coadjutor to Neumann with the right of succession. The wording of his appointment, which was to be important later on, read as follows:

James Frederick Wood has been elected as . . . coadjutor of Philadelphia, in order that Bishop Newman [*sic*] may be aided by his assistance as much as he wishes in ruling the diocese; and, if he [Neumann] continues in his resolution to resign, he can transfer the titles of the ecclesiastical properties to the former at the proper time.¹²²

The strange part of the document was that it seemed to presume that John Neumann had asked to renounce his office as bishop. He never had asked that. What he had done was to offer himself for a transfer to a less honorable post—Pottsville or Wilmington. In the joy of receiving a capable helper for his large diocese, John Neumann gave no thought to renunciation. His anxiety about the diocese seemed over when James Wood was appointed coadjutor.

CHAPTER XVI

The Coadjutor

James Frederick Wood's elevation to the office of Coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia brought joy to the heart of Bishop John Neumann. "We all give thanks to God for the provision He has made for the welfare of this diocese,"¹ wrote Neumann when word reached him that the capable priest from the Diocese of Cincinnati would be his helper. The news that his burden would be lightened by a coadjutor, however, had come somewhat as a surprise to the faithful at large since it had been taken for granted that the diocese would be divided, each division to have its own bishop.² Nevertheless, the elevation of a native Philadelphian to act as coadjutor was enthusiastically accepted.³ The presence of this American-born prelate would diminish the force of the Nativists' outcry about foreign bishops.

Dr. James F. Wood was a distinguished convert to the Catholic Church. Born of English parents in the City of Philadelphia in 1813, he was baptized and reared a Unitarian. After receiving some elementary schooling in the City of Brotherly Love, he had been sent to England at the age of eight to attend a grammar school in Gloucestershire that stood beside a church dating back six centuries. After five years' sojourn in the company of schoolboys from cultured English families, the young American entered a private school in Philadelphia in 1826. His father, a well-known business man in the city, eagerly sought opportunities for advancement. Because of this, he moved his family in 1828 to Cincinnati, where business prospects seemed brighter. Young James went along to the rising Queen City on the Ohio, where he was put to work as a runner for a newly organized bank. The boy's industry and steady character soon opened a path for his advancement. At the age of twenty he became a teller in the bank. His duties brought him a thorough knowledge of banking, a much more fundamental grasp of the whole field of financial transactions than such a position affords today. A successful future seemed to await him when suddenly his career in banking came to an end.

While a teller in the bank, Wood entered into a friendship with Bishop John B. Purcell, the Catholic prelate guiding the Diocese of Cincinnati. Rather impressed by the way that the bishop had decisively defeated the Protestant minister, Dr. Alexander Campbell, in a debate on religion that attracted widespread attention, Wood was drawn toward an investigation of the religion that showed so favorably in comparison with the Protestant position. Likewise, the young man felt an admiration for the work being done for all classes of people by the Sisters of Charity in the Cincinnati region. Making his submission to the Catholic Church at the age of twenty-three, Wood was baptized in May, 1836. One year later, after resigning his position in the bank, he offered himself to Purcell as a candidate to study for the priesthood.

Sent to Rome in October, 1837, with a personal letter to Dr. Paul Cullen, then rector of the Irish College in the Eternal City and later first Irish cardinal since the Protestant Revolt, the new convert began a seven-year course of study in the College of the Propaganda in preparation for the priesthood. Cardinal Franzoni, prefect of Propaganda, ordained him on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1844. With a thorough knowledge of Catholic doctrine drawn from the fountainhead of Catholic life itself and with a testimonial letter from the cardinal prefect declaring that he had made his course of studies with honor and had given every evidence of virtue and the promise of future usefulness on the American missions, James Wood sailed home to begin his career as a priest in the Diocese of Cincinnati.⁴ Under the watchful eye of Purcell the young priest quickly distinguished himself and was made pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Cincinnati. He was on such cordial terms with the bishop that he called him his "Father in Christ."

Wood's fine work soon marked him as one destined for higher rank. As early as 1848, just four years after his ordination, the veteran Bishop of Louisville, Kentucky, Benedict J. Flaget, asked to have him for his coadjutor.⁵ When Purcell heard that the prelates of the Province of New Orleans intended sending over the name of Father Wood for the post at Louisville, he immediately wrote to Bishop Blanc to stop the move since he had planned on asking the Roman authorities to make Wood coadjutor of Cincinnati. Indeed, Purcell wrote to Cardinal Franzoni petitioning this favor, but the cardinal prefect put off the request until the next provincial council.⁶

Two years later the name of Father Wood was proposed for the Diocese of Savannah, but withdrawn after the objection of some prelates.⁷ For nine years his name was constantly coming up among the bishops as suitable to fill a vacant see.⁸

Instrumental in promoting the First Provincial Council of Cincinnati in 1855, Father Wood appeared on the list sent to Rome of those suggested for the bishopric of the newly proposed See of Fort Wayne, Indiana.⁹ His great friends, Martin John Spalding and Edward Purcell, rated him highly.¹⁰ Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh designated him as "a man of a higher order of talents and superior information."¹¹ The reputation of the convert priest was such that he was thought of even in the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1855 as one suitable for the post of making preliminary arrangements for the establishment of the North American College in Rome.¹² It was no surprise that his name was sent to Rome as one suitable for the Diocese of Philadelphia. Unexpected, however, was his appointment for the post of coadjutorship, especially since news from Rome was spread that Father Wood had been chosen as first Bishop of Fort Wayne. That he had been selected for the See of Fort Wayne was a fact, but the bulls for that office had not been sent¹³ when a change made Wood the coadjutor of the Bishop of Philadelphia with the right of succession.

Some of Father Wood's friends thought such a position might have little attraction for him. "I am afraid Mr. Wood will not relish his position as coadjutor," wrote Father David Whelan, brother of the Bishop of Wheeling, to Archbishop Purcell.¹⁴ Bishop Young of Erie, like Wood, a convert to the faith, said concerning the appointment:

It may all be for the best, yea, I believe it is, since it is so ordered by Divine Providence that Father Wood should be only a coadjutor. His *jus successionis*, considering Bishop Neumann's age and firm health is not worth much. . . . I have no fault to find with what is done, yet I cannot help thinking that Father Wood should have had an open field for his energy and zeal.¹⁵

Bishop-elect Wood's own idea, expressed only later, was that his position as coadjutor would last only until such time as Bishop Neumann would convey to him the church property in the Diocese of Philadelphia, after which Neumann could retire from the city. Apparently he had little doubt about Rome's anticipation of this,

even though the words of his appointment did not actually say so much. To the statement of his appointment making him coadjutor with the right of succession were added the words, that in the event of Neumann's persevering in his desire to resign, he could confer the title of the ecclesiastical property on the coadjutor, who would thus come into full control of the diocese.¹⁶

In the actual circumstances of those days with the general expectation since May, 1855, of a division of the Diocese of Philadelphia and of Bishop Neumann's transfer, the coadjutor could easily have read his own ideas into the appointment. Particularly was this true since it had been spread abroad that the Holy Father was inclined to yield to Neumann's desire to leave Philadelphia, and the wording of the appointment seemed to leave an open door for Neumann's resignation. The fact was that Neumann had never asked to resign from the episcopate. Rather, filled with a wholehearted desire for the good of the diocese and a deep humility to accept a less honorable and more laborious see, he had made known his willingness to leave Philadelphia. Never a word did he breathe about resignation. In view of the events that followed, it is well to keep this clearly in mind, for it has a distinct bearing on the sometimes strained relations of the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia with his coadjutor. In April, 1857, when the news broke in the United States of the appointment of the very capable James Frederick Wood as coadjutor of Philadelphia, the convert priest said nothing of his expectancy, and Neumann never dreamed of it. The Bishop of Philadelphia was delighted that he was to be assisted in his arduous task by a fellow bishop whom the *Catholic Herald* reported as universally esteemed "for his suavity of manners, his learning, and his piety."¹⁷ Everybody in Philadelphia seemed pleased, none more so than Bishop Neumann.

Cincinnati was chosen as the place for the consecration. Neumann first received the information of the consecration date from a secular newspaper, and he wrote to Archbishop Kenrick for verification. He had offered to have the ceremony in Philadelphia and intended in such a case to have Archbishop Kenrick as the consecrator. Since all Wood's relatives lived in Cincinnati, however, the bishop-elect preferred to have the ceremony in the West, and Archbishop Purcell was selected as the consecrator.¹⁸ Father Henry Juncker, who had been chosen for the See of Alton, Illinois, was to be consecrated on

the same occasion. Besides Bishop Neumann, Fathers O'Hara, Carter and Keenan went from Philadelphia for the ceremonies. With joy in his heart, Neumann set out for the city which was to be the scene of the consecration.

He met his new coadjutor for the first time in April, 1857. The contrast between the two was great. Neumann was short in stature, while Wood had a tall, commanding figure. The former was reserved in manner and in speech; the latter was more open, even effusive. Everybody recognized the fact that the bishop was retiring, even shy, while the coadjutor was perfectly at ease in any gathering and the master of all the social amenities. If the coadjutor was a man of acknowledged administrative ability, Neumann gave all who saw him the impression of being absorbed in divine things because of his "quaint and recollected manner," as Elizabeth Allen described it. The one seemed to complement the other.¹⁹

April 26, 1857, was a red letter day in the history of the Catholic Church in the Queen City on the Ohio. The weather was clear, and the Cincinnati cathedral was crowded with people. The high altar of Carrara marble was beautifully decorated with flowers. The choir sang the so-called Mozart's "Twelfth Mass" as Archbishop Purcell consecrated the young prelates. Bishops Neumann and Whelan were the co-consecrators of Bishop Wood; Bishops Henni of Milwaukee and Young of Erie, of Bishop Juncker. Dr. Edward Purcell, once considered for the See of Philadelphia, was the preacher for the occasion, taking as his text, "Go into the world and teach all people." Gracefully referring to Bishop Wood's new post, the speaker declared that the coadjutor was going "to be the staff and support of a venerable prelate whose apostolic labors are known to the whole American Church." Wood's mother, still a Protestant, looked on the solemn ceremony with a proud smile from a place in the sacristy she chose herself.²⁰ The people of St. Patrick's parish, of which the new bishop had been pastor, gave their departing shepherd a pectoral cross and other presents. That evening Wood celebrated vespers, at which his friend, Spalding of Louisville, was the preacher. In the afternoon the Germans of Cincinnati presented Juncker with a chalice during a reception at which Neumann spoke. Significantly enough, the words of the Philadelphia prelate expressed his sentiments concerning the rôle of a bishop in the United States. Addressing the assembled Germans, he said :

You have scarcely any idea how difficult and painful the office of bishop is, especially here in America. Catholics come from all parts of the world, all nationalities mingle with one another and the bishop is supposed to please all, an impossible task. Where are we to get strength? Where will Bishop Juncker receive the strength he needs? From the Blood of Christ, from . . . the Chalice.²¹

The new bishop and his episcopal superior returned from the Cincinnati celebration by way of Baltimore. En route, Bishop Neumann stopped off at the Redemptorist House of Studies in Cumberland, where he conferred minor orders on twenty seminarians and ordained seven subdeacons.²² Before proceeding to Philadelphia, the two bishops attended the consecration in Baltimore of William Elder, who had been appointed to the See of Natchez. Wood served for the first time as co-consecrator along with McGill of Richmond, while Archbishop Kenrick was the consecrating prelate.²³ As the two bishops came home to Philadelphia, a specially appointed committee met them and extended a glad welcome to the coadjutor, to which he gracefully responded.²⁴

The coadjutor settled in the bishop's house on Logan Square, in the same dwelling with Neumann himself. The hand-to-mouth existence that Neumann was enduring at this time is illustrated by the consternation of his housekeeper who, when faced with the fact that she had to prepare new quarters for the second bishop, complained to Neumann that there was neither money for equipping a new apartment for the incoming coadjutor nor even a suitable clothes closet. Neumann easily settled the difficulty by telling her to take the wardrobe from his own room and set it up in the quarters prepared for Bishop Wood; he could get along without it.²⁵

Wood's letter to Archbishop Purcell a few days after his coming to Philadelphia was the best commentary on his reception in his new field of labor. He wrote:

I have received every kind attention since I left Cincinnati and have every reason to hope that my connection with Bishop Neumann in the administration of the diocese will be most cordial and harmonious. He has shown me every mark of friendship and confidence.

Bishop Wood's first Sunday in Philadelphia saw him at St. Mary's conferring the sacrament of confirmation for the first time. He preached at the last Mass in the same church, a second time at St. John's Church in the afternoon and for the third time that day in

Assumption Church for evening service. As he said, that was "enough, you will allow, for one day."²⁶ The day-to-day account of the church activities in the City of Philadelphia shows that the coadjutor was given plenty of opportunity to use his new episcopal powers, while Neumann rejoiced to see some of the arduous work of the diocese taken off his own weary shoulders. The more burdensome work of administering confirmation in the outlying districts, his first love, Neumann took to himself, rejoicing that he could carry it on with greater peace of mind since the capable Wood was in Philadelphia and its environs to watch over the concerns of the heart of the diocese. The coadjutor was thus providing what the diocese had always lacked in those expanding years of immigration, a chancellor to clear matters of daily routine in the absence of the ordinary. To the assistant bishop, Neumann gave great scope for his well-known ability.

To begin with, Neumann placed Bishop Wood in charge of the financial concerns of the diocese. This he did publicly so that all would be aware of it.²⁷ As Marc Frenaye, the layman who had previously handled these affairs, had become deaf and infirm with age, these matters required a more active hand. So the old order gave way to the new, not without a touching tribute in the *Catholic Herald* to this pious lay Catholic. Bishop Wood made known the change to his friend, Archbishop Purcell, with the words:

. . . Mr. Frenaye gives up to my care all the business of the diocese, Debts, Deeds, Cemetery, support of the Seminary & etc. I shall have my hands full for some time to come. This arrangement goes into effect on 1st July.²⁸

The coadjutor's assumption of financial interests in place of the ailing Frenaye was fortunate and most opportune. Less than two months after Bishop Wood had taken over the business end of the diocesan affairs, one of the greatest financial crises in the history of the country swept across the land, but Bishop Neumann could work in peace on distant missionary visitations because he had a capable man in Philadelphia to guide the monetary affairs in those trying days. The panic that disturbed the whole country and shook the business world to its depths did not leave Philadelphia immune. The spark that set off the conflagration was the failure in August, 1857, of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, brought on, contemporaries claimed, by excessive railway building and the attendant specu-

lation. At any rate, a number of railways,—the Illinois Central, the Erie, the Michigan Central and eleven others,—went down in a crash. Half the furnaces in the mills were extinguished, and half the factories of the country became idle.²⁹

In Philadelphia the panic, precipitated by the closing of the doors of the Bank of Pennsylvania, struck in a devastating manner. Within an hour the Girard and Commercial Banks of the same city declared a suspension of specie payment. Business men were in a fever of excitement. When one hundred of the most opulent commercial houses toppled into bankruptcy, a general depression began in almost every branch of trade and industry; there was a general suspension of manufacture, and one-half the workers of the city and its environs walked the streets with the worried brow and haggard face of the unemployed. Police were busy keeping clamoring depositors away from the banks which they threatened to loot. Ten thousand men in an angry mood met in Independence Square to tell the politicians of their woes. To curtail the panic, notices were rushed into the newspapers declaring that money was being appropriated for extending the wharves, building culverts and repairing public works, while the Pennsylvania legislature was called into a special session to meet the crisis.³⁰

Bishop Wood, whose training and ability fitted him for an emergency of this kind, was faced with the difficulty of stemming the recall of loans by the people to the diocese and thus prevent the toppling of its whole financial structure. Fortunate it was that he was there and that Bishop Neumann had entrusted him beforehand with wide discretionary powers in diocesan financial matters. Though equal to the big task, Wood had hard words for the concern that started the stampede. "The Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company," he wrote to Purcell, "has spoiled the Yankee prestige in Cincinnati for a while. It is a pity and a shame that such barefaced and wholesale swindling should go unpunished."³¹ At one stage of the crisis, when the Jesuit Provincial, Father Stonestreet, desired to see the coadjutor concerning the finances of St. Joseph's College, he found him so busy that day with the accounts of depositors that he could obtain no interview nor transact business with him.³² The bishop called in all the books of the college and successfully straightened out the difficulties. The coadjutor who did such work in the financial arrangements was equally happy in his relations with the

depositors, even though he suffered some adverse criticism. He explained the situation in a letter to Purcell on August 19, 1857:

The finances are still afloat; the market (as the bankers say) is disturbed. There are several adverse elements at work and no little sifting and shifting will be necessary before things take their right places.

Of course, you read the violent attack on poor Bishop Wood, the financier, published in the Sunday Dispatch. I am happy to say that it produced no bad effect. An example will give you an idea of the feeling of the people. A good Irishman came to make a deposit a few days after it appeared.

'Why,' said I, joking, 'I am surprised you bring your money here; didn't you hear that we were busted and broke?'

'I did not,' said he with an incredulous smile.

'Why, didn't you hear of the article in the paper?'

'And in what paper did the *blackguard* put it? They must always be at some dirty work.'

The Irishman, with that sally aired, made his deposit and went off. Bishop Wood continued:

I took no notice of the piece, and when one, who no doubt was privy to its preparation and perhaps its publication, came to assure me that he was not the author, I told him very curtly that I had not thought it worthwhile to enquire after the author since I was satisfied it would injure him more than anyone else.³³

So through the months of August and September the coadjutor was "sifting and shifting" to get things rightly adjusted in business matters. By September 30 of that year he reported to the Archbishop of Cincinnati:

We have great money troubles here and these, of course, interest me considerably as Financier, but the faithful, confiding people stick by us thro' good and evil report. The excitement is calming down, and the people are much more willing to leave their money in my hands than to take it in the best Bank notes. I hope to have time to turn round until we diminish our debts and make ourselves secure. Most happily the trouble has placed me in possession of everything, and thus situated, I can control so far as is possible all the money affairs.

Bishop Neumann is out of town and leaves me to fight the financial battles single-handed; which is perhaps just as well, for he has so little skill in such matters, that if he did essay a blow, it would be full as likely to knock me down as anyone else. So I do not complain.³⁴

No one could gainsay the fact that Wood had done fine work in the money emergency, yet there was a touch of patronizing superiority

toward Neumann in this letter to his mentor in the hierarchy. Admittedly, Wood was much more in his element among the bank books and stocks and bonds and mortgages than Neumann, but his implication of complete lack of knowledge about finances in his ordinary was far from true. Neumann's record in the past at St. Philomena's in Pittsburgh and at St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, and, indeed, in Philadelphia belied the sweeping assertion. During the worst day of the crisis John Neumann was away, not on a vacation, but on a visitation to the coal regions of Pennsylvania,³⁵ feeling assured that the capable Wood had both the power and the skill to act in any emergency. It was a typical instance of the need of more than one man to handle diocesan affairs. Administering the sacraments in isolated regions was a part of the administration of a diocese that was difficult to unite with prompt chancery decisions which had to be made in the center of the diocese itself, especially during a financial strait. Bishop Wood was not called on to do both jobs himself.

Adept as he was, the importance Wood attributed to himself, at least by inference, in the statement that the people were more willing to trust him, "to leave their money in my hands" than to risk the banks, appears to exaggerate his part in the dilemma. The real salvation for the diocesan funds in that day was attributed to two factors, first that the chief banks suspended specie payments and, secondly, that the legislature later declared a moratorium on such payments.³⁶ Under these circumstances it would have been foolish for depositors to withdraw their money from the diocesan funds over which Wood was guardian and to place it in commercial or savings banks, from which they could obtain only notes of doubtful value. Adroit as he undoubtedly had been, Wood was in this well-publicized instance not exactly a Moses leading the diocese out of the financial wilderness, which his jaunty statement seemed to indicate. His second assertion, that the financial crisis had placed him in full control of all money matters, was exaggerated; for whatever power over finances he possessed, had been received from Bishop Neumann, and future events were to show he was not in full control. Neumann was still bishop of the diocese with executive power, while the coadjutor was his subordinate, performing, as the appointment of Wood enjoined, whatever functions the ordinary would assign to him.³⁷ Nevertheless, Neumann allowed his coadjutor great powers and sought to use his abilities for the benefit of the diocese.

Thus Bishop Neumann placed Bishop Wood shortly after his arrival in charge of completing the cathedral. When Wood found Father Waldron, who had been in charge of the building operations for eleven years, somewhat wedded to his own superficial opinions, he dispensed with his services;³⁸ and the latter, seeing the handwriting on the wall, asked his old friend Kenrick to take him into his archdiocese. The Baltimore prelate allowed the priest to come, but by no means urged him.³⁹ From all accounts, the coadjutor performed acceptably in the cathedral building, though there was no great influx of money for its construction even after he took charge. He soon realized it would take some years to complete the great edifice, as Bishop Neumann had said. Six weeks after his arrival in Philadelphia, Wood informed Purcell:

I have also induced Monsignor Neumann to consent to the building of a Chapel for the accommodation of the Parish of the Cathedral, to be afterwards used as a School House, and I trust by the 1st of November to bless it. The spirit, with regard to the Cathedral, is much improved, and we have reason to hope that the collection this year will be very good. I have no idea, however, under the most favorable circumstances that we can consecrate it in less than three years, and it may probably take twice that time; and, therefore, I have pressed the importance of building the Chapel—1st to keep the Congregation together or rather to form it in some measure that we may not have this work to do afterwards—2nd to do away with the public Chapel in the Episcopal Residence which is, I really think, a great deal more trouble than good. . . . You see, my dear Archbishop, that I am getting into the work fast.⁴⁰

The energetic coadjutor was, indeed, getting into his work fast, going about the city administering confirmation and preaching, even as often as five times in one day. He wrote to Purcell in August:

I am glad that you approve of the new Chapel, but I have been compelled by circumstances to modify my plan by erecting a cheap temporary chapel, to be pulled down when the Cathedral is consecrated, and the material used in the building of the School House. The Cathedral is a gigantic job; we intend to strain a point to get the roof on, but it will be imprudent to increase our debt beyond what is absolutely necessary.⁴¹

In promoting the giant fair held in the early part of 1858 for the benefit of St. Joseph's Hospital, the Orphan Asylum and the Widows' Home, Wood gave further evidence of his talent. After the pressing necessities of these particular institutions had convinced both bishops of the need to raise money by this extraordinary method

rather than by individual collections, the coadjutor carried it through in a manner that amply demonstrated his ability.⁴² Yet the task of Bishop Wood as watchman of the finances was not easy, for things not altogether complimentary that would ruffle the spirit of any man were said and printed about him. In one instance, the charge of being a money-lender was aired.⁴³ One jeering critic, who in public print used the pseudonym of "Sincerity," seemed to have been provoked because the money which once had been deposited with him was flowing into the coffers of the episcopal treasurer.⁴⁴ In general, however, the coadjutor made a good impression. "We are all pleased with Bishop Wood," wrote Mr. Allen to Archbishop Kenrick. "I am so happy that Bishop Neumann is going to stay also. I was much afraid we were going to lose him."⁴⁵

Soon, however, on a number of points a difference of viewpoint in government began to crop up between the two bishops. Exemplifying this divergence of opinion was their attitude toward the Jesuit Fathers of St. John's Church. The coming of the sons of Loyola to fashionable St. John's was still viewed with a scornful eye by some of the clergy who lost no time in impressing Wood with their views. Since the Jesuits previously had St. Joseph's, St. John's was their second church. Now that a chapel was erected on the richly furnished bottom floor of the new St. Joseph's College, they had three separate communities in Old Philadelphia. The chapel, which was primarily intended for the students, was begun with the sanction of Neumann whose only desire was for a prosperous seat of higher education within his see. Due to financial conditions, many students had to abandon their college studies at St. Joseph's as they did at Villanova, and the arrangement was not working well financially. In conversation with Bishop Wood relative to financial matters, the Jesuit rector of St. John's, Father James Ryder, mentioned that, far from being a source of great wealth to the Jesuits, the contract which gave them the parish and the building for a college had proved "a hard, unprofitable one," and they had been unable to meet the interest due. Less than one month after he had taken charge of the finances, the coadjutor seized on this opening and wrote to Father Stonestreet, the provincial of the Jesuits:

When I came to Philadelphia, nay even before, I had heard it suggested that St. John's Church would be the place where the Coadjutor might the most properly take up his abode as being the actual Cathedral of the diocese. But I had no such idea. . . . I discovered, however, among all

the clergy a feeling of most decided opposition to this state of things; indeed, I may safely say that among all whom I have heard express their opinions, it was to avow their lively dissatisfaction. I am told the same dissatisfaction pervades the laity, especially many of those who form the Congregation of St. John's.

Since Ryder had made the remark about the hard and unprofitable bargain, Wood promised to help arrange matters, telling Stonestreet :

My object is simply to assure you of my cooperation if you should feel disposed to make a proposition to Rt. Rev. Bishop Neumann to reassume the church and college on equitable grounds, so far as they are compatible with your own honor and the interests of the diocese.⁴⁶

This proposal about moving was not lost on the Jesuit provincial. Father Sourin, who had engineered the exchange and who was now a Jesuit, told Stonestreet the offer to take back the parish and the college was welcome news; for St. John's, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, was not the bonanza some thought it was. As a further inducement to his provincial to go ahead and to give back the parish, Sourin wrote :

That circumstances will compel Bp. Wood to make St. John's his residence there can hardly be a doubt. Complaints are already made of the present annoying arrangements. I need hardly add that such a *will* on the part of the bishop is only another word for his wish, a wish that several of his clergy will not suffer to remain a secret.⁴⁷

When the panic of 1857 came, the struggling college was hard pressed, and the Jesuits entered into negotiations with Wood to surrender St. John's Parish to the diocese. In the ensuing panic there were a multitude of conferences between the Jesuits and the coadjutor, but they accomplished little. Wood insisted that the \$6,000 debt which had been contracted since the Jesuits took over the place be met by them. The Jesuits, if they were to be ushered out, felt they should not be obliged to pay it because it had been contracted for necessary improvements and alterations.⁴⁸ Bishop Neumann was not at all in favor of the Jesuits leaving St. John's nor of their surrendering the college. As his letter to Stonestreet, speaking of the church and college, said :

The experience of a year or two is in my opinion not a sufficiently secure index of success or failure. There is unhappily a great amount of worldliness in Phila. & we cannot expect the steps then taken would be applauded or even approved of. The cold reception your good Fathers met there

appears to me rather a prognostic of abundant spiritual harvest in the future.

The people would be more friendly to them, the bishop told the provincial, when they realized the value of the services of the Jesuits. Speaking of the college, he continued :

The city of Philadelphia has at least 125,000 Catholics and the number of those who wish to procure for their sons a more perfect Catholic training, under their own eyes, is certainly greater than in Baltimore, Cincinnati, etc. . . . Divine Providence has intended this location for a college. Its healthy and central location, so near St. John's Church, convinced me that a more convenient place for a college could not be found in Philadelphia. I still think that I have done well when I entrusted both to your illustrious Society. . . . It will probably be several years more yet, before the college will meet with that active approbation of the clergy and laity, when they will be convinced by the manly faith and piety of the young gentlemen brought up there.⁴⁹

Throughout the transactions the Jesuit provincial endeavored to have the negotiations carried on through Neumann, with whom the original contract was made, but Wood insisted that as financier he was in charge of the affair. The Jesuit, Ward, described the situation and Wood's attitude :

It will be no use to say that Bp. Neumann is the one whom we will treat with. He [Bishop Wood] will have it that the diocese must not suffer ; and, as all the pecuniary matters are entrusted to him, he must see to the good of the diocese, and, besides, it will only be staving off the matter, perhaps, to irritate him and clog our efforts to do good. He said as much to me this morning, saying that in money matters the Bishop was a mere child and unless he opposed him, he would load the diocese with his debt.⁵⁰

Notwithstanding the coadjutor's evident desire to settle the issue as he himself wished, Bishop Neumann talked with both sides. He was still of the opinion that the spiritual good of St. John's needed the Jesuits and that the prejudice of some priests and lay persons would cease with the passing of time. In the end he quietly made a compromise settlement that enabled the Jesuits to continue on at St. John's and at the college. "He still remains," said Father Ward, "our firm friend."⁵¹

Differences of opinion likewise centered around the coming of the Franciscan Fathers to take over St. Alphonsus' Church in Philadelphia in 1858. Particularly was this evident when Father Bona-

venture Keller, the superior of the Conventuals, sent a lay brother to Cincinnati who began to take up collections in that diocese to the indignation of some of the Cincinnati pastors. Keller had asked a general letter from Wood to take up the collections, but the latter declined and sent him to Bishop Neumann. He evidently obtained some sort of permission from Neumann, but it appears that the lay brother did not obtain the consent of the Archbishop of Cincinnati. Since Neumann was away on visitations at the time of the complaints, the matter was brought to Wood's attention by the Cincinnati authorities, and the coadjutor demanded an explanation of the lay brother's action from Keller. When the reply did not prove completely satisfactory to him, Wood ordered the recall of the lay brother.⁵²

Similarly, the coadjutor was none too sympathetic with the idea of the orphan asylum for the Germans, then taking form at Tacony, one of Neumann's projects. Nevertheless, the asylum, already begun before Wood came, was erected.⁵³

Other instances of conflicting views were in evidence. There were differences of character, temperament, nationality and cultural background, but the main practical difference arose on the question of financial administration. Bishop Wood began to complain that he felt it hard to bear the burden of taking care of the temporal administration without the full governing power.⁵⁴ He had accepted the office of coadjutor because he had, understandably but erroneously, read into his appointment that he would reasonably soon become Bishop of Philadelphia after Neumann had conferred on him the titles of the properties and departed to another see.⁵⁵ He certainly felt that his expectations had not been realized. He had not even been allowed to control the finances as he wished. At least, David Whelan, a close friend of Wood, thought that the coadjutor was none too well appreciated in the East, for in March, 1858, he wrote to Archbishop Purcell somewhat acidly:

I am sorry the Authorities appear disposed to treat the Coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia with less civility than that extended to a stranger in former years. The Holy Ghost guides the Church in her Councils & concerning matters of Faith at all times, but there is a good deal of human nature putting itself forth, once in a while, in regard to matters not of the faith. I am sorry the Baltimore Province has given the cold shoulder to Bishop Wood.⁵⁶

As Bishop Neumann rode south for the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May, 1858, he left the assistant bishop in an unhappy

mood. Practically the same prelates were at this council that had attended the Eighth Provincial Council in the same city three years previously, with the addition of the Sulpician, Bishop Augustine Verot, Vicar Apostolic of Florida. Bishop Whelan of Wheeling, being absent on business in Europe, sent his brother, David Whelan, to serve as procurator for his diocese.⁵⁷ Bishop Wood, as coadjutor, was not on the scene at the opening of the council, but at the request of Neumann,⁵⁸ Archbishop Kenrick promised to ask the permission of the assembly to invite him and give him the power of a decisive vote when the other votes on any question were equal. The request was agreed to,⁵⁹ as was a similar one for David Whelan. Wood came down to the council on the second day and left on the fourth for reasons of business.⁶⁰

The council deliberated for a whole week from May 2 to May 9, discussing the nature of vows taken by nuns, particularly the Visitation Sisters, the method of holding property by religious, the request to give the See of Baltimore a primacy of honor, fasting, abstinence and other matters.⁶¹ Particularly noteworthy was the council's letter to the faithful refusing to take sides on the fierce slavery debates of the time. Dismissing these debates as political matters, the bishops advised the faithful to "let the dead bury their dead. Do not in any way identify our Holy Faith with the fortunes of any party."⁶²

Archbishop Kenrick was particularly laudatory of the work of the Bishop of Philadelphia at the council. Writing to his brother, Peter Richard of St. Louis, the Baltimore prelate said of Neumann, "The clear judgment and the force of words with which this truly holy prelate expresses himself are truly marvelous."⁶³ And to his friend, Mrs. Allen in Philadelphia, he confided, "We have had a most happy meeting of bishops in great harmony. Your good bishop . . . edified all by his zeal and prudence in the Council Chamber."⁶⁴

What made this council memorable in the life of John Neumann was the apparently unusual proposal he made to divide his diocese and to be given the less settled and poorer part of it.⁶⁵ Here was a bishop who made such a proposal only three years before and who had, in consequence of that first proposal, received a capable coadjutor only a year previously. Now he was petitioning Rome again. What was the motive behind this petition for a new see? The Diocese of Philadelphia might be too large a territory for one bishop, but hardly for two. There was only one answer—Neumann was now aware that

the coadjutor had expected to rule the See of Philadelphia after the titles of the church property had been transferred to him. The matter was delicate. Wood had been apprised of the fact that a proposal to divide the diocese had been made to the Holy See in 1856. He knew further that at one time it was said that the Holy Father was inclined to accept the resignation of Neumann, for it was common knowledge,⁶⁶ and the words of Wood's appointment, as the coadjutor interpreted them, seemed to indicate the same thing.⁶⁷

Archbishop Kenrick declared that it was the coadjutor who brought forward these ideas⁶⁸ and spoke to Bishop Neumann and other members of the hierarchy about them. Certainly they were aired at the council. When Bishop Neumann realized the situation, he was perplexed. Should he resign from the episcopate? He did not have a canonical reason for resigning. What was to be done about the expectations of the coadjutor? The Bishop of Philadelphia volunteered the solution—divide the diocese. Bishop Wood must become the Bishop of Philadelphia and Neumann himself could take the smaller see. Wood graciously offered to go to the less important diocese, but the arguments advanced by Neumann that Wood was better fitted for Philadelphia won the approval of the meeting. The council agreed to Neumann's proposal, openly admiring the self-effacement of the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia.⁶⁹

At first, Neumann proposed the City of Harrisburg as the site of the new see. When O'Connor objected, the proposal to choose Easton, Pennsylvania, was carried. A large section in northeastern Pennsylvania, eighteen counties with 80,000 Catholics, was to make up the territory of the proposed Diocese of Easton.⁷⁰

As spokesman for the council, the Archbishop of Baltimore wrote the official petition to the Holy Father, asking for a division of the diocese and stating the desire of Bishop Neumann that his coadjutor should become Bishop of Philadelphia, and added the remark that the Fathers of the council admired the abnegation of Neumann. The official reason given in the petition was that the diocese was too large. Francis Patrick Kenrick, however, was far from pleased at the proceedings. He was not personally in favor of dividing the diocese and less so because of the motives that prompted the division. He quickly let his sentiments be known to other archbishops. To Archbishop Purcell he wrote :

. . . The Bishop of Philadelphia has proposed the erection of a See at Easton, Pennsylvania, to our late council. His Coadjutor complains of being burdened with the temporalities without the necessary control and influence attached to official position; and the good Bishop, with heroic detachment, offers to vacate his see and retire to the new diocese. He particularly desires that the matter be a profound secret until the Holy See decides.⁷¹

At the same time Kenrick wrote to his brother in St. Louis :

The Coadjutor of Philadelphia finds it hard to bear the burden placed upon him of taking care of the temporal administration without full governing authority. The Bishop, therefore, of Philadelphia has declared his willingness to yield to him [the government of the diocese in full authority]. . . . The chief reason for the new see is found in the complaints of the Coadjutor, which explains the Bishop's petition. I am making known to you these conditions because it is the wish of the Holy See that the erecting of new Sees shall come through the advice of the metropolitans [the archbishops]. This plan for a new see is not to be made known generally. It might agitate the Philadelphians.⁷²

A few weeks later the Baltimore prelate again told his brother :

The Coadjutor of Philadelphia wishes to have full control of the reins of government. He complains that he can hardly otherwise meet burdens of money obligations, or the designs of scheming men who are insincere with the Bishop. To me, it seems better to leave things as they are, for the Coadjutor has control of almost everything [in the administration of temporalities] and he can easily convince the Bishop [where he himself is right]. It is hardly proper to erect a new see at Easton, or elsewhere, in the diocese [of Philadelphia]. However, I do not wish to oppose the will of the very good Bishop; neither could I stand in the way of the Coadjutor, who accepted the office because the Holy See suggested that the Bishop should be transferred soon to another see. The priests of the diocese hold the Bishop in high esteem for his piety, learning and zeal; and they would hardly wish to lose him, while the democratic freedom of the Coadjutor somewhat detracts [from his influence].⁷³

The mention of a suggestion made by the Holy See, it must be noted, did not refer to Rome's final settlement of the petition of 1855, but to the intimation given in October, 1856, that Pius IX was willing to accede to Neumann's desire for a transfer. The news had been sent to calm the agitation of the clergy of Philadelphia.⁷⁴ The actual decision of Rome in sending a coadjutor did not suggest anything but said that, if Neumann persevered in his desire to resign, he could confer the title of the property on Wood.⁷⁵ It was this clause in the appointment that was occasioning the confusion.

A letter of the Archbishop of Baltimore to Archbishop Blanc gave the reason why the council members did not stop such a strange petition. Kenrick wrote:

I am entirely of your opinion that the Bishop of Philadelphia ought to remain at his post, since he is learned and pious; but the Coadjutor complained that the burden of an immense debt fell on his shoulders without the official position to enable him to support it. As the Sacred Congregation in the documents connected with his appointment intimated that the Bishop might transfer to him the administration and property, it was a delicate thing to oppose the desire of the Coadjutor. The holy Bishop proposed the erection of a new dioceses [*sic*] as the only means of an honorable retreat. The difficulty of finding an inland town suitable for an episcopal residence is obvious. I trust you have opened your mind fully to the Holy See.⁷⁶

Bishop Wood wrote to his friend, Archbishop Purcell, somewhat gladly, "I am waiting until my change comes! . . . For my part, I submit myself with full indifference to the disposition of Rome as to the Will of God!"⁷⁷ The nearest approach to an expression of sentiment on the part of Bishop Neumann on the matter of a coadjutor was his letter to Archbishop Kenrick concerning the proposal for a coadjutor to Bishop O'Connor. In urging that no change be made in the Pittsburgh arrangement which had a simple priest administering its affairs, he declared, "The position of a Coadjutor & his Bishop in our circumstances is so apt to become anomalous & too painful to be of long duration, unless both entertain the same views about the matters which may come up for their decision."⁷⁸

For the second time in his episcopal career, John Neumann was preparing to be transferred from Philadelphia to another see. At the Baltimore council in 1858 he had said that he would write to the Holy Father, giving his reasons for requesting a division of the diocese. When the Archbishop of Baltimore sent the official petition to Pope Pius IX, he declared that the Bishop of Philadelphia would soon be writing to him. Apparently, months elapsed before Neumann penned that letter. Neumann then explained to Cardinal Barnabò:

Indeed, I have apparently delayed too long in writing to the Holy See the letter promised by the Archbishop of Baltimore in the name of the council. However, this delay was not without reason. For the council was scarcely finished and I was discussing the division of the Diocese of Philadelphia and my translation to a new see with one of the Fathers of the council, when the Father intimated to me [that he did not know] whether that could more probably be hoped for, since the Holy See thought

that I would resign from the episcopate, or wished to resign. In the same way when the Archbishop of Baltimore informed me of the designation of a coadjutor, he added that in the event that I should persevere in the desire to resign, the Holy See would permit me to give the title of the ecclesiastical property to the same coadjutor. I was no little disturbed by the fear that I had done something that so displeased the Holy Father that my resignation would appear desirable to him. If this be the case, I am prepared without any hesitation to leave the episcopacy. I have taken this burden out of obedience, and I have labored with all my powers to fulfill the duties of my office, and with God's help, as I hope, not without fruit. When the care of temporal things weighed upon my mind and it seemed to me that my character was little suited for the very cultured world of Philadelphia, I made known to my fellow bishops during the Baltimore council of 1855 that it seemed opportune to me to request my translation to one or the other see that was to be erected (namely in the City of Pottsville or in Wilmington, North Carolina). But to give up the episcopal career never entered my mind, although I was conscious of my unworthiness and ineptitude; for things had not come to such a pass that I had one or the other reason out of the six for which a bishop could safely ask the Holy Father permission to resign. For a long time I have doubted what should be done. . . .

From the time that Rev. Father Wood was assigned to me as a coadjutor, I have been much more content in my mind. It seems, however, that he took the office of coadjutor with the expectation that I would resign as soon as possible. Although up to the present, peace, mutual charity and respect have reigned between us, it can easily be seen that the free administration of the diocese is sometimes impeded. By a division of the diocese each of us shall be able to perform our sacred duties more expeditiously. Although my coadjutor has proposed to me that he would take the new see if it is erected, I have thought it much more opportune and I have asked the Fathers that he be appointed to the See of Philadelphia, since he is much more highly endowed with facility and alacrity concerning the administration of temporal things. Indeed, I am much more accustomed to the country, and will be able to care for the people and faithful living in the mountains, in the coal mines and on the farms, since I would be among them.

If, however, it should be displeasing to His Holiness to divide the diocese, I am, indeed, prepared either to remain in the same condition in which I am at present, or if God so inspires His Holiness to give the whole administration of the diocese to the Most Reverend James Wood, I am equally prepared to resign from the episcopate and to go where I may more securely prepare myself for death and for the account which must be rendered to the Divine Justice.

I desire nothing but to fulfill the wish of the Holy Father whatever it may be.⁷⁹

On the other hand, the coadjutor gave his version of the situation. In a letter written on September 15, 1858, he explained to the Prefect of Propaganda:

More than a year has already passed since I went to Philadelphia, according to the disposition of the Sacred Congregation, to perform there the office of coadjutor to the Most Reverend Monsignor Neumann, Bishop of Philadelphia. It will be, I trust, not displeasing to Your Eminence, if I make bold to give you some information, as brief as possible, concerning the present state of the diocese.

1. The Diocese of Philadelphia is the most extensive of all the dioceses in the United States, considering either the number of the faithful or the number of the clergy. The faithful number about 250,000 and the priests 155. It embraces the eastern part of the state of Pennsylvania, extending 160 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west.

2. The spiritual state of the clergy is good with few exceptions, and the same can be said of the people, who give much edification through their works of piety and devotion towards their pastors. I am sorry, however, to say that there is quite universally found among the clergy an aversion to the Most Rev. Bishop and little confidence, little love and affection towards him. But even though this may at times be easily seen, still it never reaches such proportions that they openly oppose his orders. It results rather in a lack of co-operation, such as would be desirable, between them and His Excellency. But the Most Rev. Prelate cannot exactly be blamed for this. It results from his nature which is rather taciturn and cold (he is a native of Bohemia) and from his manner of acting which rather estranges persons than conciliates them.

3. Moreover, the state of the temporal affairs is not that which could be desired. The diocese, or more exactly, the bishop is burdened with a disproportionate debt. For example: the episcopal residence and the cathedral, which is not yet covered with a roof, are burdened with a debt that surpasses 100,000 scudi [or dollars]. The College of St. Joseph has a debt of 35,000 scudi. The Church of St. Alphonsus, which is still unfinished after more than four years, has a debt of 25,000 scudi; it falls to the lot of His Excellency to pay this sum, 9,000 scudi coming from others while he is responsible for the rest. In regard to the College of St. Joseph, which His Excellency transferred to the Jesuits together with the Parish of St. John's (the most flourishing in Philadelphia) in order that they might more or less pay off the debt of the college by means of the income of the parish, I found that instead of lessening the debt, they have increased it by the sum of 6,000 scudi. As to the diocesan seminary, the building itself is free from debt; but for the up-keep of the seminarians, of whom there are 32 in the major and 22 in the minor seminary, we shall finish the current year with a debt of about 6,000 scudi. For paying this nothing else is left except the collections which are still to be taken up among the people. In spite of all these debts His Excellency began a house for foundlings and children of bad environment. This with its

land cost 17,000 scudi, and its maintenance burdens us with an annual debt of about 1,200 scudi. In fine, during the year 1857 the debt of the diocese increased about 18,000 scudi.

4. Your Eminence would be entirely justified in asking where the money is to be found to manage such a frightful debt. Here is the explanation. Even before the coming of Bishop Neumann there was inaugurated here a system of deposits. That is, the faithful were invited to bring their money, receive a receipt for it, and leave their money in the episcopal treasury, holding as security all the possessions of the bishop. This loan-business amounts at present to 250,000 scudi. It is always necessary to have on hand a sum larger than the actual debt, in order to refund the money to the depositors who come from time to time to reclaim their deposits. This is a difficult thing to manage and very risky in many respects.

5. Having arrived in Philadelphia, I found these funds in the hands and under the direction of a layman who, although of the best of intentions and of much zeal, was far advanced in years and by reason of poor eyesight and hearing proved incapable of the management. Since Bishop Neumann frankly admits his entire incapacity for such business, [I did not know] to whom I should confide this most important trust, important both for the security of the deposits and for the future of the diocese. I found no one capable and at the same time suitable for this office. And since I myself, before beginning my studies for the sacred ministry, had no little experience as a banker in the management of money, I laid this burden upon my shoulders and with the burden, all the responsibility for the debt, at least publicly.

6. Having considered all these circumstances, of which the Most Reverend Fathers of the IX Council of Baltimore had full information, I have thought it well to ask His Holiness, Pope Pius IX gloriously reigning, to deign to make a division of the diocese, at the request, of course, of Bishop Neumann; to deign also to appoint the same Monsignor Neumann, bishop of the new diocese to be formed, and to permit me to receive that of Philadelphia by virtue of the papal bull, which made me coadjutor with the right of succession either in case of the death of Bishop Neumann or if for any other reason his episcopal see becomes vacant. The words of this papal bull are as follows: '*Te . . . in coadjutorem memorati Episcopi Philadelphiensis, cum jure futurae successionis auctoritate apostolica per hasce litteras eligimus, constituimus, deputamus. Si autem idem Joannes Nepomucenus* [that is, the Bishop of Philadelphia] *ex hac vita migret aut forsitan, quod absit, jam migraverit . . . te ejus loco in Episcopum Philadelphiensem. . .*'

7. Moved therefore by these facts, that is, the vast extent of the diocese which requires the care of more than one bishop, and even more so, by the unfavorable conditions of its temporal affairs, especially in the City of Philadelphia, the venerable council of Baltimore was pleased to make the above-mentioned request. Allow me to tell Your Eminence that I wished to take for my part, if it so please the Sacred Congregation, the

new diocese to be created, and to leave to Bishop Neumann the Diocese of Philadelphia; but I acceded to his earnest request and to the unanimous wish of the prelates in confirmation of the request.

8. I would not wish Your Eminence to understand all this, which I have thought well to communicate to you, as if it came in the form of an accusation against the esteemed Bishop of Philadelphia. There is no thought of calling into question his own good intentions or his good will but only his possession of the necessary qualities to bring his diocese out of the present financial difficulties in the City of Philadelphia itself. I wished to point out to Your Eminence, important and authentic facts, which could be of use to you in making your decision upon the petition of the Reverend Fathers of the council for the division of the diocese. For the rest, it gives me distinct pleasure to say that the relations between Bishop Neumann and his unworthy coadjutor have always been most harmonious, nor is there any indication that they will ever be disturbed, come what may.

9. Finally, although I feel most vividly the necessity of this division as well as the painful and difficult position which I am sustaining, still, in all things I submit myself with the greatest respect and confidence to the decision, even the desires of Your Eminence and of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, being entirely persuaded that in doing so I am fully complying with the Divine Will.

With great reverence and love I sign myself Your Eminence's

Most humble servant in Christ,

James Frederick Wood, Bishop of Antigonía
and Coadjutor of the Bishop of Philadelphia,
alumnus of the venerable Urban College of
Propaganda.⁸⁰

Frank and open as the letter from the coadjutor was, it still contained a number of defects. While it declared that Bishop Neumann had proposed the division of the diocese, it failed to mention the glaring fact that the motive behind the petition was Wood's own expectation of becoming Bishop of Philadelphia. Although it enumerated the main debts, it neglected to state that these, for the most part, had been inherited from Neumann's predecessor. And even in the specific details given, there were grave omissions. It was true the cathedral had a tremendous debt, but not because of Bishop Neumann whose cautious policy of "pay-as-you-go" irritated the priest in charge of the building; certainly the Jesuits had increased their debt, but during panic years; and the orphan asylum deficit was being liquidated by a very modern method of buying land, cutting it up into smaller lots and selling them eventually at a handsome profit.⁸¹ The including of these details might have given a more

accurate picture. Moreover, the assertion of Neumann's total incapacity in financial matters did not take into account the notable amount of building he had accomplished without incurring debt. The whole plea of staggering debts loses some of its force when one compares Philadelphia's liabilities with the debt then being borne by the Archdiocese of New York, as published by Archbishop Hughes in his reply to the New York State Senator Erastus Brookes.⁸² Underlying the entire subject of expenditures was the fact, which Wood neglected to state, that the Philadelphia ecclesiastical organization was expanding in order to save the faith of the immigrant.

Bishop Wood seemed confident that the change would go through. On the face of it, with such reports coming from each of the bishops and a petition from a provincial council of Baltimore, the matter would seem easy to settle. But Rome with proverbial prudence and caution did not immediately resolve the issue. On November 15, 1858, a letter was sent from Cardinal Barnabò, telling Neumann that the matter would be left for the decision of the next national council. Meanwhile, the Bishop of Philadelphia was to continue cheerfully in carrying out his pastoral duties and to make use of the services of his coadjutor, especially in temporal matters.⁸³ Barnabò wrote the same to Wood, saying:

Your letter of September 15 of this year has reached me, the letter in which Your Lordship so frankly set forth the difficulties that beset the Bishop of Philadelphia, especially in financial matters. The fitness and the opportuneness of proceeding with the projected division of the diocese in the manner proposed by the last Baltimore council was suggested to me.

In reply I am able to tell you that this matter has been well weighed in the general meeting that considered the said council. But without rejecting the proposal, the Propaganda officials decided to refer it to the next national council that will be held in the United States at the time appointed for it. And so, all that remains for Your Lordship to do is to try to manage that which Monsignor Neumann cannot perform, since it was precisely with this in view that the Holy See, relying on the known excellent qualities of Your Lordship, chose you to be the coadjutor of the Bishop of Philadelphia.⁸⁴

To Bishop Wood, who had openly told Cardinal Barnabò that he ardently desired a division of the diocese, the answer must have been disappointing. Nevertheless, the probability of such a division was kept alive. Hope for it faded, however, when Archbishop Kenrick asked the Roman officials if he should call the Second Plenary Council for the year 1859 and was answered in the negative.

As far as Kenrick could foresee, the earliest date for such a council would be the year 1862.⁸⁵ As events proved, the Civil War intervened, and the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore took place only in 1866.

That Bishop Wood was uncomfortable in his position is amply evident from his correspondence. On January 7, 1859, the coadjutor told Archbishop Purcell:

If I do not write often, it is not because I do not think of all my friends in Cincinnati. In fact, the peculiarity of my position here compels me sometimes to remember old places, old scenes, old and past and never sufficiently valued consolations. . . . No matter, *tout passé*—I am sure you do not forget your spiritual son in your prayers.⁸⁶

Still wondering why the Roman officials had not acted, he remarked to Purcell three months later:

As to my own concerns which remain in the same unsatisfactory state as before, I am always more and more puzzled that the settlement should have been referred to a National Council, the time of whose meeting no one knows. I hope that my retreat will renew my almost exhausted stock of patience! I would not care what position I might be placed in, but I should like to be extracted from what seems *to me* a false position and one in which, I think, Rome, rightly informed, would not wish to hold me. But let us safely leave all these things to God, in spite of the recalcitration of ignorance and immortification.⁸⁷

The strain seemed to be telling on his health. At the end of May, 1859, the coadjutor wrote to the same archbishop, informing him that he had not said Mass for ten days and was partly crippled in his feet with what the doctors called rheumatic gout. As to his sentiments, he said:

I am peculiarly situated here in Phila[delphia] and as far as I can judge, a removal would be both a present and a future blessing, if God so wills it. Perhaps the Sacred Cong[regation] will *now* decide itself the matter it had determined to leave to a National Council, since it is not to be convened, and I wait now patiently for an expression of the will of Rome, which, for me, be it what it may, is the will of God in my regard.

I am a very young diplomatist and inclined to think that some secret springs are in motion which I know not of, and which, even if I did, I could not influence nor regulate.

Certainly now I feel uneasy and uncertain as to the future. My venerated Senior is of a temperament which I cannot deal with, and, no doubt, without intending it, makes me the victim of an anxiety which I

can scarcely explain, tho I feel it deeply. Debts, debts, debts—God help me, and I am sure that you will pray that I may be faithful to His graces.⁸⁸

Wood's friends seemed eager to have him placed in another field. Bishop McGill of Richmond suggested to Purcell that, since Bishop Portier had died, perhaps the coadjutor of Philadelphia would be a desirable ruler for the vacant Diocese of Mobile.⁸⁹ The prelates of the Province of New Orleans having placed the name of the coadjutor first on the list of candidates for that see, Bishop Martin John Spalding wrote to Rome saying how suitable Wood would be for that locale.⁹⁰ Commenting on the proposed change, Archbishop Kenrick remarked to his brother in St. Louis, "Bishop Wood finds the burden heavy as coadjutor. He complains that money obligations are increased without his knowledge."⁹¹ Wood's own sentiments on the matter were best expressed in his letter of July 9 of that year to Purcell, in which he wrote :

I have received a letter from Bp. Odin, written by him for the Archbishop of New Orleans, announcing to me that my name has been sent first on the list to Rome for Mobile. He desires that I should write to Rome, assuring that 'I am willing to abide by any decision they may make of the matter.' This will be an easy task, and I will fulfill it *toto corde*, but I fear no change will come of it. The whole business is to me a mystery and will remain so, as far as my Senior is concerned, since he is as close as his nationality would give one just reason to expect. The anticipation of Rome that he would retire was as clearly expressed as it could be, more by acts than by words. But it is pretty evident now that he has no such intention. I do not grieve over it—if it be *bonum nos hic et sic esse*. I am content and will do the best I can. Mobile would have the calm and tranquillity of a solitude compared to Philadelphia under any circumstances. But I do not wish to choose my place or to select my cross. I am sure that God in his wisdom and mercy will choose better than I can and fit it to my shoulders, which He Himself will anoint & strengthen to bear it manfully. *Inimici hominis domestici ejus*. I learn this lesson daily, and, if I were only true and loyal to myself, controlling & crushing these internal enemies as I should, *esset tranquillitas magna*. Pray for me that I may do so, and oppose nothing to the fulfillment of the Will of God in my regard.⁹²

Bishop Wood, it was evident, was uneasy in his position. Bishop O'Connor felt that the coadjutor would welcome a change. Not all the prelates, however, thought it wise to move Wood to Mobile. Young of Erie informed Purcell :

It would be a pity to take Bishop Wood to a climate where he would not live. A Frenchman has greater adaptability to every climate and to

every people, and perhaps Bishop Charbonnel would live beneath the tropics.⁹³

The Bishop of Pittsburgh, on hearing the news of the proposals to send Wood to Mobile, told Archbishop Kenrick:

I hear of the nomination made for Mobile. It strikes me that an entire change in Philadelphia would be most undesirable. Bp. Neumann with all his admirable qualities is entirely unable to cope with many difficulties that may arise here. Still it appears that Wood is very uneasy in his present position and will, I fear, get discouraged. It has occurred to me that a very desirable [expedient?] might be adopted, if my resignation were accepted and Bishop Wood appointed to Pittsburgh, retaining the coadjutorship of Phila. Such a position is quite common in various parts of the church. A priest could easily be appointed to financial concerns and an occasional visit from Bishop Wood would enable him to give his advice and supervision. Such visits and his known relationship to the diocese would warrant his intervention in cases of extraordinary [need?] when Bishop Neumann's peculiar deficiencies would render him unable to cope with open or covert opposition. Bishop Wood could render all the aid he is now able to give, except details of receiving and paying out money, which might with greater propriety be entrusted to another, and he would not be required to assume that personal responsibility and have the insignificant position which now gives him so much pain.

If you could back an application for this measure, I would go to Rome myself and advocate it. . . . Bishop Wood would not be unwilling to enter this measure. He said he would prefer it to going to Mobile, and I believe he would prefer anything to remaining as he is. . . .⁹⁴

Bishop Neumann, working industriously throughout the diocese, presumably knew nothing of these proceedings, for he was surprised at the news of a proposal to send Wood to Mobile. He wrote, "I was astonished to hear . . . that Bp. Wood has been put on the list for Mobile. I do not think that Bishop Wood would like to leave Philadelphia, where he is generally well-liked."⁹⁵

Bishop Wood continued to believe that Rome intended that he should have Philadelphia. His disappointment was clearly reflected in another letter to Purcell:

Certainly my position here is anomalous and not at all such as, in my judgment, the Holy See desired me to occupy, since I have no doubt they anticipated the retirement of Bp. Neumann, after such time had elapsed as would enable him safely to convey to me the property of the Diocese. He did not think well to do so, having no doubt understood differently the intentions of the Holy See. This was an advantage for a time for me, as it enabled me to fall by degrees into my new position and to acquire a

fuller knowledge of the actual state of things than I could ever have had if I had been obliged to assume the whole responsibility at once. But that knowledge once acquired, this advantage disappears, and I am left just in such a position (having no defined sphere of coadjutorship) as a Coadjutor *imposed, not chosen*, necessarily must occupy. Of course, I submit cordially to the will or wishes of Propaganda and, if they desire it, will consider that it is God's will for me to remain precisely as I am. I should be sorry that they believe that I am scheming or diplomatizing either to leave Phila. or to dislodge my Senior. I would not *deliberately* change my field of labor by any act of my own.⁹⁶

As events turned out, Bishop Wood was not chosen for the See of Mobile for which the Cincinnati priest, John Quinlan, was consecrated in December, 1859.⁹⁷

Meanwhile another movement to transfer Bishop Wood from Philadelphia seems to have gained ground when there was question of choosing the first rector of the newly established North American College in Rome. Archbishop Hughes of New York wrote to the Archbishop of Baltimore: "Abp. Purcell has mentioned the name of Bishop Wood for the Rectorship of the [American] College. I would be pleased with that appointment."⁹⁸ In the weeks that followed, it became evident that another, Father William George McCloskey,⁹⁹ instead of Dr. Wood was going to be the first Rector of the North American College on Via Humiltà in the City of the Popes.

The final effort to remove Bishop Wood's embarrassment appears to have been made by his friend, Martin John Spalding, who came to Philadelphia in September, 1859. After the Philadelphia visit, the Bishop of Louisville inquired about the appointment of Wood, seeking its exact terms. One of Kenrick's letters in early 1857 had led Spalding erroneously to believe, as Wood had mistakenly believed, that Neumann was about to resign his office. The Louisville prelate was likewise endeavoring to know precisely what was behind the failure of the Roman officials to accede to the petition sent by the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore to divide the diocese. Archbishop Kenrick explained the whole affair, pointing out that nothing further could be done until a national council took place. Calmly, he wrote:

Under these circumstances it is plain that the matter cannot be brought again under the consideration of the Holy See, and the only safe course for Dr. Wood is to cooperate cordially with the Bishop. The care of the

temporalities could, I imagine, be transferred to a priest which would relieve him [Wood] of a job very ill-suited to a Bishop. This would obviate the chief difficulty. I write hastily to correct erroneous impressions which my language as to terms of the appointment may have produced.¹⁰⁰

Spalding seems to have been the first to shake Wood of the notion that Rome, in appointing him as coadjutor, had intended that Neumann should resign from Philadelphia. The Bishop of Louisville told him to be easy in his position until another opening occurred, and Wood endeavored to follow the counsel. Somewhat more reconciled to his status, he informed Purcell, "We are getting on pretty much as usual. I am trying the advice of Bishop Spalding, 'Be aisy, and if you can't be aisy, be as aisy as you can.'"¹⁰¹ About the same time Kenrick remarked to his brother on the same subject:

The Coadjutor of Philadelphia is a little more resigned since he received a letter from the Cardinal Prefect, who tells him that he will not favor his translation [to another diocese], and counsels him to help the Bishop of Philadelphia in a kindly spirit. He had thought, wrongly indeed, that his election as Coadjutor was made under this condition, [namely] that the Bishop of Philadelphia should resign the see. Following this thought, he frequently spoke to him advising him to carry out this plan; and he urged the same subject on the clergy and the prelates [of the Province]. . . . Indeed, he [Bishop Neumann] is every day better appreciated, particularly by the clergy, for his learning, his zeal and his charity. They [the clergy] are restless under the rebukes of the Coadjutor. . . . I hardly think it expedient to transfer him [Wood] to another see. It is safer for a man to hold second place who is not strong in prudence and humility.

In view of the later record of James Wood as Bishop of Philadelphia, a post he was so soon to occupy, the stricture seemed severe, but it expressed Kenrick's opinion at the time.¹⁰²

Such is the story of Bishop Neumann and his coadjutor. They were of different temperaments and of contrasting personalities, but basically Bishop Wood's irritation came from a misinterpretation of the terms of his appointment. It would be easy to exaggerate their disagreements. Far more noteworthy was the fact that both worked hard for the diocese—very hard. While their judgments at times were at variance, their hearts never let the fires of charity burn low or become extinguished. Their differences of opinion never degenerated into personal animosities. Strait-jacketed as he thought he was, James Frederick Wood never quit his task. His accomplishments then and in his subsequent career as Bishop, and later as first Archbishop, of Philadelphia brought great blessings to the diocese,

into which he entered with such a mistaken approach. All his old uncomfortable feelings were overlooked twenty-one years later, when he wrote eulogistically of Bishop Neumann:

I had less than three years to enjoy his society, yet long enough to be edified by his example and aided by his advice. I became convinced that he had all the learning and virtue necessary to adorn the high position which he occupied. I still admire his lively faith, his firm hope, and his burning charity, his fortitude and his constancy in the discharge of all his apostolic duties.¹⁰³

In the mellow light of after years, when James Wood became sole ruler of the diocese, there seemed to be a better and kinder appreciation of the full task that falls to the lot of a bishop. Important though they were, the duties of a diocesan financier were not nearly so great as the broader, spiritual objectives pursued by John Neumann in his methods of government as shepherd of the largest diocese under the American flag.

CHAPTER XVII

Methods of Government

As a bishop, John Neumann trod well-tried trails. He attained in an eminent degree that personal holiness of life set as a standard for all bishops of all times. His confessor, Father Francis X. Tschenhens, declared that the venerable prelate took as his guide St. Alphonsus Liguori, Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths, the celebrated Doctor of the Church¹ whom the historian, Pastor, calls one of the greatest, if not the greatest, light of the eighteenth century.² Alphonsus wrote *Reflections Useful for Bishops That They May Govern Their Churches Well*,³ a small work of only two chapters, one on the principal cares of a bishop and the other on the most efficacious means bishops should employ to direct their flocks. The influence of that book, though nowhere mentioned specifically in Neumann's writings, is clearly discernible in his manner of government. Other guides whose counsels he observed were Pope Gregory the Great, St. Francis de Sales, Pope Benedict XIV, and particularly the Council of Trent.⁴

While all these gave general directions for a course to be followed by a bishop in fulfilling his office, application of them had necessarily to vary with time and place. Obviously, a bishop in nineteenth century United States, striving desperately to cope with the immigration problem and the ensuing multitude of temporal matters,—new churches, new schools, unity in devotional practices, the recruitment of sufficiently numerous and properly qualified priests and religious, all made doubly difficult by the diversity of nationality and language and the open and covert attacks of anti-Catholic forces—met problems never dreamed of by Gregory, Francis de Sales, Benedict XIV, Alphonsus Liguori, and the host of other eminent bishops who governed the Church of God through the centuries. Nevertheless, from the Scriptures, from the teachings of the councils, particularly the Council of Trent, and from the direction of the great bishops of Christendom in all ages, four principal duties of a bishop of a diocese stand out: first, preaching; second, the conferring of sacraments, particularly holy orders and confirmation; third, the administration of the diocese in spiritual matters; and fourth, the administration of

temporal matters. Successful bishops are measured by these yardsticks. Checking over the record of Bishop John Neumann for the ninety-three hectic months of his episcopal career reveals how he strove in his sacred office so that when the Prince of Pastors judged him, he would receive "an unfading crown."⁵

Neumann well realized that one of the chief duties of a bishop is to preach. In his manuscript treatise on theology he copied out in his own hand the classic statements from *De Synodo* of Pope Benedict XIV on this subject. More than that, he marked similar admonitions from the writings of St. Francis de Sales, St. Alphonsus Liguori and St. Vincent de Paul.⁶ Ironically enough, the bishop to whose nomination for the See of Philadelphia there had been objection because it was thought he could not preach with distinction, fulfilled this primary episcopal duty with the greatest zeal and, predictions to the contrary notwithstanding, John Neumann produced by his forthright sermons solid and lasting fruit. On all occasions he preached vigorous, well-thought-out sermons although he did not have the natural traits, the distinguished talents of a so-called born orator. Never very vehement, never shouting, he did not raise his soft and earnest voice beyond a necessary pitch. He was a preacher with a message, a message which touched many a soul. "Bishop Neumann," said the secular daily, the *Philadelphia Press*, "was not what would be called a fluent and eloquent speaker, but he more than made up for the graces of oratory by the solidity of his talent and profundity of his thoughts."⁷ While his thoughts were deep, he took almost infinite pains that they be expressed with simplicity and clearness so that they might be grasped by the less cultured, even by the uneducated of his audience. Having made a thorough study of the famous letter of St. Alphonsus on the manner of preaching, in which the great doctor strongly advocates the simple style and warns against useless subtlety in thought and mere flowery language, the Bishop of Philadelphia followed his advice.⁸ Well he knew what St. Francis de Sales asserted :

The Holy Council of Trent has declared that the first and principal office of a bishop is to preach . . . not to become a great preacher but simply because he has a duty to preach and because God wills it. The paternal sermon of a bishop has more value than every artifice of a labored sermon in other preachers. It makes little difference on what he preaches or how well he preaches since a bishop's sermons should be on necessary and useful things, not curious and recondite. His words should

be simple not affected, his actions paternal and natural without affectation. By following these suggestions, whatever he preaches, regardless of the extent, the preaching will always be efficacious.⁹

St. Alphonsus Liguori had said the same thing to a newly consecrated bishop: "I recommend to you also not to spare yourself in preaching in all the places of your diocese. The voice of the bishop reaps harvests far more abundant than those of other preachers."¹⁰ So, without any unusual or outstanding qualifications that distinguished others in his day, Neumann preached often, very often, on feast days, at High Masses, at retreats, at Forty Hours, in religious houses and during the ceaseless round of visitation tours. The grace of God went into the pulpit with him, and his preaching, though not the kind that electrified audiences, produced lasting results. Thus one from his audience at Harrisburg on August 15, 1852, reported in the *Catholic Herald*, that "the people were no less edified, than instructed, by his beautiful discourses equally characterized by profound erudition, apostolic piety, and parental affection for his children."¹¹

A listener at Middletown declared:

His sermon was worthy of a holy and apostolic bishop, full of unction and full of piety as suited the paternal goodness of the episcopal character and dignity, and with a fertility of imagination, originality of thought, and accuracy of reasoning and convincing arguments which has fallen to the lot of few dignitaries of the Church to possess in so pre-eminent a degree.¹²

At Eden Hall, Bishop Neumann gave the young ladies a talk which the chronicler of the house described as "full of the unction and simplicity that characterizes him."¹³

One who heard him at St. Vincent's, Scranton, wrote:

The bishop preached on the gospel of the day for at least one hour, during which he was listened to with very marked attention, as well by Protestants as by Catholics, a large number of the former being present and seemingly anxious to be acquainted with the man, from the bottom of whose heart gushed forth clear streams, taking their rise from the fountain of Christian precepts.¹⁴

Describing his sermon at the triduum in honor of the recently proclaimed Immaculate Conception, another writer stated:

The Bishop of Philadelphia preached like a Bishop. Every word he uttered was characteristic of the ecclesiastic *ex officio* and the ecclesiastic

con amore . . . there was much sound sense in what he uttered and many an American Irishman and Englishman, who have been murdering English since they crept from their cradles, would do well to take a lesson from the correctness of his idiom and the precision of his phrase.¹⁵

Others echoed the same sentiments. At Susquehanna one eyewitness related how deeply affected was the audience by Bishop Neumann's preaching.¹⁶ Of a sermon in New York it was remarked, "It flowed from his lips sweeter than honey."¹⁷ "I like his sermons very much. They are so simple and full of instruction," wrote Elizabeth Mary Allen to Kenrick.¹⁸ When John Neumann was preparing for his ordination in June, 1836, he prayed to God fervently:

Enlighten me, O Sanctifier, that I may present Your Holy Word in truth. Give to my words unction and strength that I may preach them with benefit. With Your Holy Grace grant that Your Word may fall upon good ground from my unworthy lips, and for Your honor bring forth fruit a thousandfold.¹⁹

The prayer seems to have been heard. While nowhere it is said that he was an orator, it is evident that he did have unction and the power to move hearts, which is the ultimate purpose of sacred eloquence.

The administration of the sacraments was the realm in which he excelled. If anybody went unconfirmed in the Diocese of Philadelphia during the regime of Bishop Neumann, it was certainly not the bishop's fault; for he visited every district, constantly administering that strengthening sacrament. How numerous the candidates or how few, how far off the beaten paths did not matter, Neumann was ready to serve them. The long side trips he took to anoint a handful of the faithful with the sacred chrism are eloquently told in the statistical record of his tours. He once spent over a whole day riding twenty-five miles from Bellefonte to Snow Shoe, a distant outpost in the Allegheny Mountains, to give confirmation to a single child. The Benedictine, Father Otto Kopf of Bellefonte, had answered the bishop's inquiry about the presence of any others in the parish who needed the sacrament, by mentioning one family in a lonely settlement with a boy to be confirmed. Kopf added that the place was too far out; the journey to it was over a steep, rough road. It would be too much of a trip for the sake of one child. In his usual calm way the bishop replied, "Has not that child a soul to be saved?" The Benedictine took the words as a gentle reproach, and both of them

were on their way to Snow Shoe the next day, arriving in the evening after a whole day's journey. The boy was confirmed. "The only bed in the house," said Kopf, "was given to the bishop which, however, he did not touch, whilst I with the rest of the family roosted on the haymow."²⁰

To those who were to be confirmed the bishop always gave two instructions, usually on the night preceding and then before the ceremony of confirmation itself. On examining the children, if he found they were not properly prepared, he delayed the confirmation until he himself could instruct them, on one occasion giving the pastor a demonstration lesson. If there was a Mass after the confirmation, the bishop would preach once again at the Mass, generally an exhortation to keep firm in the faith.²¹

While the record of the bishop's confirmations published some years ago is a good outline of his activities in conferring this sacrament, it is far from a complete report. Many of the churches at which he gave confirmation in the city and county of Philadelphia are not mentioned although the Catholic newspapers of the diocese recorded the ceremonies. These city confirmations were the more numerous, the totals sometimes reaching 400 or more at a time. Other individual cases, too, did not get down into the prized confirmation record, which the bishop personally carried. For example, when one young girl recently converted to the Catholic faith lay dying, Neumann, heeding the request of a Redemptorist Father to confirm her, went to her home so that she could have the happiness of receiving another sacrament before her death.²²

Connected for the most part with the conferring of confirmation* was the visitation of the parishes and their outmissions. Here again Neumann was guided by the advice of Alphonsus Liguori, who said:

Residence on the part of the bishop is particularly necessary so that he may be able to visit the different places of his diocese, and he should personally visit them. Oh, how many disorders does he not remedy in these journeys when he sees things with his own eyes! He that does not see, cannot provide. It is impossible to govern well by means of the reports that others furnish; the latter, actuated by private ends either deceive us, or they are themselves easily deceived, or at least they know not the evils that really exist. This is a fact which I myself have seen and deplored in the courses of missions that I have given.²³

To carry out the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, John Neumann steadfastly endeavored to conduct visitations throughout the

diocese every two years. In this he had an advantage over his famous predecessor as newer railroad lines were extending to the larger towns, and he could reach them more easily. On the other hand, because the railroad depot was a starting point for him, the whole visitation of a district became more comprehensive.

His method on visitations was thorough. As the church's law prescribes, he sought to preserve sound and orthodox doctrine, to promote good works, to correct immoral practices, to foster peace, innocence, piety and discipline in the people and the clergy, and to arrange other things according to their circumstances.²⁴ He carefully inspected not only the diocesan records concerning baptisms, confirmations, marriages and death notices; but he examined minutely the sacred vessels, the cemeteries and everything connected with the parish. Not particularly concerned about his own personal comfort, he was known to choose always to reside at the poorer rectory whenever he stayed in a town where there were two parishes. But he showed solicitude for others. On one occasion when he found that the pastor of Haycock, Pennsylvania, was left in great destitution, it saddened him.²⁵ In such circumstances he would give from his meagre income whatever assistance he could afford. These visitation tours conducted so regularly and in such a thorough manner gave Neumann a clearer knowledge of his diocese than anyone else possessed in the whole extent of it. The notes in his manuscripts and a map of the diocese hanging prominently in his residence served to impress on his mind the location and condition of all parishes.²⁶

He made many such journeys. He darted in and out of the City of Philadelphia for the shorter trips to Wilmington, Norristown, Easton, Lancaster, Scranton and even as far across the state as Harrisburg. These visitations he could readily manage and return to Philadelphia immediately, but the outlying towns were not so easily visited. The bishop was away for six, seven, eight and ten weeks at a time covering distant out-stations. From Snow Shoe in the West to Newcastle in Delaware, from Athens and Susquehanna in the north of the state to McSherrystown and Chambersburg in the south, there was not a parish that he did not visit on several occasions during his seven years and nine months of office. The Susquehanna, the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers he crossed and recrossed to administer the sacrament of confirmation. Time and again he moved in and out of the mountain villages. The northeast section of the

State of Pennsylvania, where the influx of immigrants was greatest, saw him at his zealous best. To give confirmation and conduct visitations, he traversed the Poconos over and over. Honesdale, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Carbondale, Summit Hill and the neighboring hills where the men went down into the coal pits witnessed his coming frequently. Further west, Ridgebury, Williamsport, Blossburg, Lewistown and Gettysburg, so soon to become world famous, knew his care for them. The North Mountain, the Bald Eagle Mountains in the Williamsport area, the Blue, the South, the Tuscorora and the Allegheny ranges, in the south and west of the state, re-echoed to the sound of his voice and were moistened with the sweat of his brow. Father Coskery was right in saying Bishop Neumann went more deeply into the Diocese of Philadelphia than any who had preceded him.²⁷ Tracing those journeys on a map, one sees the constant, steady heroism of his endeavor. Every summer and every fall, and sometimes far into the winter months, he was on the march through the mountainous stretches of his diocese on confirmation tours, so much so that there were complaints that he was too long away from the City of Philadelphia.²⁸ But the good bishop knew where his duty called. Any valid appraisal of Neumann's life and works will always rate these confirmation and visitation trips as the greatest manifestations of his apostolic work. They were not always known by the people in Philadelphia, nor properly appreciated; but, if today Catholic life is strong in these country regions, no little share of the merit goes to the bishop, who had watchful eyes and pastoral zeal for all churches, no matter where they lay in his far-flung diocese.

These tours were often made under primitive conditions. Thus when Neumann arrived at Bellefonte in 1858, the Benedictine, Kopf, whose parish covered seven counties, was so poor that he could not afford a suit becoming a priest. Wearing an old Kossuth hat and a pair of trousers so ancient that he looked more like a butcher boy than a priest, Kopf borrowed a barouche and set out to meet the bishop and Father Patrick Nugent. At the station the horses of the barouche, unaccustomed to the shrill screeching of whistles and the roaring locomotive, threatened to bolt, but the priest held them firm while he greeted the prelate. The first thing the bishop did was to drive into Lewistown and get the poor Benedictine a new clerical outfit from head to foot. Only then did they start out. It was hard driving over the Seven Mountains to Bellefonte. When they stopped at a little village called Pottersban and had to continue the journey on

foot, mostly over mountains, the travelers got hungry and, particularly, thirsty. There was nothing but whiskey on hand to revive them; the bishop with thanks refused the liquor, but bade his companions to take it if they wished. The Benedictine refused, but Nugent, who was in the party, drank the "mountain dew" as the folk in the back country called it.

Poor Father Kopf had a difficult time with the horses. After confirmation in Bellefonte and its outmissions, the pastor started for Lock Haven, twenty-five miles away. While passing over a covered bridge, a four-horse wagon smashed into his vehicle and broke his wagon tree into splinters. For lack of better resources Neumann and Kopf tied the horses behind the wagon and pulled it along until they could find a place to obtain some rope to enable the horses to do the pulling again. As they neared Lock Haven, Kopf began to speed their pace; but the bishop remonstrated, saying, "If we break down again, I won't pull any more."²⁹

John Berger, the bishop's nephew, provides some insight into another visitation journey. In this case an impoverished parish priest met the bishop at the railroad station, but without any conveyance. The bishop had to wait while the cleric hunted for a vehicle. Finally, the pastor appeared with a horse and the chassis of a manure wagon, across which was stretched a single plank. The priest explained that it was the best he could do under the circumstances. The bishop uncomplainingly placed his baggage on the plank, tied it securely and, then, having mounted the plank himself with his nephew beside him, started the journey. The wagon was slung so low their legs almost touched the ground. As luck would have it, a torrential down-pour drenched the travelers. The mud splattered the bishop as they drove along the roads. In a good-natured way he turned to his nephew and said, "John, did you ever see a bishop in such an entourage?" As the rain pelted them, all the nephew could reply was, "Bishops in America are not like bishops in Europe." Pushing in through a forest of trees, they dismounted before a blockhouse and entered to find a group of respectful farm people huddled before the warming flames of an open fireplace. One by one the drenched pieces of baggage were dried before the fire. The one good bed in the house they offered to the bishop for the night while young Berger slept in the hayloft and the rest of the household in makeshift resting quarters.

The ragged, poverty-stricken surroundings were a revelation to the boy, but his uncle seemed to take them in stride.³⁰

Neumann liked these visitation tours to the poor in the country. The company of simple people had the effect of calling into play his powers of good humor and sociability; he would indulge in little pleasantries and take an animated part in the conversation. By contrast, he felt very much less at home in more distinguished gatherings. One of the priests who used to accompany him, remarking the contrast, related how on one occasion when they dined at a wealthy Catholic's home where the guests were numerous, the appointments in style, the viands rich and liquor plentiful, the bishop scarcely ate anything and seemed unusually reserved. The next day Neumann and his companion were invited to a poor log cabin where wine was not to be had, but where the host was cheerfully doing his best to entertain. The priest could not help but reflect on the change from the day before. As they left the house, the bishop himself remarked, "What a difference between yesterday and today. Yesterday we were treated to a well-filled table, empty forms of politeness and useless conversation, but today we had the charming simplicity of a pious Catholic home."³¹ One could easily see that some people in Old Philadelphia would fail to appreciate his standard of values and definitely underrate the advantage of such tours.

Bishop Neumann gave particular care to the administration of the sacrament of holy orders. Fifty pages of closely written manuscript research on this subject, covering the whole field from the signs of a vocation to the priesthood to the virtues to be practiced by the clergy, testified both to his intense interest and his knowledge.³² After studying the matter from the masters, he endeavored to follow in their footsteps. The subject of vocations was of particular interest to him since he knew the importance of a native clergy; and the supply of priests, which he had fondly expected from Europe, never kept pace with the needs of his diocese. In the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo in Philadelphia, established by the great Kenrick a score of years before Neumann arrived, the number of seminarians was still only thirty or forty. An effort had been made to guide young people to minor seminaries or academies in preparation for the course in the seminary itself. Most of these went to St. Charles' College in Ellicott City, outside Baltimore.³³ These seminarians, on whose training Neumann lavished the utmost care, were his pride

and joy. When at home in Philadelphia, he often went to their building and conducted classes in pastoral theology, a subject for which he was eminently qualified by training and by practical work in the ministry.

The seminary course in many places in the United States ran four or five years. In line with the action of other bishops the Philadelphia prelate raised the entrance requirements and insisted on two years of philosophy and four years of theology for his seminarians. Moreover, during his term as bishop the number of subjects for the seminarians was broadened beyond the study of philosophy, theology, Sacred Scripture, canon law and pastoral theology to include classes in church history, liturgy and chant, the rules of sacred eloquence and practice in preaching.³⁴

Having such great concern for the education of his future priests, the bishop would allow nothing to interfere with the high standards set for them. Occasionally it was necessary to dismiss those who failed to fulfill the requirements.³⁵ In one particular instance he expelled a seminarian on the spot for being under the influence of liquor.³⁶ With the staff of five or six lectors, the bishop was just as exacting; one of them was politely dismissed for negligence in obeying the more serious rules of a seminary professor.³⁷

All in all, the standards were raised during the term of Neumann's episcopate. Richard Clarke says, "The seminary during Bishop Neumann's administration attained a reputation such as it never had before."³⁸ These high standards were recognized in the eventual choice of at least five then connected with it for the supreme office of bishop. The two presidents of St. Charles' in Neumann's time later became bishops: the Vincentian, Father Thaddeus Amat of Monterey, and Father William O'Hara of Scranton.³⁹ One of the young men whom Neumann ordained, Father Jeremiah Shanahan, later became Bishop of Harrisburg,⁴⁰ and two other students for the priesthood in the Philadelphia diocese were subsequently raised to the hierarchy, John E. Fitzmaurice of Erie and Ignatius F. Horstmann of Cleveland.⁴¹

The seminary teaching corps, after the departure of the sons of St. Vincent in 1852,⁴² was composed of Fathers O'Hara, Balfe, Sourin and one or two others. Charles Maugin came later.⁴³ Although the staff never seemed to have numbered more than six, it did good work. Nevertheless, Neumann tried to have the Vincentian Fathers return,

obtaining permission from the Holy See for such a change in the last year of his life,⁴⁴ probably because he feared losing Father O'Hara, whose name had already been proposed for a bishopric.

During his relatively short term as ruler of the diocese, Neumann ordained sixty-one priests for Philadelphia, a great increase in the yearly rate over the preceding years. He conferred sacred orders on eighteen different occasions, sometimes breaking off his visitations to come home to ordain but one candidate. While he was in Europe, he requested Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley of Newark to ordain in his stead. Several times Neumann ordained priests for the Redemptorist Fathers, once in Philadelphia, once in Pittsburgh and once in Cumberland. As a rule, the dates for deaconship and sub-deaconship were on other than priesthood days, so that at least on forty different days during his career he was the ordaining prelate. So short was he of priests that he never waited until the customary spring Ember season but raised the seminarians to the priesthood just as soon as they were ready.⁴⁵

Neumann was outstandingly successful administering the sacrament of penance. Richard Clarke in his *Lives of the Deceased Bishops* declared that no priest in the Diocese of Philadelphia spent more time hearing confessions than the bishop himself.⁴⁶ His confessional in the bishop's chapel was always available to penitents; and, whenever the bishop was home, he was sure to be found there, not only at the appointed hours for confession but each morning after making his half-hour thanksgiving following Mass. It was a common remark among the parishioners of the cathedral parish that the bishop was always first in the confessional.⁴⁷ Even during missions given in the diocese he heard confessions, particularly in one parish where the pastor had alienated many of the people. The priest was so severe toward an unusually large number of Catholics who had contracted mixed marriages before a Protestant minister that they continued living at enmity with God. As much as the bishop deplored such marriages, since the parties concerned had repented of their disobedience and sought forgiveness, he considered that they should be absolved, reminded them of their obligations and encouraged them to seek God's grace to fulfill them, especially by the worthy and frequent reception of the sacraments. Neumann himself reconciled many of these erring sheep.⁴⁸ Everywhere and always when a penitent soul needed him, in academies, on the confirmation tours, during Forty Hours, he delighted in this pastoral service.

Great were his qualities as a confessor; he had kindness, both natural and supernatural prudence, an inexhaustible patience, good judgment and an unusually penetrating mind. Once a priest revealed to the bishop that the clergy considered him a rather easy confessor. The bishop replied, "Penance is a Sacrament of Mercy." Archbishop Kenrick first gave the accolade to him as a confessor, for that prelate had learned by his own experience the benefits of his advice in the confessional. The archbishop recommended him as a confessor to his very good friends in Philadelphia, the Allens, saying, "You will all love him as your spiritual father; he is so full of kindness and so holy . . . I shall commend you all to his kind care, and he will be a guide to you in the ways of holiness."⁴⁹

The Allens were enthusiastic about their new confessor. Elizabeth Mary Allen wrote to the archbishop six months later, "I find him an excellent confessor."⁵⁰ Still later she remarked, "I feel very grateful to you for recommending us to such an excellent confessor as Bishop Neumann, and it certainly will be my own fault if I do not make some progress in virtue."⁵¹ The archbishop replied, "You are happy to have holy Bishop Neumann for your guide. Don't easily give him up for a stranger. He is full of light and charity."⁵² Mrs. Mary Allen noted in another letter to the archbishop, "I have found out what a saint our bishop is and am thankful we are so fortunate to have him for a confessor."⁵³ On another occasion Mary Allen wrote to the archbishop, "I am more and more convinced that our bishop is a saint. I cannot thank you enough for sending us to him."⁵⁴ As her aunt went to Father Sourin to confession instead of to Bishop Neumann, Elizabeth Allen declared, "She will not have the opportunity of knowing our bishop as I do, and it is a very different thing merely to visit him."⁵⁵

One incident illustrates Neumann's saving sense of humor as a confessor. At the time of the ordination of Father Robert Fulton, S.J., Mrs. Allen tried to get the Archbishop of Baltimore to allow it to take place at the Georgetown Visitation Convent where the former's mother had become an enclosed nun. Much as he liked Mrs. Allen, the archbishop put a prompt veto on the petition because of its inappropriateness and his unwillingness to set a precedent. While Mrs. Allen felt disappointed, her husband laughed at the "abrupt stopper" the archbishop put to the eager desire of the good Sisters to witness the ordination. George Allen later told Archbishop Kenrick, "My poor wife laid her troubles before her director, Bishop Neumann,

who heard them with such unrestrained and unusual merriment that she was quite bewildered."⁵⁶

During the mission in the cathedral parish in 1858, one poor Irish woman complained to the bishop that for two days she had tried in vain to make her general confession to a missionary. The bishop went immediately to the confessional and heard her, after which he walked toward the sacristy. The Irish woman was after him to question him as to whether the confession made to him was as good as that made to the missionaries and whether she could gain the indulgences.⁵⁷ The good bishop smilingly satisfied her on that point.

Many others had the bishop for a confessor and appraised him highly for his skill in that office. One nun wrote how he once helped her in a moment of doubt:

I remember being in great trouble of mind. So many obstacles had risen up to retard my entrance into religion; among others my confessor was suddenly called out of town. In my perplexity I thought of the good bishop to whom access was so easy. Accordingly I went to his confessional and made known my embarrassment.

The young bishop consoled her and counselled:

If the day is appointed for your entrance into religion, do not put it off. If the devil can succeed in retaining you in the world even for one day, he will be content because then he may induce you to abandon your vocation altogether and thus endanger your eternal salvation.

The young lady entered religion immediately. She later glowingly related how crowds of penitents frequently sought to confess to Neumann. If any were noisy outside the confessional, the bishop would come out and endeavor to restore quiet and harmony; but he did it very calmly, as she described it, "The tone of his voice was never raised above a whisper."⁵⁸

One thing is clear from all this—Neumann was a personally active pastor of souls.

Nor did he show off to less advantage as an administrator. Here one has to distinguish between administration in spiritual affairs and rule of temporal matters. In the first of these he was outstandingly successful, while in the second he effected amazing results though at times the financial risks incurred in doing it robbed him of peace of mind and induced periodic worry in him and some of his fearsome contemporaries.

On the spiritual side, apart from his visitations and his own personal care of souls, his accomplishments were centered mainly around his synodal legislation, his indefatigable promotion of religious confraternities and home missions and his winning cooperation from his priests and religious.

Neumann held three synods, that is, a convocation of the clergy for the purpose of deliberating on special problems and peculiar needs of the diocese so that the bishop may enact appropriate statutes. In the first of these, held in April, 1853, ten statutes were enacted, the opening one being the golden diocesan regulation concerning the establishment of the Forty Hours. The second recommended the singing of the litany of Our Lady of Loretto and added to it the invocation, "Queen conceived without sin, pray for us." This was to be sung on all Sundays and holy days before the principal Mass; and, if no choir was available, it was to be recited with five decades of the rosary added. Pastors were exhorted and implored to prepare properly those about to contract marriage, instructing them on the impediments to the sacrament, the sanctity and indissolubility of the bond and the obligations of the contract. A new warning concerning the necessity of publishing the banns was also given. Further instructions stressed the need of preparing children for confession even before they reached the age for Holy Communion. The common practice in those days was to receive Communion at the age of ten years. The bishop reminded his priests that the reception of this sacrament should not be delayed beyond that age. He asked that the ceremonial prescribed for services by the Baltimore Council be used for the sake of uniformity in the diocese. He forbade any musicals or oratorios to be held in church, even though in some parts a custom prevailed of having these to raise money for the benefit of the parish. No lay person was to address the parishioners in church without the bishop's own permission; and, moreover, he requested that the Society for the Propagation of the Faith be established in the diocese and the good work of this world-famous organization be brought to the attention of the laity.⁵⁹

By far the most important synod was that held on three days in October, 1855. Twenty-one constitutions or statutes were promulgated, covering every phase of diocesan organization and discipline. At this synod the bishop's rules for the administration of churches in Philadelphia, that provocative subject mentioned before, were given the force of law. One statute declared that no priest could

enter the Diocese of Philadelphia from another diocese to labor there without having obtained the permission of his bishop as well as that of the Bishop of Philadelphia, and he could not labor in the Philadelphia diocese without taking an oath of obedience. This may have seemed severe to some, but it was nothing more than what had been prescribed by the Roman authorities and enacted as statutes of the Archdiocese of Baltimore two years previously, as Neumann pointed out. At this synod six consultants of the diocese were appointed in line with the legislation of the Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852. The first Tuesday of each month was set apart as the day for the consultations, or, if for any cause that day was not suitable, the Tuesday of the following week. A chancellor was to be selected from these consultants. Whether or not it was because the bishop expected at that time to leave Philadelphia or because a priest was not available, no chancellor appears to have been selected.

Wherever the circumstances did not permit of a parochial school, the bishop wished classes in Christian doctrine, at least, be held. He likewise imposed on pastors the obligation of seeking out those who had neglected to receive the sacraments of penance and Holy Eucharist. For these they were to give special instructions at least once or twice a year. Save in the case of danger of death, confirmation was not to be given to children before they were seven years of age.⁶⁰ All in all, the legislation showed the working of an informed, prudent shepherd even though some held quite the opposite view.

Almost all the constitutions of the Philadelphia Synod of 1857 concerned liturgical practices. The two-day meeting held in October enacted seven statutes concerning the administration of baptism, Holy Eucharist and other ceremonies. The bishop warned all to be sure about the quality of the wine necessary for the validity and liceity of the Holy Sacrifice. Vespers were to be sung in the churches on Sunday; and, henceforth, permission was to be obtained to say two Masses on Sundays and holy days.⁶¹ Since an approved ceremonial is easily obtained today, one might wonder at the convocation of a synod for church ceremonies, but the alarm at the divergent practices cropping up in America because of the sudden arrival of priests from various nations moved the Roman authorities at that time to insist on the holding of synods precisely to obtain uniformity of practice.⁶²

John Neumann was a liturgist's ideal. As a Redemptorist, he loved all that concerns liturgy, even making up a directory for the recita-

tion of divine office, but as a bishop this interest could exercise fuller scope. His own exactness in carrying out the prescribed rules for services was noted time and time again. Besides the booklet on the rubrics for Forty Hours' Devotion already alluded to,⁶³ he also had prepared under his supervision the first known *Kyriale* in the United States.⁶⁴ No one who reads the appendix for rubrics he added to the printed acts of the Synod of Philadelphia in 1855—forty-seven decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, all cited exactly with date and documentary source—can fail to realize how painstakingly he sought to observe the smallest prescriptions of the church's law governing her services.⁶⁵ His own difficulties about such matters he settled officially by frequent communication with the Sacred Congregation of Rites, whose responses were later printed for the benefit of his clergy.⁶⁶

This same zeal extended to everything connected with worship. Neumann brought a Mr. Rosenbauer, a metal worker from Baltimore, to Philadelphia to care for the sacred vessels, repairing and renewing them and making relic cases for his own great store of relics which he had brought with him from Europe. The present standard metal case for carrying the Holy Oils has been attributed to Neumann's efforts.⁶⁷ The exercise of habitual care in church services was second nature with the Philadelphia prelate.

To promote piety in the faithful, the bishop had a definite program. It was not enough that he made a heart-breaking effort to build more churches and schools; he sought to instill a solid, lasting faith, manifesting itself in the love of God and service of neighbor. Abundant evidence pointed to the fact that he had not been mistaken about the benefits of the Forty Hours' Devotion; for, in the words of the *Catholic Instructor*, it produced "the most happy results in the renewed piety of our fellow Catholics." The number of those who went to confession and communion at these exercises sometimes took on the proportions of a mission, so that the pastors had to call on neighboring priests to help them.⁶⁸ To inject further warmth into the devotional life of the Catholics of the Philadelphia diocese, he was indefatigable in forming religious confraternities and societies. The actual rules for the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament introduced in St. Alphonsus' parish in 1855 were written out in the bishop's own hand.⁶⁹ In gratitude for the favor of escaping foreclosure proceedings on their church, the parishioners promised to organize this society

to hold special devotions in honor of the Blessed Sacrament once a month, a practice which it observes to this day.⁷⁰

Neumann believed with St. Alphonsus that frequent and regular holding of home missions in a parish was a splendid aid in keeping its Catholic life vigorous. The saint had written :

He that has not given missions nor heard confessions during missions cannot know how useful these exercises are. Owing to the manner in which the Bread of the Divine Word is broken, when eternal truths are methodically exposed to the hearers who have assembled in great numbers, it is nearly impossible for them not to be converted.⁷¹

Neumann rejoiced to see such missions given in his diocese. From the first days of his regime in Philadelphia his own Redemptorist brethren were busy on missions both to the German parishes and to the English.⁷² Father Francis X. Weniger, S.J., the celebrated German missionary, gave a number to the German parishes with most gratifying results.⁷³ The Redemptorists later conducted many missions in the City of Philadelphia and in the far reaches of his jurisdiction. He was thrilled at their success.⁷⁴ The joy of his soul at the advance of piety was evident in the letter he wrote to his sister in March, 1858, saying :

Spiritual exercises and missions are held here every year for priests, nuns, and for whole congregations, and they bring abundant fruit. It is a pity that there are not more religious here to conduct them, because not half . . . who ask for these exercises can obtain them and then only after a long delay.

The Rev. Provincial of the Jesuits gave the spiritual exercises in the neighboring Church of St. Patrick last week. Ten or twelve priests heard all the confessions, and between three and four thousand received Holy Communion, most of them men. In the nearby Church of St. Paul the Forty Hours was held on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. The church was always crowded. Fourteen priests heard confessions and about 3000 received Holy Communion. Had there been twice as many priests, twice as many would have received Communion. And so it goes the whole year almost without interruption.⁷⁵

All this spoke volumes for the spirit of cooperation shown by his clergy. Neumann's relations with his priests were, on the whole, very cordial, though it must be confessed that a group of them, a small group compared with the total number in his diocese, never warmed to the bishop who came to rule them. This was due mainly to their resentment against the financial regulations which he enforced in

the parishes,—regulations, it should be noted, which were made also by bishops in other dioceses. In time, however, that group learned to respect him, to realize that he acted from a sense of duty, even if they never displayed a warmth of affection for him. The majority actually venerated him. Writing to Father Stonestreet, the provincial of the Jesuits, Father Louis Miller of Chambersburg called him “the saintly bishop” and “a kind and affectionate father.” “No father,” said the same priest, “could manifest greater affection for his child than Bishop Neumann manifested toward me.”⁷⁶

Others confirmed that sentiment. Archbishop Kenrick declared: “To his clergy he has been full of tenderness. . . . Their affections were daily won more and more by him without effort on his part beyond the constant exhibition of paternal kindness.”⁷⁷ Said Father Sourin, “He was one of the best and dearest friends I have ever known.”⁷⁸ So if there were some who criticized, there were many more who lauded him superlatively. The carefully weighed testimony of many witnesses was that to his priests Bishop Neumann was an indulgent father, but he never allowed that indulgence to operate to the detriment of souls.

He defended his priests against the encroachments of trustees. He was never harsh with them, but he could be decisive. Though slow to listen to complaints, once he became convinced that his intervention was necessary, he acted quietly but firmly. He was more than kind to priests who through some fault or another incurred the ill will of their bishops; oftentimes after having obtained proof of their good will, he sent letters of intercession to their prelates.⁷⁹ He was so eager to rehabilitate these priests that he brought the idea to Archbishop Kenrick of having a special house set apart for this very purpose.⁸⁰ In his earlier career he was easily moved by their pleas to accept them in his own diocese. Toward the end of his life, however, some sad examples made him less ready to make use of their services.⁸¹ Many an impoverished pastor received vestments and altar vessels from him. Following the example of Alphonsus Liguori, Neumann made it a standing rule that the rectory on Logan Square be always open to his priests; they did not have to wait for an interview; he was ready to receive them at any time.

Solicitude for his priests and for the flocks entrusted to them made him draw up salutary regulations for pastoral supervision. Approving the system of having one clergyman in the parish specially appointed

each week to take care of sick calls and parlor calls, he pointed out, however, that this did not mean that the other priests of the household were thereby free from parochial activities on days when not so appointed. By his order all were to avoid seaside resorts; curates were not to be out of the rectory all day and, much less, all night without the consent of the pastor or the bishop; and pastors were not, because of their administrative occupations with temporal affairs, to excuse themselves from attending the spiritual needs of the parishes or to be absent from the rectory, leaving the assistants to care for souls.⁸²

Careful to have the regular yearly diocesan retreats for his clergy, the bishop called in special retreat masters, one of them being Bishop Timon of Buffalo. At least on one occasion he gave the retreat himself. When present at a retreat, he assisted at all the exercises, and in 1857 he agreed with the Bishop of Buffalo when the latter expressed dissatisfaction with the way the silence of the retreat was being observed.⁸³ The regular conferences on moral cases, assigned beforehand for study and discussion, were held in the bishop's chapel in January, April, July and October. For those priests, however, who lived at some distance, regional conferences were held at Reading, Scranton and elsewhere, and the bishop endeavored to attend these whenever he could.⁸⁴ His concern for his priests followed them beyond the grave, for he introduced a society among the priests, the purpose of which was to offer the Holy Sacrifice for their departed brethren.⁸⁵

Neumann began his career as a bishop with a full knowledge of the importance of religious, both men and women, for a diocese. No less than seventy-three pages of notes he collected on the religious state and the vows of religious.⁸⁶ Having had much practical experience in giving them annual retreats, he knew every phase of their life as well as their importance as auxiliaries to the secular clergy of a diocese, as teachers in the schools, and as good samaritans performing social work in hospitals, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, and the like. It was natural, therefore, that he should steadfastly enlist their aid for the good of religion. To the four orders of men already in the diocese, he added the Franciscan Conventuals, the Benedictines, the Christian Brothers and the Holy Cross Brothers.⁸⁷ To the religious orders of women he added the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, the Sisters of the Holy Cross and the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Further, he established the Sisters

of the Third Order of St. Francis, a group on whom he lavished the utmost care and whose growth was to mean much for Philadelphia.⁸⁸ The bishop's cherished plan to bring to his diocese the Sisters of St. Charles, to which community the bishop's sister belonged, never materialized.⁸⁹

All these religious groups did effective work in building up the diocese, and relations with them were mutually cordial and helpful.

In the care of the religious orders of women, particularly diocesan groups under him, Neumann exercised his greatest influence. He visited them often and encouraged them with his advice and pecuniary aid, especially during their early days. Mother St. John, superior of the Sisters of St. Joseph, gave a picture of his care:

Remarkable was the tenderness of his fatherly solicitude for the religious communities under his care. Their business he made his own and he condescended to enter into the minutest details, where he thought his advice would be of any assistance. Again and again in his letters, he begged them not to hesitate to have recourse to him in every difficulty, saying, 'Whenever you need anything, I beg you to let me know; if possible I will endeavor to procure it.'... 'I know that God will not forget us.'⁹⁰

Whenever a house of religious women was established in the diocese, one of the bishop's first considerations was to make sure that the nuns would have spiritual assistance. He rejoiced, therefore, when the Sisters of St. Joseph coming to succeed the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at McSherrystown were able to obtain the services of the Jesuit Fathers from Conewago. Calling these Jesuits "men of God" and congratulating the Sisters on obtaining their help, he went on to say, "They are learned & disinterested & quite well-qualified for whatever they undertake. Our Sisters will have to show by their steady progress in religious perfection, particularly by their obedience, they value such charity." Then the wise bishop naively added, "They are always busy about their pastoral and religious duties & the Sisters must not trouble them too much & take away too much of their time, otherwise they will not be allowed to attend by their strict Father Provincial."⁹¹

He was watchful that no outside influences would interfere to disturb the regularity of the houses. To him this was of prime importance, as one mother superior understood when he wrote to her:

I beg of you to introduce the spiritual exercises and to maintain community life as strictly as possible. I desire that your house be a model of

observance. . . . I am not afraid the necessities of life will be wanting for you, for God and St. Joseph will always send something in time if the Sisters will deserve such protection by their regularity and mutual condescension.⁹²

He preferred to see the Sisters suffer some temporal privation rather than have them seek to get out of a difficulty by any arrangement detrimental to regular observance. Of pecuniary obligations to secular persons, he had a horror. "Since I have seen the distress in which the good Sisters of the Visitation have been put, I have a supreme aversion to see any other religious house at the mercy of creditors."⁹³ Observance of the rule was fundamental. On one occasion he said to a group of nuns:

Let your first study be your Rules. If you be faithful to them, Our Lord will bless your labors, and it is only the blessing of God and not your own endeavors that puts the crown upon our work. I firmly believe that a Sister, with comparatively speaking few educational advantages, yet faithful to her duties to God, will be more successful in her teaching than one with more extensive learning, yet less exact in the fulfillment of her Rule.

Establishing these religious houses was no small task under existing conditions. Immigrants struggling for an economic security were not always able to support them; so, hardships were common occurrences. Once, while on visitation, the bishop arrived at a convent where the religious were in great poverty and sometimes destitute of the very necessities of life. "We find it very hard to get along, My Lord," said one of the Sisters. "Sometimes we have nothing to make a fire with and then again when we have a fire, we have nothing to cook on it." The bishop turned toward a picture of the Crucifixion, almost the only article of furniture in the apartment, and pointing to it said, "There is a book, my Sisters, which you must study and meditate on; that sight will make your trials easier, your crosses lighter." The tone of the bishop's voice and the manner in which the words were uttered, made a deep impression on all present, and they felt consoled and encouraged to suffer patiently. The good Sister who related the story added that the bishop went beyond words in his encouragement. Alluding to his custom of distributing little medals among the Sisters on his visits, he said pleasantly, "Now I'm going to give you some Yankee medals" and handed the mother superior fifty dollars in gold to supply the pressing wants of the home.⁹⁴

When young Mother Caroline of the School Sisters of Notre Dame told of her difficulties and responsibilities as superior, he replied,

"God strengthens and enlightens even young and weak Sisters. Reconcile yourself to your position. Every superior has faults . . . There has never yet been . . . a superior who has not made mistakes."⁹⁵

When on one occasion some of the pastors showed a disposition to be slow in remitting the meagre monthly subsistence of the Sisters to a certain mother superior, the bishop thought her complaint justified and stated that the Sisters had a right to remind the dilatory pastors of their obligations. Then he added significantly, "You can calculate on my cooperation, though it proves, sometimes, of no avail. Such things must teach us to keep better our own promises and duties towards God. Our tardiness must be very provoking to Him."⁹⁶ On another occasion when one of the hesitating pastors did not remit such money, the bishop asked the Sister to have patience, "Such . . . things happen to us to teach us how disagreeable it must be to God when we let Him wait for what He has a right to expect from us every moment."⁹⁷

In the field of temporal administration the record of Bishop Neumann was, all things considered, a highly successful one, even though there was a different impression among some. This notion, which persists to this day, may be due, partially, to the bishop's own belittling of himself. It is true Neumann never seemed to have ready money. Neither his income from the cathedral parish nor from the diocese was sufficient to allow him the luxury of a contented mind. When seeking new priests from Europe during the early days of his regime, he asked the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna to defray their travelling expenses because, as he said, "My own income is very uncertain and barely suffices for the many outlays connected with my office."⁹⁸ Still, the great weakness in temporal matters was not of his doing. Superficial investigation has given rise to an inaccurate picture of this phase of his work, which in its full ramifications is quite favorably impressive. A more complete examination of the manner in which he approached the two main financial problems of his episcopate, the extensive construction of buildings for the needs of the church and the successful management and retirement of the deposit accounts entrusted to him by the faithful, prove that he was no fumbling administrator of temporalities.

As said before, the over-all principle he inculcated in diocesan building operations not of immediate necessity was that expenses

should be incurred only as funds on hand, or reasonably to be expected, would allow. There were times, however, when God's honor and the good of souls demanded an exception to this rule. Then he promoted construction even though funds were not immediately available. The prudence of this world would have dissuaded him from this course of action, but he trusted in Divine Providence. Yet he never tempted that Providence by proceeding rashly. Some seemed to allege this, but the bishop's advice to Mother St. John of the Sisters of St. Joseph⁹⁹ and to his priests¹⁰⁰ sufficiently attests the contrary.

The difficulty was that there was no certainty as to how much income could be expected, particularly when immigrant populations shifted or general business depressions intervened to upset the most prudent calculations. Some mistakes were made, but relatively few considering the total number of business dealings transacted. During Bishop Neumann's seven and three-fourth years as ordinary, he magnanimously undertook an enormous program of expansion. To underwrite this expansion financially was a very grave responsibility. The management of the finances required business skill; over and above that, it necessitated the almost constant presence of the bishop in Philadelphia, which the hard-pressed Neumann out on visitation tours, circling back and forth over the diocese, could hardly be expected to give. For that reason he needed assistance.

It was all very well for people in Philadelphia to advise him to remain more in the city and to curb the expansion, but no one of them, neither Marc Frenaye who handled the finances during the earlier years nor Bishop Wood who came later nor any other individual, had the vision of the needs of the diocese in the 1850's which Neumann had acquired from his personal observation of the whole field. Spurred by that greater knowledge, he dared to expand at a time when many preferred to maintain the status quo. The risk necessarily involved in the expansion program subjected him to adverse criticism. Nevertheless, despite ominous forebodings, his projects went forward without bringing about any financial debacle. And to his credit, it appears that the majority of the debts for which he was responsible were cleared before his term of office ended. Wood was an able support, but Neumann's executive aid was not wanting.

What made his building program doubly venturesome was the ever-present spectre of the deposits—the obligation to pay back what had been loaned by the faithful in previous years to the diocese. That

was a holdover from his predecessor's term of office. In a time of crisis, the sudden demand for all these deposits could bring financial ruin. Such a demand seemed imminent in 1857; but, as mentioned before, the fact that the State of Pennsylvania suspended specie payment made the faithful more willing to continue to risk their money with the bishop rather than with professional bankers. Thus, the financial crisis was successfully passed, leaving the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia breathing more easily. Viewed in complete perspective, John Neumann was not only a holy man but also a very practical bishop, who definitely earned the encomium passed on his temporal administration when he died, "As a financier, he was safe and prudent and never went heedlessly into debt."¹⁰¹

But the picture of the man and his work would hardly be complete without a pen-portrait of his personal characteristics.

CHAPTER XVIII

Personal Characteristics

The fourth Bishop of Philadelphia was a well-known and respected figure in the life of the city even though he moved in and about it quietly. His appearance had none of the commanding features usually associated with great leaders. A rather short man, he was just over five feet, two inches in height, with a body built in proportion, weighing, apparently, in the neighborhood of one hundred and fifty pounds.¹ As a young priest he had a rugged constitution; but the incessant calls he made on his physical resources took their toll, which became noticeable with the advancing years.² His deeply set, penetrating eyes could bore through a person at whom he gazed, though he rarely allowed his gaze to linger, especially on a woman. As one Philadelphia lady expressed it:

There was nothing constrained in the strict custody of his eyes, nor could one feel displeased but rather edified; it seemed natural to him and probably no one ever left his presence without feeling that [he or] she had conversed with a saint.³

The bishop had light brown hair,⁴ clear but sallow skin, a rather wide mouth, usually firmly set but occasionally breaking into a pleasant and gracious smile. One man, recollecting his boyhood acquaintance with the bishop, said of him:

His face was decidedly of the German type, and its features were saved from what we Americans call homeliness by an expression so placid and benign that it carried, even to childhood's fancy, the thoughts of great goodness. The boy instinctively felt that there was nothing about the man to awe into timidity. The fatherly gentleness of face and manner invited confidence and the boyish response was always met more than half way.⁵

John Neumann's bodily carriage was erect and his step firm. As he walked down the street, he impressed all with the thought that he was communing with God. His slight stature, together with his retiring disposition, frequently led to an unfavorable first impression. In his report to Rome even Archbishop Bedini mentioned the bishop's diminutive size. The good archbishop was not the only one who thought, contrary to the Psalmist, that God takes pleasure in the

size of a man. An imposing appearance is a desirable asset, but one has to look further to take the full and just measure of a man, especially a man like John Neumann. Yet so reserved was he that even those with a just estimate of true values were liable to be unimpressed. One old lady who ardently admired him declared, "Oh, to see that humble little creature you never would think he was a bishop." To appraise him adequately, one had to see him at close range; then the outstanding qualities of the man shone to the best advantage. "He was so retiring, so unobtrusive," wrote a nun who, as a young lady, knew him, "that one must have been constantly coming into contact with him in order to appreciate him."⁶ Bishop Michael O'Connor, who first brought up Neumann's name as one worthy of the hierarchy, stressed the point about the necessity of a deeper look at the character of the man before judging him.⁷

In all his exchanges of civilities with strangers and even with occasional friendly visitors, he maintained a dignified circumspection, altogether appropriate in his intercourse with the world. When circumspection gave way to confidence, it showed itself in a warmth of manner and even in occasional sallies of pleasantry and wit.⁸ The bishop did not speak much. When he did, it was generally, if not always, in a low voice. He never spoke critically of his own priests, nor could they remember him ever mentioning any defects of his brother bishops. One man stated, "He was a genial man in the best sense of the word, but he never talked for mere talk's sake." Badinage, the delight of some of the saints, had no part in his make-up, but he could hold his own in a charming way when the subject of discussion was on a higher plane than the mere pleasantries of the hour. Once when the conversation turned on the Darwinian theory of evolution, then setting the scientific world agog, he gave his opinion that the simple faith in the story of creation as found in the opening pages of the Bible would do a man more good than the labored investigations of agnostic or atheistic scientists. Another recorded bit of conversation was his appreciation of Kenelm Digby's *Mores Catholici*. In Neumann's opinion the coloring given to the Middle Ages by the well-known author was too partial for historical accuracy, an opinion held by critical scholars later. The main characteristic of the bishop's conversational powers was simplicity. He had a marvelous store of knowledge but gave no ostentatious display of it. As one listener said of him: "In the expression of his opinions, literary or theological,

he had the grace of exquisite humility which appeared to be a normal intellectual trait of character rather than the result of acquirement."⁹

Neumann dressed poorly but neatly. He wore no adornment save the episcopal ring and pectoral cross. Sometimes his hat was of ancient vintage. His episcopal shoes were of the sturdier type. Several stories have come down, which, if taken as characteristic, might easily lead to a false legend concerning the bishop's manner of dressing. One is the report of Archbishop Bedini to Rome that the Bishop of Philadelphia neglected "the fashions"; another is the well-known anecdote about the Philadelphia priest, Father John Bach, who remonstrated with the prelate on one occasion. Here is the authentic report of the latter:

"Bishop, you look shabby," said Father Bach. "Today is Sunday. Have the goodness to change your clothes."

"What will you have me do?" responded the bishop. "I have no others."

The reporter of the anecdote states that the bishop's reply "was literally true, for he gave everything away to the poor." Obviously, if the great-hearted bishop gave away his best clothes to the poor, he had to be content with what remained until he replaced what he had given away.¹⁰ Moreover, was the chance remark of Archbishop Bedini characteristically true? When the suave and polished Archbishop Bedini met him, Bishop Neumann had just hurried home to Philadelphia from a visitation in the country and was planning another immediately. The archbishop saw little of the Bishop of Philadelphia and knew nothing of his manner of journeying in the outer regions of the diocese.¹¹ Conducting visitations in the farthest recesses of his spiritual domain, sleeping on floors in strange houses, driving through the rain in an open barouche or sitting on a single plank atop a manure wagon are hardly calculated to ensure that one will be well-groomed, even if he be a bishop. One could scarcely blame the Bishop of Philadelphia for wearing that out-of-date hat and for using rugged footwear, considering the dusty roads of the hill country and the long jaunts, often over muddy paths, to the hinterlands. Neumann was orderly in everything else he did, and the testimony of witnesses, other than Archbishop Bedini, proves that he was neat, if poor, in his raiment.

Bishop Neumann had a love of poverty so great that he did not desire new things. Father Wiechmann related how his father, a tailor

convert whom the bishop himself had instructed, once received from the prelate a vest to be mended. As the vest was so threadbare with age that it would not hold the stitches, the tailor made a new vest and dispatched it to his customer. While the bishop objected that he wanted the old vest, he did not have his way because, as the tailor informed him, the vest was no more.¹²

There was something of a mystery about where the bishop slept. A non-Catholic maid, at a home where Neumann often stayed on visitation tours, told how she always found his bed undisturbed and his pillow on the floor.¹³ Others had mentioned the same thing. They thought that, since the prelate's bed was made up in the morning before he left his room, it was evident he had not slept in bed.¹⁴ Some have seen a flaw in such logic, however, for Neumann, they argue, might well have made up the bed himself, just as he had always done as a Redemptorist. Afterwards as a bishop he continued many of the Redemptorist practices. But there is no denying other witnesses who often saw Bishop Neumann sleeping on the floor! The Redemptorist Father Coudenhove said, "He slept very often, if not always, on the bare floor of the episcopal residence."¹⁵ Father Sourin declared, "I can say that I had reason to believe that he always slept on the floor."¹⁶ An old man who worked about the rectory told the neighbors that he had seen the bishop sleeping on the floor.¹⁷ The bishop's bed, for that matter, was not much better than the floor, for from all accounts it was small, narrow and almost as hard as a table.

Father Bach declared on being summoned to the bishop's residence one day that he was surprised to find the prelate fully dressed lying on a board. The good priest spoke up quickly:

"Bishop, you ought to be in bed. You are sick."

"Oh, I am very well here," came back the answer.

"No, you must go to bed. You are a bishop and you are not at liberty to dispose of yourself. You belong to your diocese" was the priest's insistent rejoinder.

"Well, I suppose I must do as you say."

With that the bishop obeyed promptly. Bach then concocted some kind of a warm drink which he called wine soup and brought it to the patient. As soon as the bishop put it to his lips, he withdrew the potion, saying, "This is wine!"

"No, it is not wine. You must take it and it will cure you!" said the emergency nurse. The bishop obeyed though it was obviously not to his liking. True enough when he felt better the next morning, Neumann told this to his nurse, adding with a knowing smile, "That *soup* was good!"¹⁸

How long a rest the bishop took at night was another enigma. Some said he slept no more than three or four hours, and a number of others declared he rested for only two hours. The bishop's nephew, John Berger, writing to his mother, the bishop's sister, shortly after the prelate's death said of his uncle, "For many years he slept scarcely one hour at night." Such a pace could hardly be sustained for a long time. It might be, however, that the bishop sometimes slept in his chair, as evidence clearly indicates. But whatever the amount of his rest, each morning Neumann arose and took up the tasks of a new day feeling, as he said, "like a man being led to the gallows." He once confided to his sister that his only consolation was the piety of the faithful of Philadelphia. "Everything else," he said, "is fear, hardship and work."¹⁹

The bishop ate sparingly. One witness declares that at table he literally fulfilled the maxim of St. Francis de Sales, "Ask for nothing and refuse nothing." Some one remarked that he did not season his food with salt unless someone passed it. His breakfast, as a rule, was nothing but coffee, which often enough he skipped if he appeared in the dining room and no one was there, until a worried housekeeper rushed it up to his room at the suggestion of a priest. Although he might easily have summoned her with a little handbell that stood on the table for such purposes, he was never known to ring it.²⁰

In all his ways he was simple. This simplicity was evidenced in his room, too. A bureau, a table, a small bed and a chair were all the furniture he would allow himself. A few pictures to inspire devotion hung on the walls and a crucifix rested on his table. He brushed his own clothes, polished his own shoes and arranged his own room daily.²¹

When at home, the bishop usually arose before five o'clock from whatever sleep he had taken, meditated for half an hour, then spent a half hour in the house chapel, said Mass at six o'clock and then devoted a half hour to thanksgiving while assisting at another Mass. He was so exact about thanksgiving after Mass that his conscience was disturbed when sometimes obliged to forego it on visitation tours

because other activities immediately followed the Mass and time would not permit him to do more than say by heart the psalms of thanksgiving in the Roman Missal. His confessor quickly satisfied him on this point by telling him that missionary work was a prayer in itself. After making thanksgiving, he would go to the confessional and hear the confessions of any who wished to receive the sacrament of penance. Then he took breakfast, after which he began the official business of the day.²²

As the cathedral parish was just being formed and did not have the income to support many priests, very much more detail work in ecclesiastical matters, chancery items, dispensations, interviews, letters to priests, directives to nuns and other business had to be handled directly by the bishop, making each day a busy one.²³ At the episcopal residence people were constantly coming and going. The bishop would move into the reception room almost imperceptibly and ask, "Do you wish to see me?" Nobody seemed to have much trouble in getting the bishop's ear. In addition to the visitors with serious problems, small boys would go in out of curiosity; young ladies wanted to see the famed ivory crucifix which the bishop had brought back from Europe; somebody would ask to borrow a book of spiritual reading from the cathedral library, or someone would call to arrange for the saying of a Mass. All this must have been a trial to his patience, but the bishop showed himself gracious and affable. One visitor to the rectory was emphatic on the point:

The bishop was most approachable. Never did I find any trouble in obtaining an interview no matter how trifling the necessity. . . . I have never met with more humility, simplicity or condescension in anyone. . . . He seemed to put himself at the disposal of every one.²⁴

One class of people were his special concern—the poor. His generosity to them became so proverbial that those working in the rectory complained that the poor imposed upon him, oftentimes overdoing appeals for aid. He had a skillful way of slipping money into the hands of the poor; when his pocket was empty, he would look around for something at hand and give clothes, linens or shoes.²⁵ Some of those who sought alms at the episcopal residence were shrewd. Knowing that when Bishop Neumann was at home they would get more, they accordingly watched for his coming. Bishop Wood said the mendicants received three or four times more when the bishop was at home than when he was away.²⁶ What irritated

several of the household was the fact that some of the poor would plead for a gift and then go off on a street car ride, one of the luxuries of Philadelphia in the 1850's. When the bishop was reproached for his want of discrimination, all he would say was, "I gave it to the Lord!" On one occasion when a poor beggar, caught red-handed coming back a second time, was despoiled of her gift, the bishop intervened and allowed her to keep it, saying that if she repeated her call she must indeed be badly off.

Gentle with the poor, the bishop was careful never to hurt their feelings. Once on a visitation tour when a rich lady had a sumptuous banquet prepared for him and came over to escort him to her home after confirmation ceremonies, the bishop whispered to her that he could not leave a poor house for a rich one. So he sat down to the humbler meal.

On another day when a poor man went to the bishop's residence to give the prelate some money for the cathedral building fund, a lady who was waiting to speak to the bishop heard the man say, "Bishop, I heard you were collecting so I brought you my mite." When the man was out of sight, the bishop turned to the woman and said, "Are you going home?" When she answered "Yes," he handed her some money and said, "Will you try to meet that man and give him this? I knew he could not afford to offer me anything, but I could not hurt his feelings by refusing his gift." That was Bishop Neumann's characteristically thoughtful way.²⁷

Even a generous bishop's purse, however, has its limits. On one occasion when one impecunious woman begged Neumann for a dollar, he was forced to confess that he did not have a dollar to his name. Just then another woman called on him and asked him to say a Mass for her, giving him a five-dollar stipend. The bishop quickly put the five dollars into the poor woman's hands and said, "See what God sent you!" It was little wonder that Archbishop Kenrick declared in his eulogy of Bishop Neumann, "He was father to the poor, the humble and the lowly. He shrank as it were from contact with the rich."²⁸

The bishop was not particularly inclined to visit rich or prominent people. He seems to have sought the solitude, the obscurity of Christ. He avoided the company of the great unless his duty required him to do otherwise. He was not comfortable in their company; his reserved manner in their presence was the result of the

advice which was given by St. Francis Xavier and which the bishop copied down in his notes. The saint recommended this to his fellow priests as a means of preserving that higher and more solid sanctity which must be found in the Lord's anointed. The Jesuit saint advised :

Whenever piety or politeness or other particular or public duties would bring you into contact with the world, be careful never to forget yourself so far as to use some familiarity. Behave toward them as if they would one day be your enemies. Be watchful of all your words and actions that they may never be to you the cause of confusion or regret. The world notwithstanding all its perversity keeps constantly a watchful and jealous eye on all your actions.²⁹

Occasionally, it appears, Neumann went with Kenrick to visit the Allen family, but Mrs. Allen confessed that her contacts with him were rather short and less frequent than she would have wished. Some of his brother bishops were now and then at events at which one might have expected to see the Bishop of Philadelphia. Several of the bishops attended a dinner given by Stephen A. Douglas in Baltimore at a time when Bishop Neumann appears to have been in the city, but he was not present.³⁰ Neither was he at the dinner given in honor of Father Bernard Keenan, one of his own priests at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and attended by President James Buchanan and Bishop Wood.³¹ One hunts in vain for a record of his presence at such affairs. As the *Catholic Herald* reported of Bishop Neumann when he died :

One thing is certain . . . he was 'not solicitous for the shadow of a great name, neither did he seek to be familiarly acquainted with many nor to be particularly loved by men,' considering, no doubt, 'that such things beget distraction and great darkness in the heart.' Therefore 'he was careful and watched in prayer.'³²

Another group, however, he mingled with whenever time and opportunity permitted him—little children. He loved children. One young lady was surprised to find the Bishop of Philadelphia surrounded one day by a group of ragged Sunday school youngsters to whom he was revealing life in a tumbler of water with a microscope. He was heartily enjoying himself at the astonished exclamations of his little auditors. As often as he used that microscope for the tots, he never failed to hold their attention. Open-mouthed and enthralled, they gazed upon the minute wonders of God's creation under the lens.³³ The same was true when he visited the children in the various

institutions of the city. Mother St. John Fournier gave the best account of Bishop Neumann's way with children :

Of him as of His Divine Master it might be said that he desired little children to come to him, and when in the midst of the children of the schools or the Orphan Asylums, he seemed to merge the character of bishop in that of father. He never visited them without bringing games, books, apparatus or such like gifts, thus showing that his heart was indeed all love and kindness. Frequently he might be seen surrounded by a group of children, analyzing a flower or explaining a scientific wonder, adapting his words to their childish comprehension, mingling with his entertainment words of piety and instruction leading them from the contemplation of the beauties of nature to the love of nature's God. Their questions never wearied, their importunities never displeased him.

I remember that on one occasion he was taking a child from St. Vincent's Home, Phila. to an Orphan Asylum at a considerable distance. He was travelling alone and during the whole journey the poor child (only three years old) was sick, but the good Bishop did not think it beneath him to attend to all her wants, and no mother could have been more thoughtful or attentive; he so won . . . the disconsolate little creature's heart that she ever regarded him as her father and wished to make him such in the eyes of others, always speaking of him as '*my priest*.'³⁴

Some of the altar boys at St. John's Church remembered him for a gift to them. Weeks before Easter the bishop promised to give them a present on the Feast of the Resurrection. When the glad Alleluias of the Easter Mass were over, the bishop called all the altar boys into the sacristy of the church and presented each with a dyed egg which he had carried in a large bandanna handkerchief from the episcopal residence at Eighteenth and Race streets. Years afterwards one of the altar boys exclaimed in admiration, "A man of his great learning and piety! The simplicity of that act I never forgot!"³⁵

Another story illustrates well the bishop's way with youngsters. Two small girls were sent by the Sisters of the Holy Cross with a message for the bishop. When he entered the parlor, he found the little ladies in wide-eyed admiration of a very beautiful marble statue of a child in a cradle. Noting the eager wonder of the girls, the bishop commented on it and playfully suggested that he would give the statue to the one who could carry it home. When the statue, twenty-five or thirty pounds in weight, proved too much for the youthful admirers, one of them ran home and returned with a little wagon to claim the prize. Considering himself outmaneuvered fairly, the bishop surrendered his precious piece of marble, which she car-

ried to her home. Horrified at the action of their little messenger, the good Sisters of the Holy Cross wanted her to return the statue, but the magnanimous prelate refused to accept it. The quick-witted child kept her statue. Margaret McSheffery was her name. Looking into her laughing, Irish eyes, the bishop predicted, it was said, that she would one day become a nun and superior of her order. When, after treasuring her statue for years, she entered a convent, she took it with her. Later, Margaret McSheffery became Mother General of the Holy Cross Sisters, and the statue she won from the bishop that day is a prized heirloom of the Holy Cross Motherhouse, St. Mary's, Notre Dame, Indiana.³⁶

Besides the poor and the children, the bishop had a special care for the sick. Mother St. John, who was in a good position to know of John Neumann's virtue as she was in charge of St. Joseph's Hospital in Philadelphia, again bore witness of his saintliness. She stated:

Frequently in his visits to the hospital, he might be seen going through the wards from bed to bed, addressing words of consolation and encouragement to all the patients, irrespective of age, condition or religion. And he would most earnestly exhort the Sisters engaged with the sick to regard them as the suffering members of Jesus Christ and lavish on them every care and attention.³⁷

The bishop was ever obliging and willing to put himself out to do a favor, such as bringing a letter from one of Archbishop Kenrick's Philadelphia friends to that prelate, answering an inquiry from a priest in another diocese,³⁸ giving a note to one who sought an introduction to a friend in the hierarchy or waiting with exquisite care on a sick priest who had just arrived from Europe and was temporarily lodged in the bishop's house—little things, quietly and unobtrusively done, but their constant succession spelled out the Christ-like charity that motivated him.³⁹

With all this diligence for others, the bishop was careful not to let his own soul become parched from lack of spiritual watering. This point was brought out by Pope Benedict XV when speaking of his heroic virtues—John Neumann's life was well-ordered. He kept his mind on God; and the practice of the Presence of God, according to his spiritual director, was a key virtue.⁴⁰ Walking in God's presence kept his actions on a high spiritual plane. Mother St. John early noted the fact that John Neumann's soul was delicately attuned to God. She said:

His every act, every tone of his voice and manner as witnessed by us in his visitation of our houses and schools bore the unmistakable impress of sanctity. As soon as he entered the house, his first visit was to the chapel, where, as he knelt before the altar, his whole soul seemed absorbed in God and that air of devout recollection, so habitual to him, became doubly intensified by his faith in the Sacramental Presence.⁴¹

There was nothing startling or glamorous about that quiet, prayerful way of life, and many of his own day had no understanding of it. In the noisy, screaming 1850's, when the country echoed with the sound of slavery strife, immigration difficulties, labor battles, new scientific advances, and when looseness of thought was styled liberalism by brash intellectuals, keeping one's mind on God was deemed not only impractical, but also antiquated. Theoretically, liberalism kept the Deity; practically, everyone was a law unto himself.

Bishop Neumann practiced prayer to a high degree. He had written the advice of the great saints about it and carried this out in his daily life.⁴² Especially was he devoted to the Blessed Sacrament, often stealing out to churches where the Forty Hours was being held. Time and again he said the Divine Office during the exposition, never omitting a daily visit to his Sacramental God. The recitation of the Rosary was also his daily practice. He had a tender devotion to the Mother of God. Both in the pulpit and in the confessional he loved to talk of her greatness and goodness and always recommended sinners to seek her intercession. In spite of the constant calls on his time, about once a month when not on visitation, he regularly took a day off from his labors and walked across the city streets from his Logan Square residence to the Redemptorist Church of St. Peter's at Fifth Street and Franklin (later Girard) Avenue to spend the day in recollection. These visits were a matter of course, during which he moved about the house like the rest of the Fathers, tolerating no distinctions in his favor. In fact, he sometimes went into the kitchen and helped the lay brothers wash the dishes, a practice urged upon superiors by the Redemptorist rule.⁴³ These days of retreat were dear to him. He once told the Jesuit, Father Cotting, then making his tertianship, that he envied him; and, if he had his own way, he would spend two or three years in such sanctifying solitude,⁴⁴ but he had to be satisfied with ten days each year. "I pray each day to the Holy Spirit to give me the lights necessary for the good of my diocese, and I hope that my prayers will not be in vain," he wrote to a nun. Even the very difficulties, and they were many,

intensified his spirit of prayer. When confronted with a knotty problem, he would say, "Let us pray. God will show us what to do."⁴⁵

Ascetical masters have long pointed out that a truly holy person practices all the virtues. In the lives of some saints characteristic virtues are portrayed; in the history of other holy people the author describes virtues which made a stronger appeal to those about them. To declare what were the characteristic virtues of the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia presents a problem. Over the corpse of John Neumann, Archbishop Kenrick, declared: "His people appreciated his zeal and his learning, yet he possessed accomplishments of which the world knew not and virtues of which Heaven alone took comprehensive cognizance."⁴⁶ When Bishop O'Connor, then retired from the See of Pittsburgh and living as a Jesuit in Baltimore, Maryland, was asked about Bishop Neumann's virtues, he singled out his humility and zeal.⁴⁷ Father Sourin, who likewise became a Jesuit, remembered him most for his austerities, but Neumann's austerities were hidden, as Sourin said. Even though his head was splitting, the bishop would never speak about any sufferings until someone asked him about his health.⁴⁸ Many who were closely associated with him for years pointed out that no one would ever have known that Bishop Neumann wore a cilicium, or metal belt of mortification, if he had not died suddenly. More striking was the testimony of Father Tschenhens, who knew John Neumann more intimately than any man. After the bishop's death he declared:

Bishop Neumann was unrelenting in the practice of the virtues of self denial and mortification, but so prudently, so modestly did he act in this respect that such practices never attracted attention and never burdened anyone. He wore a girdle of iron wire that penetrated his flesh; he chastised his innocent body with a scourge which he had armed with a sharp nail; by interior recollection and constant guard over his eyes he shut out every temptation that could sully the purity of his heart so that his virginal soul uninterruptedly communed with God.⁴⁹

As the *Catholic Herald* writer said, "He remembered the divine injunction to be silent about his own good works."⁵⁰ One admired this virtue in him and another that, but the virtues pointed out by Bishop O'Connor were known far and wide in Neumann's lifetime—his humility and his zeal.

Humility, according to St. Bernard, is a virtue that consists of two parts, humility of the intellect and humility of the will.⁵¹ The first consists in considering oneself as nothing, while the second

urges a person to desire that others consider him as nothing. Bishop Neumann wrote a great many notes on this virtue. Without humility, he declared, other virtues could be neither genuine nor permanent. Specifically, he stressed the point that without it the greatest austerity and devotion would be hypocrisy; the highest contemplation, an illusion; and extreme poverty, nothing but vanity. He noted down some practical exercises of humility; for example, to make a general confession, although such might not be necessary; to repeat in confession those things which hurt one's vanity; never to excuse oneself when unjustly criticized; to cultivate obedience; to hide one's own good works; not to speak when others speak although one might improve on what has been said; to beg pardon from an offended person even when the offense was light or even imaginary; to choose the lowest place; and to do the most menial work.⁵² A hidden but rugged virtue is this humility. But he did more than write notes about it. He practiced it in an eminent degree. Humility of the intellect and humility of the will—both were his. All his life he had a deep sense of his own nothingness. Shining more luminously than any other virtue through the pages of his diary as a young man is the fact that Neumann knew that of himself he was nothing and could do nothing.⁵³ This was no superficial sentiment that might cloak a hidden pride. It was absolute sincerity before God which distinguished him all the days of his life. To his delicately refined conscience even the slightest deviation from the highest form of service to God and man was proof positive that of himself he could do nothing but sin. This basic conviction and the habits of soul rooted in it were the solid foundations of all his other virtues.

It was not that he was unaware of his splendid gifts and accomplishments—a penetrating and evenly balanced mind, sound judgment, a rare talent for languages, a discerning taste for literature, a good knowledge of canon law, a more than ordinary proficiency in botany and other natural sciences, and a reputation for being “an excellent moral theologian.” He realized that all these abilities and attainments were gifts of God and that, therefore, he had no reason to boast of them. When he did speak of himself, he spoke of his defects. “I have such little skill in legal matters,” “my want of experience” were words that often came from his lips. His letters to his superiors when he asked to be relieved from the office of vice-provincial, as well as his letters to the Holy See, both on the first and second occasions when he asked for a translation from the Diocese

of Philadelphia, were typical of the man's humility. Once when a Jesuit Father wanted to correct a boy who laughed at a mistake in English made by the bishop, the bishop would not permit it, saying, "Jesus Christ did not act in such a manner."

He had shrunk from the very thought of becoming a bishop. Afterwards as a bishop, he did not hesitate to open the doors of the church at 4 A. M. during a mission, to light the lamps, to prepare the altars and perform such menial tasks as clearing stray bits of litter from the church floor.⁵⁴ He more than anyone else destroyed his own chances of becoming an archbishop when Archbishop Kenrick proposed to make Philadelphia an archbishopric. His nephew, John Berger, writing to Neumann's sister shortly after the bishop's death, declared, "He hated all honor and praise of the world."⁵⁵

With his humility there went hand in hand a truly Christlike meekness. Nothing seemed to disturb him; the expected and the unexpected happenings of life found him equally calm. Some people thought this a defect and called him the "stolid Bohemian," but his confessor, Tschenhens, pointed out that it was due to his conformity to the Will of God, which he cultivated assiduously. Little they who reproached him knew about this virtue or about Bishop Neumann.

Though Neumann had a low opinion of himself and could receive insults with perfect indifference, this in no way interfered with his apostolic activity. He had an all-consuming, dauntless zeal because he placed his trust in God and worked for God alone. One of his favorite ejaculations was: "*Soli Deo!*" ["For God Alone!"] To a nun he wrote, "I have always had the greatest confidence in God, who always seconds what one undertakes for His glory."⁵⁶ Inspired by this conviction, he was tireless in his work for God and souls.

Zeal, that "ardent and burning fire enkindled by charity," as De Sales calls it, shone forth in the life of the bishop to a remarkable degree. Copying from that saint's works, Neumann wrote in his notes, "Zeal consists in the effort to detest, flee, to prevent or repel everything opposed to the Will of God or the glory of His name." St. Francis said that it may be exercised in three ways: first, by public acts to repress evil; secondly by performing public acts of virtue; and, thirdly, by suffering much to prevent and expiate sin. The three phases of that virtue were visible to every observer of the bishop's life.⁵⁷

Known to all were the public acts of Neumann to prevent evil, his regulations of the financial and temporal rule of the diocese,

his synods, his enforcement of every regulation of the church concerning rubrics, even to the most minute details. In this respect some thought that the bishop might be scrupulous. When asked about the matter after the bishop's death, his confessor declared that he was too humble to be scrupulous.⁵⁸

His public acts of virtue, the great increase of the number of parish churches—eighty in less than eight years,⁵⁹ his energy in the establishment of over thirty schools, which won the admiration of the stalwart crusaders of those days for religious education, his advocacy of good reading, his incessant toil in carrying out the visitations, laying cornerstones, blessing bells, consecrating cemeteries, hunting for ways and means to expand the number of his priests and to increase the religious of his diocese, his writing of rules for the latter, his advice in letters, and his attendance at Catholic gatherings were constant. Only when these matters are studied *in globo* are the full effects of the bishop's indefatigable spirit of work seen in proper proportions. Ironically enough, Bishop Neumann is known to many people only as a very pious bishop who drew up plans for the first diocesan school system and who introduced the Forty Hours as a diocesan institution in this country. His achievements were much greater than these. While the heroicity of his virtues is generally well-known, the really imposing work he did as bishop is still far from having received proper recognition.

One important characteristic that increased his capacity for work was orderliness; another, the happy faculty of dispatch in his tasks without undue haste, his response to the age-old maxim, *festina lente*. He could receive a caller, make him feel at home and without being brusque send him off in the shortest possible time. He was prompt in his correspondence. Here his penetrating mind came into play, for he could put an idea clearly in so few words that his letters, though polite, were models of preciseness and brevity. He could move quickly from one part of the diocese to another even in those days when travelling was less speedy than it is today, but he never hurried through his visits when he arrived at his destination. Father Tschenhens said that on those journeys he was always occupied, either reading a book or talking about the things of God.⁶⁰ He saved time, too, in avoiding visits of a purely social character. In addition to taking no vacations, he left the diocese only when duty or special consideration to fellow prelates demanded it, like laying the cornerstone of the new Redemptorist House at Annapolis or going to St. Charles' College,

Maryland, to visit his preparatory students when they asked him to come.⁶¹ The ability to salvage every moment, the energy of a fast worker and the vow never to lose time contributed greatly to his achievements.

Moreover, he was well aware of the third phase of real zeal—the resolve to suffer much in an effort to prevent and expiate sin. Newspaper writers attacked him in the Holy Trinity case; he was publicly pilloried before the Pennsylvania State Legislature in the church property question; he listened without evident signs of irritation to those opposing his views in synods. On these, as on other similar occasions, he said nothing. He suffered from headaches and weariness, weariness that oftentimes left him near collapse at midnight. All these, characterized as his crown of thorns by his nephew, he suffered for one reason—the glory of God. “He lived for others not for himself,” said one writer.⁶² Though Neumann was bishop only seven and three-quarter years, a priest who saw him at close range, Father Sourin, summed up his accomplishments:

He has labored through every part of the diocese, and has, undoubtedly, done more for its better organization and for the spread of piety throughout the various Congregations than might have been otherwise done in even ten or twenty years by another individual. . . . He spared himself in nothing. . . .⁶³

This was the inside story of the man’s life as he approached his final years.

CHAPTER XIX

The Final Drive: 1858-1860

With the coming of the coadjutor, Bishop Neumann was relieved of most of the work involving the finances of his large diocese. It would be a mistake, however, to think that he gave up all further concern for these matters, as some have intimated.¹ Until his death, Neumann was the final court of appeal even in business affairs. Without bluster or fuss, quietly yet definitely, the final decisions came from him although Bishop Wood did most of the actual preliminaries.

In spite of the fact that he felt himself in an awkward position, the coadjutor rendered invaluable assistance, furthering the building of the cathedral in a vigorous manner and performing a number of episcopal functions, mostly in the city—confirmations, reception of novices for religious orders, attendance at parochial celebrations and the like. The function he never performed in Philadelphia while coadjutor was conferring holy orders, though he did ordain two priests from other dioceses at Emmitsburg and wrote pointedly to Archbishop Purcell that it was his *first* ordination, with the word “first” underlined.² Nevertheless, the junior bishop removed much of the burden from the wearied shoulders of his senior.

Neumann, on the other hand, was not sitting in idle seclusion. If anything, he was more active than ever. There was plenty of work for the two bishops, and Neumann never shirked work. He sought out new and remote spots in the diocese, where Catholics had settled in small groups; his confirmation tours took him to districts where no churches were established. He was utilizing more schools and private houses for these ceremonies, a clear indication that he was coping successfully with the shifting tides of immigration. Discouraging setbacks were matched by his own indefatigable zeal and fatherly care of souls.³ The panic of 1857 slowed the expansion of churches and other institutions; but, fortunately, the winter that followed it was mild enough not to aggravate the situation. While immigration tapered off somewhat, the Diocese of Philadelphia was still increasing; and, in any case, an open field for the bishop's energy was found in the spiritual help needed by those who had previously settled in his jurisdiction. The visitations of the years 1858 and 1859

were longer and more searching. New railroads having been constructed, he utilized them to the utmost, taking the new terminal villages and towns along the route as stepping-off points for a wider circuit of stations and settlements.⁴

Parallel progress in building churches and schools was clearly evident. A Baptist church was sought for the Catholics at Great Bend.⁵ The purchase of a Methodist church at Bloomsburg made possible the Parish of St. Columille.⁶ A little schoolhouse was purchased by Father Maugin at Tioga and dedicated as a church to St. Louis of France.⁷ At Notch, near Scranton, St. Thaddeus' Church was opened;⁸ St. Mary's was built in Allentown;⁹ St. Patrick's was erected in Canaan.¹⁰ How proud the Catholics were to see these tangible marks of the spreading of their faith. One correspondent of the *Catholic Herald* pointed out that, whereas the Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys had had only one priest ten years before, they now had ten priests and eleven churches. The same correspondent wrote:

No doubt under the Divine Will this rapid progress may be attributed to the affection and care of our excellent bishop; and he has shown it in the choice of the pious priesthood he has sent us, whose exalted and shining virtues are a pride to their bishop, a credit to his diocese and an excellent example for the instruction and edification of his people.¹¹

As if realizing that the time was short, he forged ahead—new churches arose in various sections of the diocese; St. Patrick's in Middletown had a new church;¹² St. Vincent's Chapel was erected at Tacony;¹³ Holy Cross Church, at Union;¹⁴ St. Kieran's, Heckscherville;¹⁵ St. Jerome's was rebuilt at Tamaqua;¹⁶ St. Mary's became the second church in Wilmington;¹⁷ St. Francis Assisi was constructed at Wilmot;¹⁸ and the Seven Dolors, at Middletown;¹⁹ while churches were started at Moscow, Jenkintown, Bonaughtown, St. Joseph's, Susquehanna County, and other places.²⁰

Meanwhile, the drive for Catholic education continued without interruption. Parish schools arose at SS. Peter's and Paul's in Towanda, St. Nicholas' in Wilkes-Barre, St. Mary's in Allentown, St. Simon's in Dunmore, St. Boniface's in Williamsport, St. Vincent's in Scranton and St. Denis' in West Haverford.²¹ At Honesdale a disastrous fire destroyed the school only five weeks after opening.²² The Immaculate Heart Sisters opened their academy at St. Joseph's near Susquehanna and another at Reading.²³ The girls' academy,

which the St. Joseph Sisters started at Chestnut Hill, had so far advanced that its students could produce creditably a three-act drama entitled "Mary Stuart," which Neumann attended.²⁴ Even though St. Alphonsus' parish in the city was still struggling financially, a school was in operation there.²⁵ When Father Barbelin, S.J., rounded up the Negro children in Philadelphia, he received the approval of the bishop to start a school for them,²⁶ and the prelate took great interest in its progress.²⁷

The bishop's final contribution to the educational organization of his diocese was the establishment of a preparatory seminary at Glen Riddle. Here, as usual, the plan had been well considered before it was put into execution. When he first arrived in Philadelphia, Neumann had ardent hopes that many priests would come to his diocese from Europe. For a time there were few vocations. Some came already ordained; some, before the completion of their studies. These latter, the vast majority from Ireland, had been able to continue their preparation for the sacred ministry at St. Charles' Seminary in Overbrook. As the years went on, vocations from Europe decreased and the number of priests likewise. Looking to the future, Neumann, like other prelates at the time, saw that such a condition made it necessary to look for vocations in the United States and to look for them at an age younger than the usual entrance age for Saint Charles' of eighteen to twenty years.

As early as 1856 the bishop enlisted twenty boys to go to St. Charles' Preparatory Seminary at Ellicott City, Maryland. More than that, he had already drawn up plans for a preparatory college of his own. But on account of the financial and educational difficulties of the time, the whole scheme stood in abeyance and the hopes of the bishop, which seemed so bright, were still several years away from fulfillment. Meanwhile, the bishop's concern to prepare a sufficient number of priests for the needs of his diocese did not slacken. In 1858 he visited St. Joseph's College to find out whether some students could be taught there and solidly grounded in Latin and Greek in preparation for their higher studies at the seminary.

The fully matured plan of Neumann took tangible form when in 1859 he found a desirable piece of property with suitable buildings for sale at Glen Riddle, "easy of access in a high, beautiful and remarkably healthy location." Although the bishop had little ready money at the time, he ordered its purchase immediately. In the fall of that year, he opened the preparatory seminary with four professors

and twenty-six students, choosing for the president of the college a young priest, Father Jeremiah Shanahan, the future Bishop of Harrisburg. Announcing the project to the laity in a six-page pastoral, he begged their support for the holy work. The bishop declared:

The guardianship of parents is certainly the best nursery for good Christians; the blessing of the marriage-sacrament, even under less favorable circumstances, produces more powerful, more efficacious results under the parental roof than the most brilliant scientific educational system in a foreign institution, however highly the latter may be endowed, however distinguished by the learning and talents of its professors. But if Christian youth are to be educated for the service of the Almighty, all contact with what would withdraw them from their holy vocation must be avoided. Parental influence occasionally makes an undue impression on the mind of youth, sometimes turns their thoughts away from the things of God.

It is true, the hearts of these young men are still innocent, yet they are susceptible of good and bad and the unfortunate striving after the imitation of whatever they foolishly admire in others can very easily tarnish the purity of the soul, sadden the Holy Ghost, and deprive them of the grace of their vocation. It is a great boon which the Church grants to her future servant if she opportunely snatches him from the noxious influences of the world, shelters and fosters him in the salutary atmosphere of her secluded sanctuary till his character has developed and he has grown up in the wisdom of God.²⁸

It was strange what different reactions the pastoral awakened. Bishop Wood wrote to Archbishop Purcell:

What do you think of the Pastoral? Is it not a pity that the good B. would not consult some one capable of rendering it into English? Perhaps I should not say so, but, to you I am sure I may speak freely. I fear it is ill calculated to conciliate that respect & veneration so necessary to the efficient and fruitful exercise of authority!²⁹

True there were mistakes in that pastoral, several mixed metaphors and some cumbersome sentences which the flowing rhetoric of James Wood could have bettered, but the contents of the message mark it as one of the best short expositions of the purposes of a preparatory seminary appearing in Catholic writings of the time. Over and above that, it was like a trumpet sounding an alarm, which fact the editor of the Boston *Pilot* quickly pointed out, saying:

Irish priests and Irish families have been swarming to our shores, and it would seem that it is yet too early to dread an interruption to the usual increase to our church from that prolific source.

But such a dread exists. Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia, one of the most excellent men in the American hierarchy, has sounded the alarm.

His alarm, however, goes no further than the foreign priesthood. In a late Pastoral, addressed by this Prelate to his clergy and people, he informs them that, henceforward, it will not be safe for them to depend for priests on foreign generosity, and if their church is to be sustained from falling and continued in prosperous growth, they must be animated with the ambition of cultivating a native priesthood.

For the furtherance of this design, the Venerable bishop informs us that he has erected a new ecclesiastical college, in which there are, already, 26 students and four professors. Dr. Neumann's plan is to take boys about 12 years of age, who are to devote from 10 to 12 years at the studies necessary to make good and learned clergymen of them.

The holy bishop's plan is certainly as good a one as can be found in human devisement; and we take his word for truth, that the ecclesiastical difficulty which he has pointed out is in real existence. . . . Let us take the attestation of the Redemptorist Bishop, that vocations for the priesthood are increasing in our midst . . . his design of cultivating a native priesthood is entitled to the generous approval of every Catholic in the country. We ought to have a clergy of our own. . . . We bespeak, therefore, for Bishop Neumann, and, as he is likely to be soon followed by other bishops, for them also, the generous support of Catholic America. A glance at his plan for building a native clergy will convince every one of his wisdom. . . . American talent is second to none in the world. . . . Bishop Neumann's plan is calculated to give some development to this talent. By all means let him be concurred with.³⁰

With the Civil War's breaking out a year and half later and European sources of vocations cut off almost entirely, no one can say that the Bishop of Philadelphia had not taken protective measures for his diocese in time or that he was not wholly justified in pointing out the preparatory seminary to the laity of the diocese as "your pride and my consolation."

In these final years social work was not forgotten. The erection of the orphan asylum, which had brought Bishop Wood's plaintive foreboding, was completed;³¹ and the bishop gave his support to the Sisters of the Good Shepherd when they formed a community of Magdalens in a two-story brick building in Philadelphia. So great was his interest in these penitent souls who strove to live the remaining years of their lives for God that he would allow no one but himself to give them the veil, delivering to them at the same time a discourse as to the dearest and most cherished of his flock.³²

As Neumann moved energetically forward with his new churches and new schools, political ferment was rising in the nation. In the minds of more thoughtful citizens there was unmistakable evidence of the drift toward disunion. Even the chronicler of St. Peter's Rec-

tory recorded the fact as early as 1855 that the formation of the new Republican party in the North, espousing anti-slavery as its main plank, would eventually disrupt the country.³³ As the second half of the 1850's rolled along, the trend toward civil strife was unmistakable, and the final years of John Neumann's life had an ominous ring to them. Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, became a national best seller. The Dred Scott Decision by Chief Justice Taney in 1857 aroused Northern anti-slavery forces to unrestrained public denunciation; in the drawing rooms of the country as well as in many a humble cottage, citizens were discussing popular sovereignty and "Bleeding Kansas." Protagonists cheered for their respective political candidates as Stephen A. Douglas, the idolized "Little Giant" of the Democrats, met in debate a tall, gangling man named Abraham Lincoln, just emerging again from private life and endeavoring to win the senatorial seat of Illinois. Lincoln's warning of an irrepressible conflict was further sharpened by the amazing raid of the Abolitionist, John Brown, on the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry.³⁴ All this did not distract John Neumann from his own work. He wanted peace; and he had, as ordered by Pope Pius IX, prayers said for peace throughout his diocese.

The overtones of war were muffled by the noise of the local interests of many Philadelphians. In 1859 business was reviving and the *Catholic Herald* reported: "From every portion of the country we hear the most cheering accounts of the revival of trade and business generally." The coal regions had begun to hum, and Philadelphia had not seen such brisk trade in years. Although people made fun of the new hoop skirts then in fashion, the ladies were determined not to be laughed out of wearing what they wanted. Two factories devoted exclusively to the manufacturing of hoops were already set up in Philadelphia.³⁵ The city went all out to celebrate the laying of the Atlantic cable; thoroughfares were thronged; flags waved; banners floated; and drums roared at the success of the "greatest experiment of the century," only to subside later when mechanical defects interrupted the operation of the transatlantic messages and people cried "Fraud!"³⁶

Philadelphia in 1859 was very proper. In other places a man obtained a divorce because his wife wore too long hoop skirts; one woman renounced her spouse because he was not a good conversationalist; and another, because he did not buy her a dress for her birthday.³⁷ Yet Philadelphians resented the practice of running

street cars on Sunday. From the press and pulpit denunciations were poured against this disturbance of the Sabbath. One driver of such a car was arrested though later freed. The railroad company yielded before the storm and decided not to run the cars on Sunday.³⁸

Amid all this turmoil, the Bishop of Philadelphia continued quietly about his own work, visiting little known settlements and homes in the rural areas, writing letters to Rome requesting solutions of his own doubts on the proper liturgical practices in the reception of converts. He asked in what manner the profession of faith should be made by converts. Requests, likewise, were sent to name St. Peter and St. Paul the chief patrons of the diocese; to give his coadjutor the power to grant the apostolic blessing; to permit two of his baldheaded priests to wear wigs. There was correspondence on the students to be sent to the new American College³⁹ and on the selection of a rector for the college. His own suggestion to give the American College to the care of the Vincentian Fathers, he knew, would not be acceptable to some members of the hierarchy.⁴⁰

He visited the parishes, regularly assisting in religious ceremonies and school celebrations and making his presence felt in a quiet way. "This kind bishop," wrote the chronicler of Eden Hall in 1859, "left us penetrated with gratitude and filled with the desire of higher things which holiness always inspires."⁴¹ He was thrilled with the results of the mission given in his cathedral by the Redemptorist Fathers. The mission was an outstanding success, 2700 people receiving Communion and twenty-three non-Catholics embracing the faith. The crowds attending the services, both during the mission and during the renewal of the mission six months later, were so great that the temporary cathedral chapel built by Bishop Wood was too small and extra seats had to be installed. Early arrivals at the five o'clock morning services noted that Bishop Neumann was there before them, opening the doors and arranging matters like an assistant sexton.⁴²

Catholic life in Philadelphia was making notable strides. Churches, schools, academies were multiplying; St. Vincent de Paul societies were flourishing in many parishes. Lectures under Catholic auspices were frequent. Robert Tyler, son of the ex-President of the United States and a non-Catholic, gave a lecture on "Charity" before a large and enthusiastic audience at National Hall for the poor of the parish of St. Patrick's;⁴³ the Augustinian, Dr. Moriarity, discoursed on the "Harmony between Science and Religion," telling his audience that "none but ignorant men can separate science from religion";⁴⁴ the

former bishop of the Episcopal Church, L. Silliman Ives, spoke at Concert Hall on "Christian Rome, the Patroness of Knowledge" to aid St. Vincent's Home for Friendless Children;⁴⁵ Thomas Francis Meagher, one of the leaders of Irish political life and the future famous cavalry leader of the Irish Brigade in the Civil War, talked on "Dean Swift in Reply to Thackeray."⁴⁶

There were less pleasant aspects in the administration of a large diocese. Constantly watchful to safeguard its property, Neumann was still insisting that all deeds be registered in the name of the bishop in trust for the congregation.⁴⁷ The legal formalities which surrounded the tenure of property were, to say the least, tantalizing. A lot was given to the bishop for a church at Tioga. A little later the faithful obtained another site for a church; and when the bishop wanted to return the donated property since it could not be used for the purpose for which it was given, he had to have the Tioga congregation petition him to go to the legislature for authorization to do so.⁴⁸ One set of trustees at St. John's in Pottsville refused to sign over to the bishop the deeds of the cemetery. When his threat to take action, unless it were done within a specified time, was not heeded, his interdict fell on the parish until the trustees came to their senses.⁴⁹

Still another disagreeable duty he felt called upon to perform. While the Catholic faith was growing in the coal regions, difficulties arose, particularly in the trying days of the panic of 1857. The daily papers announced the beginning of a secret society called the "Molly Maguires." Economic and social conditions of the times and the increasing oppression which many miners and laborers suffered clearly foreshadowed industrial strife. While injustice was deplored, the danger was pointed out to Catholics of seeking redress of grievances through a secret organization reputedly threatening violent measures. Membership was condemned. The diocesan paper declared that the Catholics could not be connected with such a movement, and that identifying themselves with such a society would harm the church.⁵⁰ From the available evidence, however, it appears that the whole effort at that time to gain economic justice was only in its initial stages; and no violence developed, on a large scale at least. But ten and twenty years later the discord was to flame out in regrettable bloodshed.⁵¹

One more unhappy incident of these years was the misunderstanding that arose between Bishop Lefevre and Bishop Neumann over the coming of the Immaculate Heart Sisters of Monroe, Michigan,

to the Diocese of Philadelphia. This community, as stated before, was founded in 1845 at Monroe, Michigan, under Father Louis Gillet, then a Redemptorist in charge of the Redemptorist house at Monroe. The usual difficulties attendant upon a newly made foundation tried the spirit of the first Sisters. While poverty stared them in the face, they kept on courageously under the guidance of their first superior, Mother Theresa Maxis. After Gillet was withdrawn from Monroe in 1848, the succeeding Redemptorist superior, Giles Smulders, promoted the congregation successfully, "driving at a faster pace," as Bishop Lefevre put it.⁵²

Because of the scarcity of Redemptorists in the United States, however, and because the nature of the work at Monroe gave little hope of establishing a firm foundation where regular observance could flourish, the Redemptorist superiors were not in favor of retaining their post there. Receiving an order from his Roman superior, Father Rudolf Smetana, in 1854 to withdraw the Fathers from that foundation, the Redemptorist provincial, Father George Ruland, recalled his subjects from the Michigan house the next year, much against the will of Lefevre.⁵³ Thereafter, the Sisters had a diocesan priest, Father J. Van Gennip, and later, Father Edward Joos, as their director. The departing Redemptorists, nevertheless, maintained an epistolary correspondence with the Sisters, many of whom they had directed to the convent and in whose work and progress they had a keen interest.

Mother Theresa was anxious to be under the direction of Redemptorists again so as to complete the rule they had given to the Sisters. She asked Bishop Neumann for a place in his diocese, "howsoever humble."⁵⁴

Meanwhile, in 1858 the Holy Cross Sisters withdrew after having vainly endeavored to establish an academy at St. Joseph's, Susquehanna County, in the far reaches of northeastern Pennsylvania. The hardworking pastor of the place, Father John Vincent O'Reilly, found himself with an empty academy on his hands. The Redemptorist Fathers who were giving missions in the region suggested that he apply for the Immaculate Heart Sisters from Monroe to staff the academy. The pastor promptly wrote to Bishop Neumann and received a favorable reply. Immediately, the pastor wrote to both Mother Theresa Maxis and Bishop Lefevre. Mother Theresa welcomed the opportunity to expand her community, and Lefevre con-

sented to the foundation in Pennsylvania, provided the new establishment be taken with the consent of the Bishop of Philadelphia; that Monroe, Michigan, remain the motherhouse; and that each Sister receive a stipulated yearly salary.

The Sisters arrived at Susquehanna with Mother Theresa in August, 1858, and made definite arrangements, much to the delight of Neumann and O'Reilly. The bishop gave them a retreat to start the foundation on a solid basis.⁵⁵ When Mother Theresa returned to Michigan, the Bishop of Detroit immediately inquired of her about the exact nature of the arrangements made at St. Joseph's, and the mother general declared Bishop Neumann would write to him. No such letter came.⁵⁶ Therefore, there was no definite agreement as to which bishop had jurisdiction over the Sisters in Pennsylvania. This lack of precise terms in the contract when the Sisters came to the Philadelphia diocese led to difficulties. With Sister Magdalen as superior of the new house, the academy at St. Joseph's moved along smoothly until a question inevitably arose over episcopal jurisdiction.

Due to the fact that the rule of the Immaculate Heart Sisters declared that they were to make their annual vows before the bishop of the diocese, a dilemma arose when the time came to renew their vows or even to take them for the first time. Which bishop, Lefevre or Neumann, had the right to accept them? The answer to that question would determine who was the canonical superior of the nuns making their vows in the Diocese of Philadelphia. Bishop Lefevre was evidently thinking of this when he put into the first general arrangements the provision about Monroe's remaining the motherhouse of the new foundation. Since Bishop Neumann left the negotiations in the hands of O'Reilly, the significance of this clause was not apparent to him; and acting in good faith, he accepted the vows of the nuns through Father O'Reilly in December, 1858. Bishop Neumann later explained:

As I understood that the Diocesan Bishop was the Superior and that to him the annual vows were to be made, I authorized Father O'Reilly to act on this and similar occasions, and so it came that on the 8th of December last year [1858] the professed Sisters all renewed their vows, by which act they all thought they became incorporated into this diocese, as it really is the case whenever Sisters make their profession into the hands of the Bishop as their Superior. I anticipated no difficulty from the course pursued bona fide on all sides.⁵⁷

As a matter of fact the wording of the original rule of the Immaculate Heart Sisters at Monroe mentions only "the bishop of the di-

ocese" as superior. Accordingly, Bishop Neumann was acting within his powers.

The issue of jurisdiction did not become vexing, however, until another incident brought up the whole question for discussion. In March, 1859, Father Rudolph Kuenzer, pastor of the German church in Reading, in seeking some Sisters for his academy there offered the foundation to Mother Theresa, now back in Monroe. As in the case of St. Joseph's in Susquehanna, she looked favorably on the offer. When Father Joos, the director of the Sisters, showed no interest, Mother Theresa went to Bishop Lefevre in Detroit to press the matter. Here, too, the offer was rejected.⁵⁸ On returning to Monroe, she was opposed by Father Joos when she wished to leave for Susquehanna to settle some matters concerning the Sisters there. The two rebuffs having aroused her, she expressed her lack of confidence in Lefevre and in Joos in no unmistakable fashion, asking for what she called "my demission." Joos looked on her words as a "revolt," and he quickly summoned the bishop from Detroit.⁵⁹ When Mother Theresa's manner of talking seemed to him to evidence a desire to escape his jurisdiction, Lefevre dismissed her from her office as Mother Superior of the Immaculate Heart Sisters and replaced her with Mother Mary Joseph. He had a mind to cast her from the order which she had founded; but he appointed her, instead, local superior of the foundation at St. Joseph's, replacing Sister Magdalen, whom he wished to recall. He gave Mother Theresa a message for Father O'Reilly to this effect.⁶⁰

The trouble might have ended there as Mother Theresa obeyed the Bishop of Detroit and wended her way to Susquehanna. However, O'Reilly demurred. Since Sister Magdalen had endeared herself to the people in the neighborhood of St. Joseph's and since she had shown herself capable of making the academy succeed, the pastor did not want to lose her. Besides, she herself, after having renewed her vows to the Bishop of Philadelphia, felt that she was under the jurisdiction of Neumann and was not willing to return to the Diocese of Detroit. As Bishop Neumann later declared:

I, for my part, did not wish to prevent her return to Michigan, but as she herself proved unwilling, I thought I had no right to send her away from the Diocese after her vows of obedience to me. I was sorry for this occurrence but I could not help it.⁶¹

As things then stood, Bishop Neumann had in his diocese Sister Magdalen and her companions who did not wish to return to Detroit,

and Mother Theresa and her companions who had been sent to replace them. The house at St. Joseph's was crowded, especially when new candidates began to apply for admission. The whole attitude of the Sisters in Pennsylvania toward Detroit was now colored by the fact that they regarded the Bishop of Philadelphia as their canonical superior. Further, they believed Mother Theresa had been shabbily treated. They still considered her the mother superior of the institute. When priests of the Detroit diocese expressed to the Sisters that their further stay in Monroe would be useless, and rumors began to circulate that the Monroe foundation would be given up by the Immaculate Heart Sisters, Mother Theresa seemed to believe that God wished all the Sisters in Pennsylvania.⁶²

Entering upon the scene were three Redemptorist Fathers, Giles Smulders, Henry Giesen and Joseph Jacobs who had been giving missions in the northeastern section of the Philadelphia diocese. These Fathers, much interested in the growing community of nuns, were supplying them with novices. When they saw that St. Joseph's in Susquehanna would not have the necessary room for nuns and novices, they urged Bishop Neumann to offer the Reading house to the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart as a place for these applicants to the religious life. Since some of the applicants appeared qualified for teaching, Neumann consented. The bishop was acting in good faith; but, unknown to him, a design was set afoot by Mother Theresa to give up the Monroe foundation and bring the rest of the Sisters to the Diocese of Philadelphia.⁶³

Seconding the wishes of Mother Theresa, who remained at St. Joseph's, the Fathers wrote letters to some of the Monroe Sisters of the Immaculate Heart, telling them that when their annual vows were terminated, they owed no more allegiance to the Bishop of Detroit. Mother Theresa then wrote directions to some of the Monroe Sisters, urging them to come. She afterwards declared that her only intention in so acting was to protect the order which she had founded; and Smulders, who seemed to lead the other Redemptorists, maintained that he was motivated by conscientious regard for the welfare of the Sisters. Subjectively, they probably had good intentions; objectively the Fathers certainly went too far in interpreting Neumann's wishes, and both Mother Theresa and the Redemptorists undoubtedly infringed on the rights of the Bishop of Detroit.⁶⁴

As more Sisters continued to come from Monroe to Eastern Pennsylvania, Neumann became aware that difficulties were arising.

It appears that he had been told that the further stay of the Sisters in Monroe was impossible. He heard that Sisters of that community had expressed a desire to come to his diocese, but he told the Redemptorist trio and the Immaculate Heart Sisters already in his diocese that he could not take all the Monroe Sisters if they came and, should any come, it was to be with the consent of Bishop Lefevre.⁶⁵ His sentiments were expressed in a letter he wrote to Mother Mary Joseph:

About two weeks ago I was in Susquehanna to have a conversation with Very Rev. J. V. O'Reilly and Mother Teresa about the affairs of your Sisters in St. Joseph's. I found the Rules of your Community incomplete in reference to our circumstances. The general custom of the Church will hardly allow of Sisters regarding the Bishop of another diocese as their first and immediate Superior. In making the annual vows, the Sisters make them to the Bishop in whose diocese they actually live, and whenever a Sister is to be removed from one diocese to another, the consent of both Bishops will be necessary. The Rules as they stand now do not define the above points with sufficient clearness.

As the General Mother Superior is required to keep up the union of all houses in different dioceses, a rule or constitution will have to determine how she is to be appointed, whether she is to govern the Community during her whole life, or for a certain number of years, where she is to reside, and in what relation she is to be with the respective Bishop.

In communities where the Sisters are to regard the diocesan Bishop as their immediate Superior (Visitation Nuns, Sisters of St. Joseph, etc.), they seem to have a novitiate for every diocese, at least when found expedient. . . .

As long as the rule remains unfinished, I consider it due to the Bishops who have houses of the Community in their dioceses, that no new regulation be added to the rule without their approbation.

I do not like the idea entertained by some of the Sisters to leave the diocese of Detroit. Religious houses when once founded ought not to be given up without evident physical or moral necessity . . . as long as your venerable Bishop has any wish that you remain in Monroe, the Sisters ought not to think of leaving the cradle of their community.

I found the Sisters rather too crowded in St. Joseph's; as the new addition is going on but slowly, they will have hard times during the heat of summer. The new house in Reading is being put in order and will accommodate and probably occupy and support sufficiently eight or ten Sisters. The schools will be opened in the beginning of September.

Mother Teresa informed me that your Rt. Rev. Bishop has appointed you superior of the Community, and I assured them that I have no difficulty in recognizing you as such. They all respect and love you and I can assure you that you need not fear any want of obedience on their

side. I myself have always hated even the appearance of schism, and shall not fail to prevent it as long as I am Bishop of Philadelphia.

If your stay at Monroe should have become impossible, and your Rt. Rev. Bishop allows you to leave his diocese, you and your Sisters are free to come to this diocese, though as I stated, there is yet very little room for so many more,—trials and all sorts of afflictions are usually the beginnings of great favors from Heaven, and therefore I would recommend patience and forbearance. In critical circumstances, like yours seem to be, you require much prayer, purity of intention, and the wise caution never to act precipitately even when it seems to you that you are right.⁶⁶

The letter was proof enough that John Neumann was not implicated in any plan to induce the Immaculate Heart nuns to leave the Diocese of Detroit. Although Lefevre complained that Neumann had not written to him, it is fairly certain that Mother Mary Joseph had communicated the information received from Bishop Neumann to the Detroit prelate, who was now thoroughly aroused. From the very start, the mention of a foundation in Reading had irked him, especially since the negotiations seemed to have begun without his knowledge. The letters sent by the Redemptorist missionaries and by Mother Theresa inviting some of the nuns to come to Pennsylvania were quickly communicated to him, and he immediately saw a plot to draw the Sisters away from Michigan. Since the Fathers said they were expressing the sentiments of the Bishop of Philadelphia, the Detroit prelate naturally concluded that Neumann was fostering the plan. When two nuns gave evidence of wishing to leave Monroe, Lefevre dismissed them. He cut off the Monroe Sisters from the Sisters in Pennsylvania and forbade correspondence between them. In a long letter to Bishop Wood he cried out against the proceedings, saying, "How the Bishop of Philadelphia can take part in or countenance such things in his diocese is more than I can conceive."⁶⁷

Only then did the full truth of what had happened become clear to Neumann. He claimed that he was innocent of Lefevre's accusation.⁶⁸ He wrote, in turn, a letter to Lefevre explaining his rôle in the whole affair of the coming of the Immaculate Heart Sisters to Pennsylvania. His own part in accepting the vows of the Sisters in his diocese he clearly outlined, basing his actions on the accepted practice of the church. In that he was correct. But he quickly disavowed the action of those Redemptorist Fathers who used his name to invite some of the nuns to come to Reading, saying, "I never allowed anyone to write to Monroe to make suggestions to the Sisters and could not but condemn the unfair means which were

used to make them [come here]." He personally reproved one of the Fathers and was sure they would receive more reproofs from their very strict provincial. But he asked that these Fathers, whom he knew to be zealous priests, be pardoned for their actions. As he said, "All three have evinced hitherto much zeal in giving missions, and after this lesson and humiliation they will become more efficient means for the conversion of sinners."

Neumann further declared that as far as he was concerned, any one that Lefevre appointed as mother superior of the Sisters in his diocese would be acceptable to him and that Monroe would always be considered the motherhouse. He asked that the Sisters be reunited and hoped that every means would be taken to effect the union. "Maybe," he added, "after this . . . most sensible humiliation all will mind better their own business and leave the Crozier in the hands of those to whom it has been committed from above." As for his own sentiments, he wrote:

In order to remove from Y[our] L[ordship's] mind any suspicion against me I beg leave to state before God that the idea of creating or encouraging anything like discontent or schism has never entered my heart or my mind. I always loved peace, and never in my life did I cease to promote it and even restore it to the best of my power, where it had suffered. All who know me can bear testimony of my never having been infected with a party spirit or as countenancing resistance to Superiors. I do not remember, Monseigneur, that I was ever tempted against the love of peace and harmony, and I fear, therefore, that I will at last have no merit for it. . . .

I am ready, Monseigneur, to do anything in my power to convince you of my anxiety to promote union, peace, and order amongst these poor creatures committed to our care.⁶⁹

But the break was made. Time was not left to John Neumann to heal the division. The final canonical settlement of the jurisdictional dispute came when the Michigan foundation at Monroe and the Pennsylvania foundation at Susquehanna became separate motherhouses. The Pennsylvania Sisters were divided into two groups later, with motherhouses at Reading (afterwards moved to West Chester) and another at Scranton.⁷⁰ From these three motherhouses—Monroe, West Chester and Scranton—have come thousands of Immaculate Heart Sisters to take an honored place in the educational work of the Catholic nuns in the United States.

Meanwhile, Mother Theresa was excluded from the Diocese of Detroit. She went to Reading; but, since her presence there was

causing trouble, Bishop Neumann regretfully had to have her changed the day before he died. In giving that reluctant dismissal from the Reading house, John Neumann was all pity for her. In his letter to the Reading superior, he added the words: "I am confident that after some time all the difficulties now weighing over Your Mother and her community will be removed. Meanwhile, we have to be humble, patient and persevering in prayer."⁷¹

Mother Theresa had a long time to be "patient, humble and persevering in prayer," and her subsequent career makes a poignant tale. Under Neumann's successor in 1867, she withdrew from the Immaculate Heart Sisters in Pennsylvania, hoping to be able to rejoin the Sisters in Michigan, but Bishop Lefevre refused to permit her re-entrance. She hastened to the convent of the Gray Nuns in Ottawa, where, except for a short time, she remained from 1867 to 1885 with vivid youthful memories of her Immaculate Heart Sisters. Then at the requests of the Redemptorist, Father Francis X. Schnüttgen, Archbishop Joseph T. Duhamel of Ottawa and Mother Gonzaga of the Immaculate Heart Sisters in Philadelphia, all of whom knew her story, she was permitted by Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan to return to the Philadelphia motherhouse, then in West Chester. She arrived there one evening a few minutes before the Angelus. As she was expected at that time, the Sisters were assembled in front of the main building to give her a warm welcome. Amid the familiar blue habits she felt at home again. Her trials, mistakes and disappointments were over. John Neumann's wish for her welfare was certainly fulfilled that day. She died an edifying death in 1892.⁷²

One joy which stood out among the sorrows of Bishop Neumann's last days was the placing of the roof on the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul and the erection of the great gold cross on its dome. For seven years he had worked to see that cathedral finished. At long last, after so many collections, circulars, appeals and speeches, and after so many sacrifices on the part of the laity, the great brownstone façade with its giant pillars done in Corinthian style was completed; the arches of the dome were in place. Thousands upon thousands of bricks were laid to cover the roof and when the copper-covered dome arose the beauty of the building won many a word of praise. Even the once skeptical souls, who doubted the appropriateness of the site in the "Texas of Philadelphia," had to admit the splendor of the great church on Logan Square.⁷³ Inside, however, the cathedral was far

from finished. From the amounts being contributed annually, four or five years more would be needed to complete it. To give recognition, however, to what had been accomplished, the occasion of the raising of the cross on the building was a gala celebration. Fittingly enough, the day chosen for the ceremony was the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14, 1859.⁷⁴

An estimated crowd of six to ten thousand people thronged Logan Square when Bishops Wood, Neumann and Martin John Spalding, preceded by a large group of priests, left the cathedral residence in solemn procession to the cathedral. The eleven-foot shining gold cross of Florida pine was lifted to the great dome, and the distinguished speaker from Louisville preached on "The Significance of the Cross." Describing its rich symbolism, the words of the eloquent prelate drove home his message, "Our true Fatherland is heaven, and the flag of heaven is the Cross." Significantly, the man who had done more than anyone else to advance the cathedral was assistant at the ceremonies, while his coadjutor was given the place of honor as celebrant. The progress in the construction was consolation enough for the Bishop of Philadelphia.⁷⁵

John Neumann appeared in no way unusual as the year 1859 ended. Christmas Eve found him hearing confessions in the Bishop's Chapel until 11 P. M. At midnight he pontificated at St. Peter's Church before an immense congregation. After that, he returned to say a private Mass in the Bishop's Chapel. At ten o'clock on Christmas morning he pontificated at St. John's Church, leaving the functions at the cathedral chapel to his coadjutor.⁷⁶ As the new year dawned, he was full of plans for his diocese. More churches were already in process of building, and he looked forward to the introduction of a second foundation of the Redemptorists at Reading⁷⁷ and the sending of some of his Immaculate Heart Sisters to Annapolis, Maryland, where his religious brethren had a parish.⁷⁸ On Wednesday, January 4, 1860, he was penning the letter about the transfer of Mother Theresa from Reading, and saying, "I am not feeling well these last few days, otherwise I might have gone up to see Mother Theresa."⁷⁹ That sick feeling persisted, but Neumann had often experienced it before and continued working. When one of his friends from Buffalo dropped in to see him, the bishop was glad as ever to hear about his former parishes in the Buffalo district.⁸⁰

At lunch the next day the bishop was telling his coadjutor an anecdote about the simplicity of life in his Bohemian homeland. After

lunch the Redemptorist Father Urban paid a hurried call. The bishop was busy as usual, but he took the time to chat with his former subject. Noticing the lackluster look in the prelate's eyes, Urban asked him how he felt. "I have a strange feeling today," replied Neumann, "I feel as I never felt before. I have to go out on a little business and the fresh air will do me good." The bishop added a strange sentence, the significance of which came home to Urban only later, "A man must always be ready, for death comes when and where God wills it." Thinking little of the remark, Urban hurried off.⁸¹

The business Bishop Neumann had to transact was with a lawyer about property deeds. Also, he was going to the express office to inquire about a chalice for Father Kopf, the Benedictine at Bellefonte. This pastor of a rural parish had sent a chalice to Bishop Wood some time before so that he might consecrate it. Somehow, the chalice became lost in transit. When Neumann heard about the missing chalice, with characteristic generosity he told the impoverished pastor not to worry, that he would see that a consecrated chalice went up to Bellefonte.⁸²

On the way from the lawyer's office, the prelate walked across the street at Vine near Thirteenth in Old Philadelphia. As he gained the sidewalk and reached a stoop in front of a residence, he began to stagger. The walk was glassy with ice, but the bishop's unsteadiness was not due to the slippery ice; the cold hand of death was on him as his knees buckled and he fell over, an inert form. Two men rushed to help him, lifted him from the sidewalk and carried him into the house of a non-Catholic. A sigh or two escaped the prelate's lips—and the soul of John Neumann left Philadelphia forever. Bystanders could see that he was a Catholic bishop by his pectoral cross, and they quickly informed Bishop Wood. A priest hurried with the holy oils to give extreme unction and found John Neumann dead.⁸³

The news quickly spread through the city. One to another people whispered gravely: "The bishop is dead." Poor people cried at the announcement; for them a great benefactor had departed. When a woman came running, out of breath, to bring the sad message to the Redemptorist Rectory of St. Peter's, the lay brother who served as porter refused to believe her. Telegraph wires carried the dread news far and wide—Bishop John Neumann was dead of apoplexy, dead in his forty-ninth year.

At the Masses on Friday, the feast of the Epiphany, the death notice was read in every church in the diocese as the body of the deceased lay in the bishop's house.⁸⁴ After the Masses the corpse was moved to the temporary chapel erected two years before. Sorrowing thousands came to view the body of the man whom all called holy. Throughout the city, funeral sermons were preached the following Sunday in the pulpits of the diocese; a glowing tribute was given by Father Sourin in St. John's Church.⁸⁵

At first, arrangements were made to have the funeral services at St. John's Pro-Cathedral. The burial was to be in its graveyard. Since the dead bishop had often expressed a wish to be buried with his Redemptorist confreres, Father John De Dycker, the provincial of the Redemptorists, asked to have him buried at St. Peter's Church. Bishop Wood left the decision up to the Archbishop of Baltimore. On Sunday night the great friend of Neumann in the hierarchy arrived. "Gladly," said Kenrick, "I'll consent to Bishop Neumann's finding a resting place in death where he could not find it in life." At last, the man who never wanted to leave his Redemptorist Congregation for the mitre and the crozier, the man who begged on bended knees to remain a simple religious was coming home.⁸⁶

Never in all his mortal days did people turn out to do honor to John Neumann as they did at his funeral. He escaped the crowds in life; in death he had no say. The order of services prescribed funeral ceremonies first at St. John's, and then later, the burial at St. Peter's. On Monday morning, January 9, 1860, the Catholics of the city were astir in the streets as early as seven o'clock. As the remains of the beloved bishop were brought from Logan Square to St. John's Church, people said it was the greatest funeral throng in the history of Philadelphia. Led by the police, and followed by a brass band with muffled instruments, a rifle company, members of literary societies, the St. Vincent de Paul societies, sodalities from every parish in the city, one hundred members of beneficial societies from Baltimore, the sad procession began to move across the city. Preparatory clerical students, seminarians, hundreds of priests and religious moved ahead of the black hearse drawn by four black horses decked with sable plumes. Glass side walls of the hearse left the body of the venerated bishop visible to all. The feet that had seldom rested were resting now, and the clothes he wore were not those of visitation tours but the purple of his rank. Men and women crowded windows and lined the rooftops as the slow-paced marchers passed by.⁸⁷

He was back at St. John's. The church was richly draped in mourning-black festoons hanging from the rafters, black cloths from the pillars, black lace over the windows and pictures with neat black rosettes arranged by the ladies of the parish.⁸⁸ What a Catholic scene it was as the funeral Mass got under way! Over the little mountain boy of Bohemia who became Bishop of Philadelphia, the American-born convert, Bishop James Frederick Wood, was singing the Mass of Requiem. Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, the Irishman, Neumann's predecessor, penitent and patron, preached while Bishops John McGill of Richmond and John Loughlin of Brooklyn occupied seats of honor in the sanctuary. John Neumann was back at St. John's, where less than eight years before he had been installed as Bishop of Philadelphia. The people knew him better now and they were crying as the archbishop spoke of him:

I may well appeal to you as to the manner in which the venerable prelate fulfilled the duties of his high office. . . . You will testify to his blameless life and unfeigned piety. . . . Truly he has been an active and devoted prelate living only for his flock.⁸⁹

The bells of the Catholic churches were tolling and silent throngs crowded the sidewalks while the body of the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia was drawn through the streets once more to St. Peter's Church on Fifth Street. Only a small part of the mourners could enter the church.

That evening the Philadelphia clergy chanted the Office of the Dead. Far into the night people came to view the mortal remains of a venerated father and beloved friend. All classes came,—children, young boys and girls so full of life and vigor yet so restrained in their manner, old men and women with parchment-like faces; they kissed his vestments and had to be restrained from cutting off pieces of his robes.

A second funeral Mass was sung the next morning in the upper church by Bishop Wood. While thousands stood sorrowing in the church and on the sidewalks, half a hundred prelates, priests and seminarians saw the body of John Neumann laid to rest in the sanctuary vault of the candle-lighted basement chapel. Many priests wept.⁹⁰

Father William O'Hara, the president of the seminary, sent word to Rome, "The Church in America has suffered a great loss."⁹¹



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, SITE OF NEUMANN'S TOMB



TOMB OF VENERABLE JOHN NEUMANN

CHAPTER XX

A Hero of God

All the days of his life John Neumann strove to remain hidden. The adulation of the crowd, the good opinion of others and praise for himself he never sought. The worldly spectacle of so many around him with their pleasures, their diversions, their unceasing quest for honors and riches, never diverted him from the central purpose of his life, to live close to God, to act as God wanted him to act and to yearn for nothing but the everlasting love of God. How well the obituary notice in the *Catholic Herald* phrased that thought when it said of him: "one thing is certain . . . he was not solicitous for the shadow of a great name, neither did he seek to be familiarly acquainted with many nor to be particularly loved by men . . ."

He never wrote about his own good deeds. In that respect he was his own worst press agent. But he could never hide the fact recognized by those around him through all his years, that he was a man of outstanding virtues. His schoolmates at the Budweis Gymnasium sensed it; his fellow students at the seminary and at the university readily recognized it. As a secular priest in Buffalo, the priest closest to him said that young Father Neumann was "in love with the church of God." In the days of Neumann's Redemptorist novitiate, Father Joseph Fey perceived it when he described his companion as a priest "much given to the interior life." Even the Redemptorist critics of Neumann admitted his holiness and his exactness in keeping the rule of the order. Bishop O'Connor and Archbishop Kenrick called him holy on many occasions.

His humility could not prevent the fame of his sanctity from being known even afar. In the circular letter informing all the American Fathers that John Neumann was stepping down from the office of vice-provincial, the Redemptorist Father Heilig declared that the renown of Neumann's virtues was already known across the Atlantic. In the various letters to Rome occasioned by the good bishop's attempt to be transferred from the See of Philadelphia in 1855, the one dominant theme in the opinion of the Roman consultor was that all the bishops called John Neumann holy and rejoiced in proclaiming him as such. Most of all, the people who knew him as a holy man were

the simple folk in Philadelphia. Some treasured his articles of clothing even before he died; and before he was laid away in the vault, many sought such relics.¹

His bones were hardly resting in their place of burial when people came to pray beside him. "We miss our bishop very much," wrote Mrs. Allen to the Archbishop of Baltimore. "We go to his tomb to pray to him often."² Many others followed her in an unsolicited and an unprompted demonstration of their belief in the holiness of his life and in the power of his intercession with God. Before many weeks were out, stories of great cures were heard on many sides.³ A woman whose feet were so afflicted with open sores that she could hardly walk, prayed there and then walked away completely cured of her disease. A child who had never been able to stand on its feet sought the bishop's intercession with success.⁴ To the deaf came hearing, to the blind vision, to the worried, peace of soul. Down to this very day many a devout soul comes to his tomb for favors, both spiritual and temporal.

As the months and years rolled on, stories of the good bishop's virtues were related in a way that had not been foreseen. This one told one incident; that one, another; and all of them pointed to the fact that he had striven to lead a life close to God, performing unobtrusively but well the duties of his state. What had long been noted in secret concerning him was spoken openly by many different persons; all the stories swelled the chorus of praise for his holiness of life. The luminous fact that he had accomplished much without any fanfare impressed thoughtful observers. His nephew, Father John Berger in the Redemptorist Congregation, began writing a life of his famous uncle twelve years after the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia was in his grave. It took over ten years of this busy parish priest's time to piece the story together. The first biography of Bishop Neumann, written in German, appeared in 1882, and was well received, though the material printed about his episcopal years was very meagre.⁵ An English translation of that life followed two years later.

The whole remarkable story of the man's virtue and the fame of his holy life led the officials of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia in 1886 under the leadership of Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan to institute a canonical investigation of his virtues. The archdiocesan process was succeeded by the apostolic process in Rome in 1897—the first time, it was said, that an apostolic process had been begun for someone from the United States.⁶

The minute, painstaking investigation of every phase of the bishop's virtues went on for over thirty years until in December, 1921, Pope Benedict XV solemnly declared that the virtues practiced by Bishop Neumann were of heroic degree.

Seated in the presence of his own household, many distinguished prelates and visitors, while the Noble Guard surrounded him and the Swiss Guard served on duty in the hall, Benedict XV pointed out several characteristics of the bishop's holy life. First of all, his life was for the most part made up of simple deeds. Secondly, though simple, they were well done and with such steady zeal that Neumann became a shining light of activity, but an activity that was never too great to keep him from laboring assiduously at his interior life. Thirdly, the effect of the works of John Neumann still endure.

Some who look for speed and flourish and daring in the lives of heroic souls might well misread the story of the Philadelphia prelate's life and dismiss it as a simple life not above the ordinary. These the Pontiff anticipated when he declared:

Perhaps the very simplicity of these virtues has been misunderstood by those who thought there was no heroic degree in the virtues of the Servant of God, because in their eyes the good works and holy deeds performed by Neumann are the holy and good deeds which every good religious, every zealous missionary, every good bishop should perform. We shall not pause to remark that works even the most simple, performed with constant perfection in the midst of inevitable difficulties, spell heroism in any servant of God. Just because of the simplicity of his works We find in them a strong argument for saying to the faithful of whatever age, sex or condition: You are all bound to imitate the Ven. Neumann.⁷

But with all his simplicity he accomplished much. He had a fixed determination to live close to God. He surmounted difficulties; he immigrated to the new world, penniless and alone, without assurance of being ordained; he preached, catechized, administered the sacraments; he visited the sick; as a lonely priest, he kept the flame of zeal alive in spite of discouraging obstacles; he wrote a catechism and a Bible history for the faithful; as a vice-provincial, he put the Redemptorists of the United States in the forefront of Catholic educational efforts by establishing and developing parochial schools; he organized a school system for a diocese and saw at least thirty-five new schools arise; he completed a great church at Pittsburgh while rector and then as bishop helped eighty churches go up in the Diocese of Philadelphia; he conducted visitation tours in pioneer

settlements; he took an active part in one plenary and two provincial councils and held three diocesan synods; he enacted legislation for priests and people; he made painstaking investigations of liturgical practices; he instilled a vigorous piety into the faithful by means of the Forty Hours' Devotion, missions, and the erection of confraternities and religious societies; he fought for the church's property—all this before he was fifty years of age. While proceeding at top speed in work, he continued to live close to God. It was little wonder that Benedict XV should say:

Truth to tell, we fail to comprehend how in the midst of so many difficulties there could result a work not above the ordinary. . . . We cannot bring ourselves to believe and call commonplace the life of a Bishop who, while furthering the material prosperity of his flock, wrought much more to root out abuses, to reform morals, to lift to higher planes the flock committed to his care.

If in spite of this there should be some who still seem surprised and cannot picture him to themselves as a hero apart from grand undertakings, We hasten to say that wonderful results can spring from simple deeds, provided these are performed as perfectly as possible and with unrelenting constancy. . . .

A truly active man must also keep his eyes fixed on the future. This is the real way to secure stability for his works. . . .

Ven. Neumann's activity was indeed admirable, not so much for the good he effected in the fleeting hour of the present, as for that which assured the benefit for future ages. . . . Even today the diocese which was so fortunate as to have him as shepherd enjoys the fruits of his activity.

. . . No one will any longer doubt that the simplicity of the work performed by our Ven. Servant of God did not hinder him from becoming a marvellous example of activity. . . .

Oh, may it be in truth a fruitful incentive to all who, with Neumann, have in common the vocation of missionary; may it be likewise a spur to the bishops, who like Neumann, bear in common the dignity and the responsibility of a sublime office; and may it also be a spur to all those who in our own day call themselves promoters of Catholic action. . . .⁸

Thus spoke the Vicar of Christ of the little man who came out of an upland valley of Bohemia to lead the Diocese of Philadelphia, cultured Philadelphia, to new heights of glory.

It was a resounding echo to the words John Neumann uttered on the day of his first Mass, "Give to me holiness," and the fulfillment of his flaming resolve to bring all to his "dearest God."⁹

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACHS.....	American Catholic Historical Society.
APF.....	Archives of Propaganda Fide.
ASC.....	Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.
AUND.....	Archives of the University of Notre Dame.
BCA.....	Baltimore Cathedral Archives.
BDA, RP.....	Budweis Diocesan Archives, Rodler Papers.
<i>Berichte</i>	<i>Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich.</i>
<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review.</i>
<i>Col. Lacensis</i>	<i>Acta et Decreta Conciliorum Recentiorum, Collectio Lacensis.</i>
DAA.....	Detroit Archdiocesan Archives.
<i>DAB</i>	<i>Dictionary of American Biography.</i>
GUA.....	Georgetown University Archives.
JAMP.....	Jesuit Archives, Maryland Province.
<i>KF</i>	<i>Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence.</i>
<i>KK</i>	<i>Katholische Kirchenzeitung.</i>
KL.....	"Kurze Lebensbeschreibung des P. J. Neumann."
LD.....	Lettere e Decreti della S.C. e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario.
LR.....	Landherr Researches.
MJF.....	"Mon Journal," French Volume.
MJG.....	"Mon Journal," German Volume.
NYAA.....	New York Archdiocesan Archives.
PAA.....	Philadelphia Archdiocesan Archives.
r.....	front side of MS.
RABP.....	Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province.
RABP, I.....	Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province, Provincial Papers.
RABP, II.....	Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province, Foundations.
RABP, III.....	Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province, Personnel Files.
RABP, N.....	Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province, Neumanniana.

RABP, N, BP.....	Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province, Neumanniana, Berger Papers.
RAPP.....	Redemptorist Archives, Prague Province.
<i>Researches</i>	<i>American Catholic Historical Researches.</i>
SRC.....	Scritture riferite nei congressi, America Cen- trale dal Canada all' istmo di Panama.
SRCG.....	Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali.
USCHS.....	United States Catholic Historical Society.
v.....	reverse side of MS.
VR.....	Visitation Record of Bishop Neumann.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ Bishop Neumann was under the mistaken impression that his birthday was Good Friday; cf. "Kurze Lebensbeschreibung des P. J. Neumann, Priester der Versammlung des Hl. Erlösers, u. erwählten Bischof v. Philadelphia in N. Am.," an autobiography written in obedience to the command of the bishop-elect's provincial, Father Bernard Hafkenschied, C.S.S.R., on the eve of the bishop's consecration. This seven-page manuscript sketch of Neumann's life in the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province is cited hereafter as KL. It is now evident that Bishop Neumann was born on a Thursday. For the date of the bishop's baptism, cf. *Taufschein* (baptismal certificate) of John Neumann, dated June 27, 1831, in Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province (cited hereafter as RABP), Neumanniana (cited hereafter as N), file, Neumann Family.

² Joseph Bendel, *Zur Volkskunde der Deutschen im Böhmerwald* (Vienna, Prague, 1915), pp. 10-12; Josef Messner, *Prachatitz, ein Städtebild* (Pilsen, 1899), pp. 141-2; cf. Fr. J. Sláma, *Trostworte an die Bewohner der Stadt Prachatic* (Prague, 1832), pp. 1-24.

³ Messner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-8, 137; cf. RABP, Stephen Landherr, C.S.S.R., "Researches on Bishop Neumann," (2 vols. MSS cited hereafter as LR), I, 131. This collection of notes was gathered on a journey through Europe in 1935.

⁴ Messner, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-4. There is evidence of some force being employed in these changes of religion. It was an age when the dictum, "cujus regio, ejus religio" was applied.

⁵ R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (London, 1943), pp. 160-84; cf. Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Czechs and Germans, a Study of the Struggle in the Historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia* (New York, 1938), pp. 11-18; Joseph Chada, *The Czech National Revival* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 70-130; this is a doctoral dissertation, part of which is published. Cf. S. Harrison Thomson, *Czechoslovakia in European History* (Princeton, N. J., 1944), pp. 117-74.

⁶ P. Emanuel Kovář, C.S.S.R., *Čtíhodný sluha boží Jan Nepom. Neumann* (Brünn, 1910), p. 12. The name of Philip Neumann's first wife is variously spelled. Neither Bishop Neumann nor his nephew, Rev. John Berger, C.S.S.R., in his biography of the bishop, mentioned her.

⁷ The family name of Philip Neumann's second wife is given by the bishop in KL as Lebis. The grandson, John Berger, in his biography of the bishop, *Leben und Wirken des hochseligen Johannes Nep. Neumann* (New York, 1883), p. 15, also gives it as Lebis, but the certificate of marriage in Prachatitz has it as Lebish, and the Czech biographer of the bishop, Kovář, put it down as Lepší. Berger's work is cited hereafter as *Leben*.

⁸ Philip Neumann outlived his famous son, dying on October 16, 1860. The baptismal register of Obernburg, Bavaria, states that he received baptism in 1774. The bishop's mother died July 16, 1849. After her husband died in 1848, Catherine, the eldest child of the family, lived with her son, John Berger, who came to America in 1857. He entered the Redemptorist Order and became the first biographer of Bishop Neumann. Catherine Berger died on June 28, 1889. Joan, the fourth child, entered the Order of St. Charles Borromeo in 1840. As

Sister Caroline, she lived a very edifying life in the convent for almost fifty years. It was this sister who, after the death of Philip Neumann, came back to Prachatitz to live in her own home, then used as a convent and as an orphanage for the Sisters of St. Charles. She passed away April 22, 1887. LR, I, 118, has an obituary taken from the "Chronik der Barmherzigen Schwestern vom Heiligen Karl Borromäus mit dem Mutterhaus zu Prag," pp. 22, 43-4. Louise remained unmarried, attending her aged father after the death of her mother. She remained with the Sisters of St. Charles during her last years at Prachatitz. Wenceslaus, the only brother of John Neumann, followed him to America, assisted him as a lay helper in the Buffalo districts, and later followed him into the Redemptorist Order as a lay brother. He died in New Orleans in 1896, after spending over half a century in the service of religion. The Domestic Chronicles of the Redemptorist foundation in New Orleans give various details of his life; cf. also New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 12, 1896; Kovář, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 13-16; KL, p. 1; *Katholische Kirchenzeitung* (cited hereafter as KK), May 2, 1896; Peter Geiermann, C.S.S.R., *Annals of the St. Louis Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (St. Louis, 1924), I, 487-90.

⁹ Kovář, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 16-23; KL, p. 1.

¹¹ RABP, N, Berger Papers (cited hereafter as BP)—the many letters gathered by Father Berger in writing his biography are included in this folder; cf. RABP, N, BP, John Micko, cousin of Neumann, to Catherine [Neumann Berger], Krumau, March 26, 1872; KL, p. 1. There is evidently a mistake in the chronology of the autobiography. Neumann says that he began his studies in the town school in 1818 and that he was there six years. In order to enter the gymnasium as he did in 1823, either Neumann would have had to begin his six-year town school course at the age of six in 1817 or complete the course in five years, entering in 1818 as he indicated.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1; RABP, N, BP, Peter Schmidt to John Berger, Falsching, February 27, 1872.

¹³ Berger, *Leben*, p. 25; RABP, N, BP, John Micko to Catherine [N. Berger], Krumau, March 26, 1872; *ibid.*, Anton Laad to [John Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872; KL, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ The painting is in RABP, N.

¹⁶ Andrew H. Schreck, C.S.S.R., *Written in Letters of Gold, The Venerable John Nepomucene Neumann of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 9.

¹⁷ RABP, N, BP, Peter Schmidt to Berger, Falsching, February 27, 1872; KL, p. 1.

¹⁸ RABP, N, Budweis Gymnasium, "Von Seite der Hauptschule zu Bömisch-Budweis," gives the results in a testimonial.

¹⁹ KL, p. 1.

²⁰ Wilhelm Christian Müller, *Briefe an Deutsche Freunde von einer Reise durch Italien über Sachsen, Böhmen und Oestreich*, I (Altona, 1829), 50, 54-6; Waldecky has a description of the city in *Kirchen-Lexikon oder Encyclopädie der Katholischen Theologie*, Heinrich Joseph Wetzer and Benedict Welte, eds., II (Fribourg, 1848), 203; cf. Adrien Balbi, *Abrégé de Géographie*, (Paris, 1833), p. 233.

²¹ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 26-8; Kovář, *op. cit.*, p. 20; LR, I, 107.

²² Kovář, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Franz Mardetschlager, *Kurz gefasste Geschichte des*

Bisthums und der Diöcese Budweis (Budweis, 1885), pp. 146–9, 180. The subjects taken are noted in the semi-annual reports of John Neumann at the gymnasium, 1825–1829, RABP, N, Budweis Gymnasium. For the number of students, cf. LR, I, 106–15, citing *Historia Gymnasii in Collegio Scholarum Piarum Civitatis Bohemo-Budovicensis ab Anno 1777–1857*, Band I, and *Catalogus II discipulorum domus scholarum piarum Bohemo-Budovicensi erectus Anno Domini 1794* in the Kanzlei, Deutsches Oberrealgymnasium, Budweis.

²³ KL, p. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Kovář, *op. cit.*, p. 21, says that he was still at the Eberle house, but Landherr has a different version.

²⁵ RABP, N, Budweis Gymnasium, the semi-annual report, dated Budweis, September 7, 1827.

²⁶ KL, p. 1; RABP, N, "Mon Journal," under date of April 9, 1835, in German. This is a manuscript diary or, more correctly, an examination of conscience written down almost daily for several years by Neumann, beginning October 31, 1834. There are two parts to the Journal, one in French and the other in German (hereafter cited as MJF and MJG).

²⁷ Berger, *Leben*, p. 28.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–9.

²⁹ RABP, N, Data 1834; *ibid.*, Data 1835.

³⁰ KL, p. 1; cf. RABP, N, Budweis Gymnasium for the semi-annual report for John Neumann, dated Budweis, September 7, 1829.

³¹ KL, p. 2.

³² RABP, N, BP, Rev. Karl Krbecek, "Notizen des P. Krbecek," gave reminiscences of his life with young Neumann. Krbecek gathered many of the earlier manuscripts of Neumann. His account, written in 1872, to [Berger], through Berger's mother, is cited hereafter as Krbecek, "Notizen."

³³ *Ibid.*, Krbecek, "Notizen"; *ibid.*, Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872; *ibid.*, Adalbert Schmidt to [Berger], Graz (spelled Gratz in this letter), April 4, 1872; *ibid.*, M. Iglauer to Dean ———, n.p., n.d.; *ibid.*, a short memoir by an unidentified author, "Zur Biographie des Hochwürdigsten Bischof von Philadelphia von seinem Schulkolleger und Zimmergenossen." The paper has the word "Prachatitz" embossed on it.

³⁴ RABP, N, Student Letters 1824–31.

³⁵ KL, p. 1.

³⁶ Kovář, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁷ KL, p. 1.

³⁸ RABP, N, Budweis Gymnasium, "Austritts-Zeugniss aus den Philosophischen Studien," dated August 5, 1831, and signed by the Bishop of Budweis.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Data 1834, "Von der Bekenntniss—Quelle der göttlichen offenbarung oder des allerseligmachendes Glaubens," by Neumann, dated Prague, November 1, 1834; *ibid.*, "Anthologie aus den Gebiethe der Theologie," Heft XXII, XXIII, XXVII; Kovář, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ RABP, N, BP, Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Krbecek, "Notizen."

⁴² *Ibid.*, Neumann's Writings, particularly Neumann's notes on *Naturgeschichte*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, N, BP, Adalbert Schmidt to [Berger], Graz, April 4, 1872.

⁴⁴ MJG, April 9, 1835.

⁴⁵ RABP, N, BP, Krbecek, "Notizen."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ MJG, April 9, 1835.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; KL, p. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; cf. MJF, July 19, 1837.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

¹ Franz Mardetschläger, *Kurz gefasste Geschichte des Bisthums und der Diocese Budweis*, pp. 1-6.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 130-3; Dr. Lad. Dvořák, *Biskupský Kňěžský seminář v Č Budějovicích* (Budweis, 1905), pp. 31-58. The frontispiece has a picture of the seminary.

³ KL, p. 2; cf. Dvořák, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴ RABP, N, BP, Krbecek, "Notizen."

⁵ *Ibid.*, Seminary Years 1831-5, Neumann to his parents, Budweis, December 13, 21, 1831; June 20, October 24, 1832.

⁶ KL, p. 2; the names of the professors are from Dvořák, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-56.

⁷ KL, p. 2; MJG, April 9, 1835; RABP, N, Seminary Years 1831-5, "Caesaro-Regius in Alma Caesarea Regiaque Carolo Ferdinanda Universitate Pragensi Theologicae Facultatis Praeses et Director," dated Prague, August 3, 1835, giving the marks of Neumann for his entire theological course. *Eminentem* was the highest mark, "excellent" (vorzüglich); *primum*, "good"; some readers of the first life of Neumann in German by Berger have mistakenly thought that *primum* was the highest mark.

⁸ *Ibid.*; KL, p. 2.

⁹ RABP, N, BP, Adalbert Schmidt to [Berger], Graz, April 4, 1872.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Leonard Zidiarsky to [Berger], Riegenschlag, February 27, 1872; *ibid.*, Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872; *ibid.*, Krbecek "Notizen."

¹¹ KL, p. 2; Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap., *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States*, Monograph XIII of the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York, 1933), pp. 150, 158; Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), II, 181-7; cf. Chrysostomus Verwyist, O.F.M., *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederick Baraga* (Milwaukee, 1900), pp. 85, 102-4; cf. *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich* (cited hereafter as *Berichte*), Heft I (1831), 1-5, Object of the Leopoldine Foundation.

¹² *Ibid.*, Heft II (1831), 1-8, Résé to the Leopoldine Foundation, Cincinnati, February 11, 1831; *ibid.*, 11-14, Résé to the Leopoldine Foundation, January, 1830; *ibid.*, 4-21, Résé to the Leopoldine Foundation, January, 1830; *ibid.*, Heft III (1832), 30-3, Baraga to his sister, Cincinnati, March 19, 1831; *ibid.*, Heft IV (1832), 5-19, Baraga to the Leopoldine Foundation, Arbor Croche, Michigan, August 22, 1831; *ibid.*, 13-16, Baraga to the Leopoldine Foundation, Arbor Croche, January 4, 1832; *ibid.*, Heft V (1833), 11-19, Baraga to the Leopoldine Foundation, Arbor Croche, July 1, 1832; *ibid.*, 20-3, Simon Senderl [sic] to the Leopoldine Foundation, New York, June 23, 1832; *ibid.*, 23-8, Senderl [sic] to

his superior in Vienna, Detroit, August 28, 1832; *ibid.*, 28–34, F. X. Haetscher, C.S.S.R., to his superior in Vienna, Detroit, September 17, 1832; *ibid.*, 35–9, F. P. Kenrick to the Leopoldine Foundation, Philadelphia, May 17, 1832.

¹³ KL, p. 2; RABP, N, BP, Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872, points out the chapter, II Corinthians 11, which stirred the ardor of the young students; cf. Mardetschläger, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Dr. Karl Koerner, professor of the Old Testament, awakened enthusiasm, too.

¹⁴ RABP, N, BP, Adalbert Schmidt to [Berger], Graz, April 4, 1872, mentions the third student as "Matthias," otherwise unidentified. Other sources give the name of the third student as Schawel or Savel. For Schawel or Savel, cf. Mardetschläger, *op. cit.*, p. 103; cf. also KL, p. 2; RABP, N, BP, Krbecek, "Notizen"; *ibid.*, Zidiarsky to [Berger], Riegenschlag, February 27, 1872.

¹⁵ Oskar Schürer, *Prag* (4th ed.; Munich, 1940), pp. 384–400; G. R. Gleig, *Germany, Bohemia and Hungary Visited in 1837*, (London, 1839), II, 287–301; KL, p. 2.

¹⁶ The official title of the university in Neumann's time was "Imperial and Royal Charles Ferdinand University." This title seems to have changed at times, Karl Hilgenreiner, "University of Prague," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII (New York, 1911), 342–4; Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, (ed. F. M. Powickie and A. B. Emden), (Oxford, 1936), II, 213–34; *ibid.*, III, 324–38, for exaggerated numbers. Cf. LR, I, 3–20 in which he cites the "Personal-Stand der kaiserl. königl. Universität zu Prag, und Ordnung der öffentlichen ordentlichen und ausserordentlichen Vorlesungen welche an derselben in dem Schuljahr 1834 gehalten werden," Prague, 1833. A copy of this is in the University and National Library of Prague. The citations from it are taken from LR, I, 3–20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30–1; *ibid.*, II, 57–8, citing *Katholische-Kirchen-Zeitung* (Aschaffenburg, 1836), 503.

¹⁸ LR, I, 20; a copy of the two-volume work, *Epitome Theologiae Moralis . . . ab Ambr. Jos. Stapf* (Innsbruck, 1832), is in RABP; cf. H. [ugo] Hurter, S. J., *Nomenclator Literarius Theologiae Catholicae* V, Part I (Innsbruck, 1911), 1379. The appraisal of Stapf was done by Rev. William V. Greene, C.S.S.R., professor of moral theology (later rector), Mt. St. Alphonsus' Seminary, Esopus, N. Y.

¹⁹ KL, p. 2; LR, I, 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 3; cf. Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 651–3.

²¹ LR, I, 8–9; KL, p. 2; RABP, N, Seminary Years 1831–5, Neumann to John Holba, Prague, June 7, 1834; RABP, N, BP, Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872.

²² MJF, October 9, 15, 1834; MJG, June 9, 1835; cf. RABP, N, Data 1834, Neumann's MSS, "Aus dem Gebiethe der Theologie," Heft XXII, XXV; *ibid.* Seminary Letters 1831–5, Neumann to Holba, Prague, June 7, 1834.

²³ *Ibid.*, Seminary Years 1831–5, a printed copy of the rules, "Leges a civibus academicis Caesareo-Regiae Carolo-Ferdinandae Universitatis Pragensis observandae"; *ibid.*, Seminary Letters 1831–5, Neumann to his parents, Prague, March 14, 1834.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; cf. MJF, October 30, December 16, 1834; May 31, 1835.

²⁵ RABP, N, BP, Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872; *ibid.*, Data 1834, "Anthologie des auteurs théologiques français," and "Abrégés des Sermons du Père Bourdaloue."

²⁶ MJF, March 22, April 20, June 12, 1835.

²⁷ RABP, N, Data 1834 and Data 1835, "Anthologie aus den Bekenntnissen aus dem Leben der heiligen Theresia v. Jesu," I, II, III, IV; *ibid.*, BP, Krbecek, "Notizen."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Seminary Letters 1831–5, Neumann to his parents, Prague, March 14, 1834; *ibid.*, Neumann to his parents, Prague, June 22, 1834.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Seminary Years 1831–35, cf. n.7 *supra*; LR, I, 101.

³⁰ The original Journals are in RABP, N, Journal.

³¹ The French Journal (MJF) begins October 1, 1834; the German (MJG) starts March 22, 1835. They run concurrently after March 22, 1835, although after July, 1835, the entries in the French Journal are relatively few.

³² MJF, January 25, 1835.

³³ *Ibid.*, March 17, June 14, 15, 1835.

³⁴ MJG, April 4, 1835.

³⁵ MJF, February 28, 1835.

³⁶ MJG, June 22, 26, 1835.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1835; MJF, December 26, 29, 1834; March 4, May 7, 1835.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, January 17, 18, 1835; MJG, May 22, 1835.

³⁹ MJF, June 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 1835.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, October 1, 10, 1834.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, October 1, 4, 10, November 29, 1834; January 12, June 2, 1835.

⁴² *Ibid.*, December 12, 19, 1834.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1834; January 7, June 25, 1835.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, December 28, 1834; March 22, 1835.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, February 18, 1835.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, October 17, 1834.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, December 28, 1834.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, October 26, November 29, 30, December 5, 1834; February 22, 1835.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1834.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, October 11, 1834.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, October 6, December 23, 1834.

⁵² *Ibid.*, February 10, 1835.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, January 29, 1835.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1835.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1834; January 18, May 18, 1835.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, January 29, 1835.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, December 25, 1834.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1835.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, February 2, 1835.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, October 8, 20, December 4, 5, 1834.

⁶¹ MJG, April 14, June 9, 1835.

⁶² MJF, November 15, 1834; January 5, 17, May 18, 1835; MJG, June 29, 1835.

⁶³ RABP, N, Seminary Years 1831–5, cf. n.7 *supra*.

⁶⁴ LR, I, 4, 9–11; KL, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 981–2.

⁶⁶ LR, I, 4; KL, p. 2.

⁶⁷ LR, I, 4.

⁶⁸ Neumann was not thrilled with it, KL, p. 2; for his marks RABP, N, Seminary Years 1831–5, cf. n.7 *supra*.

⁶⁹ The languages he could use at this time were German, Bohemian, French English, Spanish, and Italian, not to speak of Latin and Greek.

⁷⁰ RABP, N, BP, Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872.

⁷¹ MJF, October 12, 1834.

⁷² *Ibid.*, October 13, 14, 15, 1834. His ideas at this time centered on the Jesuits and the Redemptorists, MJG, April 18, 1835.

⁷³ MJF, December 22, 1834; February 10, March 12, 22, 1835; MJG, April 13, 1835.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1835.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, April 17, 20, 1835; MJF, October 13, 14, 15, 1834.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, April 23, June 24, 1835.

⁷⁷ MJG, April 13, 17, 18, 1835; MJF, April 20, 21, June 12, 1835.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1835.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, October 1, 1834; there was some doubt about it, however; cf. RABP, N, Seminary Letters 1831-5, Neumann to his parents, Prague, January 1, 1835; *ibid.*, Neumann to his parents, Prague, April 3, 1835.

⁸⁰ MJG, June 10, 1835; MJF, June 18, 20, 1835.

⁸¹ LR, I, 101.

⁸² KL, p. 2.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, MJF, December 17, 1834.

⁸⁴ KL, p. 2; for Canon Andreas Räss, cf. Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I von Bayern* (Munich, 1939), pp. 22-3; MJG, June 24, 1835.

⁸⁵ MJF, June 24, 1835.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1835.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1835; MJG, June 28, 1835.

⁸⁸ RABP, N, BP, Anton Laad to [Berger], Kotoun, April 11, 1872. Laad said the examination lasted from ten to twelve hours. Berger, however, has it taking place at Budweis, whereas Adalbert Schmidt says it took place at Prague; RABP, III, John Berger, Schmidt to [Berger], Graz, April 20, 1883. Cf. MJG, July 3, 1835.

⁸⁹ RABP, N, BP, Krbecek, "Notizen."

⁹⁰ MJG, July 19, 1835.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

¹ MJG, July 7, 19, 1835.

² *Ibid.*, July 4, 1835.

³ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1835.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 4, 21, 1835.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1835.

⁶ *Ibid.*, June 29, August 21, 1835; MJF, July 2, 1835.

⁷ MJG, June 29, July 21, 1835; MJF, July 29, 1835.

⁸ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1835.

⁹ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1835; MJG, July 29, 1835.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 8, 1835.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, August 21, 1835.

¹² Berger, *Leben*, p. 98; KL, p. 2.

¹³ Neumann himself says Father Hermann Dichtl had this idea of a foreign mission house; KL, p. 2; however, MJG states that the bishop and canons "all more or less approved" of the resolution of Neumann's going to America, MJG, July 29, 1835. At that time Adalbert Schmidt was still thinking of joining Neumann; cf. *ibid.*, August 21, 1835, for the friendliness of the bishop.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, August 8, 1835; MJF, October 11, 1835.

¹⁵ MJG, August 21, October 6, 1835; MJF, October 26, 1835.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, October 10, 11, 13, 1835.

¹⁷ MJG, October 6, 1835.

¹⁸ These appear to be a rewrite of his classroom notes. The original MS is in St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook, Pa.; a copy is in RABP.

¹⁹ MJF, October 8, 1835.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1835. The rule of life was called *Règlement de vie proposé aux Ecclésiastiques du diocèse de Nancy dans la retraite de l'année 1828*. Neumann copied the rule in twenty-two paragraphs, RABP, N, Data 1834.

²¹ MJG, November 1, 1835.

²² RABP, N, BP, Krbecek, "Notizen"; cf. KL, p. 2.

²³ MJG, *passim* from July 19 to December 13, 1835.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, December 13, 1835; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 104-5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105; RABP, N, Data 1835, has the testimonial.

²⁶ MJG, August 8, 21, 1835.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, August 21, 1835.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, December 13, 1835.

²⁹ RABP, N, BP, Krbecek, "Notizen." Adalbert Schmidt became spiritual director of the seminary at Graz; cf. KL, p. 2.

³⁰ Berger, *Leben*, p. 109.

³¹ KL, p. 2.

³² Redemptorist Archives, Prague Province, Prague (cited hereafter as RAPP), Neumann to his parents, Budweis, February 11, 1836. Photostatic copies of these papers are in RABP, N, Prague Province.

³³ MJF, July 25, 29, 1835; MJG, December 13, 1835; February 17, 1836.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1836; *ibid.*, March 2, 1836.

³⁵ KL, p. 2; RABP, N, BP, Adalbert Schmidt to Berger, Graz, April 4, 1872. The amount of money Neumann possessed fluctuated as he travelled; sometimes a gift made it higher, and then expenses sent it down; but it was never overabundant at any time. *Ibid.*, one Frenchman, on hearing how little money Neumann had for his transocean journey, said, "I see that when Frenchmen undertake some holy work, they need God and human means; Germans need God alone."

³⁶ Budweis Diocesan Archives, Budweis, Czechoslovakia, Rodler Papers (cited hereafter as BDA, RP), Neumann to his parents, Strassburg, February 28, 1836.

³⁷ MJG, February 17, 1836.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, The date of his arrival in Linz is incorrect in Berger, *Leben*, p. 111. Neumann's letter (cf. n.36 *supra*) indicates he arrived on February 16, 1836. Cf. MJG, February 17, 1836.

³⁹ Mathäser, *Der Ludwig Missionsverein*, p. 293, n. 38.

⁴⁰ MJG, February 17, 20, 1836.

- ⁴¹ BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Strassburg, February 28, 1836.
- ⁴² MJG, February 20, 1836.
- ⁴³ KL, p. 2; MJG, February 20, 1836.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1836.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, February 27, 1836.
- ⁴⁶ BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Strassburg, February 28, 1836; MJG, February 28, 1836. He spent several days at Augsburg, MJG, February 27, 1836.
- ⁴⁷ KL, p. 2; MJG, March 2, 4, 14, 1836.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, March 5, 7, 1836.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1836. He arrived in Paris on March 9.
- ⁵⁰ KL, p. 2.
- ⁵¹ MJG, March 13, 1836; cf. Count D'Haussoville, *Lacordaire*, trans. A. W. Evans (St. Louis, 1933), pp. 33, 85–91; cf. *Die Kanzel Vorträge in der Notre Dame Kirche zu Paris von P. Heinrich Dominicus Lacordaire, O.P.*, aus dem Französischen übersetzt von Joseph Lutz (Tübingen, 1846), pp. 148–223.
- ⁵² MJG, March 21, 1836.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1836.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, March 18, 27, 1836.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1836.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1836; BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Havre, April 11, 1836.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ MJG, March 25, 1836.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, March 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, April 1, 1836.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, March 29, 30, 1836.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, April 2, 1836.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, March 14, 30, 1836.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, April 1, 2, 3, 4, 1836; BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl ?], Cayuga, June 4, 1837 (copy).
- ⁶⁴ KL, p. 2; MJG, April 5, 1836.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1836.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, April 7, 8, 9, 1836.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, April 9, 11, 1836.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1836.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, April 9, 1836.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, April 9, 10, 11, 12, 1836.
- ⁷² BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Havre, April 11, 1836. He also wrote a letter to Dichtl, MJG, April 16, 28, 1836.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1836.
- ⁷⁴ BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Havre, April 11, 1836; MJG, April 7, 1836.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1836; BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Havre, April 11, 1836.
- ⁷⁶ MJG, April 16, May 22, 1836.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1836; BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Havre, April 11, 1836.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, April 28, May 13, 22, 1836.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1836.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, May 13, 22, 23, 1836.

⁸¹ KL, p. 2; cf. Berger, *Leben*, p. 137, where he calls it a sailyard.

⁸² KL, p. 2 says, "I had only a few attacks of seasickness." Yet his Journal, MJG, April 28, 1836, says the seasickness almost ceased when the ship reached the open sea. Cf. MJG, May 13, 1836.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1836.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, after May 13, 1836.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, April 16, 30, May 22, 1836.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1836.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, May 22, 1836.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1836.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ KL, p. 2; *Berichte*, Heft X (1837), 52-5, Neumann to Dean [Endres], New York, June 27, 1836. BDA, RP has what appears to be the original of this letter; cf. MJG, June 1, 1836.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*; KL, p. 2, says he went in a small ship to Long Island first and then on the steamer *Columbus* to New York. The version given here is from *Berichte*, Heft X (1837), 52-5, Neumann to [Endres], New York, June 27, 1836.

⁹² KL, p. 2; MJG, June 9, 1836. The remark about the lack of money is in the letter to the Dean mentioned in n. 90 *supra*; cf. *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LXVI (1837), 275-80, Neumann to [Canon Räss, Cayuga Creek], May 30, 1837.

⁹³ Thomas Longworth (pub.), *New York City Directory* (New York, 1836); Philip Hone, *The Diary of Philip Hone: 1828-51*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York, 1936), p. 210.

⁹⁴ The Museum of the City of New York, New York, has a series of miniature reproductions of the city during those days.

⁹⁵ Hone, *op. cit.*, under date of December 17, 1835, pp. 185-90.

⁹⁶ *Berichte*, Heft X (1837), 52-5, Neumann to [Endres], New York, June 27, 1836.

⁹⁷ MJG, June 9, 1836.

⁹⁸ KL, p. 3. *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LXVI (1837), 275-80, Neumann's letter to Räss gives the statement of the bishop about the necessity and the wish to ordain John Neumann even without dimissorials. Dubois considered Neumann a member of the Diocese of New York, probably because of the transactions carried on through Canon Räss. At any rate the testimonial Neumann had received from the Consistory of Budweis concerning Neumann's studies and his conduct gave Dubois assurance he was making no mistake in ordaining Neumann, RABP, N, Data 1836, "Von Seite des budweiser bischoefflichen Consistoriums" signed by Johann [Geith ?] and by Joseph Kuntz, chancellor.

⁹⁹ For Father John Raffener, cf. Benjamin J. Blied, *Austrian Aid to American Catholics: 1830-1860* (Milwaukee, 1944), pp. 122-5; F. C. Holweck, "Very Rev. J. S. Raffener, V.G.," *Pastoral-Blatt*, LIX (1925), 49-54; Richard J. Purcell, "John Stephen Raffener," *Dictionary of American Biography* (cited hereafter as *DAB*), XV (New York, 1935), 322; Thomas F. Meehan, "Very Rev. Johann Stephan Raffener, V.G.," United States Catholic Historical Society *Historical Records and Studies* (cited hereafter as *USCHS Records and Studies*), X (1916), 161-75.

¹⁰⁰ KL, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ MJG, June 20, 1836.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, June 19, 20, 22, 1836.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, June 23, 24, 25, 1836; cf. New York *Catholic Diary*, June 18, 1836.

¹⁰⁴ *Berichte*, Heft X (1837), 52–5, Neumann to Dean [Endres], New York, June 27, 1836.

¹⁰⁵ MJG, June 26, 1836.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

¹ *Berichte*, Heft X (1837), 3–5, Bishop John [Dubois] to the Archbishop of Vienna, New York, March 15, 1836, with the accompanying "Zustand der Diözese von Neu-York," *ibid.*, 6–13; USCHS *Records and Studies*, X (1917), 124–9.

² Cf. p. 55 *supra*; *Berichte*, Heft V (1833), 34; *ibid.*, Heft VIII (1835), 36–8; Beda Kleinschmitt, O.F.M., *Das Auslandsdeutschum in Übersee und die Katholische Missionsbewegung* (Münster, Westfalen, 1926), pp. 272–3; Emmett H. Rothan, O.F.M., *The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States: 1830–60* (Washington, D. C., 1946), pp. 16–19, 77; Frederick J. Zwierlein, "Catholic Beginnings in the Diocese of Rochester," *The Catholic Historical Review* (cited hereafter as *CHR*), I (1915–16), 286–7; cf. N. A. Weber, S.M., "The Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States," *ibid.*, I, 432–3.

³ "Andenken an den Hochwürdigen Johannes Nicholaus Mertz," *Christliche Woche*, February 5, 12, 1875; F. G. Holweck, "Vater Nicholaus Mertz," *Pastoral-Blatt*, LVI (1922), 1–8; John M. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap., "Father John Nicholas Mertz, Pioneer Priest: 1764–1844," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, XXVIII (1935), 18–20, 54–6, 90–2, 129–30, 180; George Zimpfer, "Die Ersten Katholiken in Buffalo und Umgebung," *Buffalo Aurora und Christliche Woche*, June 26, 1936; *ibid.*, July 3, 1936.

⁴ F. C. Holweck, "Alexander Pax," *Pastoral-Blatt*, LVI (1922), 34–6; George Zimpfer, "Rev. Alexander Pax," *The History of the Roman Catholic Church of SS. Peter and Paul*, MS (Williamsville, N. Y., 1927); *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LIX (1836), 242–53, gives a letter of Pax to a friend, dated Buffalo, August 19, 1835, giving an account of this priest's arrival; cf. "Andenken an den Hochwürdigen Herrn Alexander Pax," *Buffalo Christliche Woche*, February 19, 26, 1875.

⁵ MJG, Feast of SS. Peter and Paul [June 29], 1836; *ibid.*, July 5, 1836. For Father John Urquhart, O.P., cf. USCHS *Records and Studies*, II (1900), 78.

⁶ KL, p. 3; Samuel L. Welch, *Home History, Recollections of Buffalo During the Decade from 1830 to 1840* (Buffalo, 1891), pp. 165–7.

⁷ *Berichte*, Heft IX (1836), 63–7, Joseph Prost, C.SS.R., to the Leopoldine Foundation, Detroit, November 12, 1835; Joseph Prost, C.SS.R., "Die Geschichte der Gruendung unserer Congregation in den Vereinigten Staten von Nordamerika von Jahre 1832 bis zum Anfang des Jahres 1843," in Joseph Wuest, C.SS.R., *Annales Provinciae Americanae, Supplementum ad I-II-III*, Part I (Ilchester, Md., 1903), p. 78. Prost's story is cited hereafter as Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I. Part II of *Supplementum* appears as Wuest, *Suppl.*, II; Raymond Knab, C.SS.R., "Father Joseph Prost, Pioneer Redemptorist," USCHS *Records and Studies*, XXII (1932), 40–1; Thomas W. Mullaney, C.SS.R., *Four-Score Years* (Rochester, N. Y., 1916), p. 13.

⁸ MJG, July 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1836.

⁹ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1836; KL, p. 3.

¹⁰ Guy H. Salisbury, "Buffalo in 1836 and 1862," a paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society, February 6, 1863 (n.p., n.d.); *Der Katolik*, LIX (Speyer, 1836), 242–53, Rev. Alexander Pax to a friend, Buffalo, August 19, 1835; Welch, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 66, 165, 173, 365–8, *passim*; cf. Buffalo *Daily Star*, July 26, 27, 28, 1836. LR, I, 68–76, cites the *Sion* (Augsburg), 6 Jahr, num. 75–6 (1837), 601–5, 609–13; cf. George Timpe, "Buffalo und Umgebung vor Hundert Jahren," Buffalo *Aurora und Christliche Woche*, July 20, 1934.

¹¹ Father Mertz, the older priest, left in May or June of that year; cf. "Kirchliche Nachrichten," Beilage zur *Sion* (Augsburg), 8 Jahr, num. 18 (October 2, 1839), 1166.

¹² Zimpfer, "Rev. Alexander Pax," *op. cit.* Cf. "Buffalo und Umgebung," *Christliche Woche*, August 8, 1879; John Timon, C.M., *Missions in Western New York and Church History of the Diocese of Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1862), pp. 212–13, 216.

¹³ LR, I, 68–76; *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LXVI (1837), 275–80 giving a letter from Neumann to [Canon Räss, Cayuga Creek], May 30, 1837; *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, XXVII (1934), 129–31, 177–8, carries a translation of this letter; cf. *Sion* (Augsburg), 8 Jahr (1839), 1166.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; cf. "Etwas zur Geschichte der Katoliken zu North Bush, Erie Co., N. Y.," *Christliche Woche*, April 7, 1877.

¹⁵ Cf. n. 13 *supra*, Neumann to [Räss], May 30, 1837.

¹⁶ "Maria Elizabeth Wirtz," *Christliche Woche*, January 14, 1876; Zimpfer, "Rev. Alexander Pax," *op. cit.*; BDA, RP, John Neumann to his parents, North Bush, September 5, 1837; cf. n. 13 *supra*, Neumann to [Räss], May 30, 1837.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; cf. Sister M. Felicity O'Driscoll, S.S.M., "Political Nativism in Buffalo," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (cited hereafter as ACHS *Records*), XLVIII (1937), 279–319.

¹⁸ RABP, N, BP, George Pax to Berger, Williamsville, February 16, 1872.

¹⁹ George Timpe, "Ein Original-Brief aus Williamsville, N. Y. vor 100 Jahren," *Aurora und Christliche Woche*, Buffalo, July 27, 1934.

²⁰ KL, p. 3; RABP, N, BP, George Pax to Berger, Williamsville, February 16, 1872; MJG, August 17, 1836.

²¹ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1839, Neumann to a friend, Tonawanda, December 12, 1839 (copy); *ibid.*, Neumann to a friend, North Bush, December 19, 1839 (copy).

²² "Baptismi in Congregatione ad SS. App. Petrum et Paulum in Williamsville a 14 Jul. 1836," the baptismal register of the Catholic Church in Williamsville, N. Y. The late Henry Schorp, C.S.S.R., prepared a chronological list of the marriages performed and the baptisms conferred by Neumann at Williamsville, Lancaster, and North Bush during those years, RABP, N, Buffalo 1836–40; KL, p. 3; BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl], Cayuga, June 4, 1837 (copy); *ibid.*, Neumann to his parents, North Bush, September 5, 1837. This last was published in *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LXIX (1838), 61–7, and in *Berichte*, Heft XI (1838), 56–62; cf. BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents and relatives, Tonawanda, October 7, 1838.

²³ RABP, N, BP, George Pax to Neumann, Williamsville, February 16, 1872; *ibid.*, BP, Theodore Noethen, "Aus dem Leben des Hochwürdigsten Herrn Bischofs Johann N. Neumann" (cited hereafter as Noethen, "Aus dem Leben"); BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, North Bush, September 5, 1837.

²⁴ RABP, N, BP, Noethen, "Aus dem Leben"; BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl], Cayuga, June 4, 1837.

²⁵ The literature on this subject is extensive and new information on particular phases of it is constantly coming to light; cf. Peter Guilday, "Trusteeism," *USCHS Records and Studies*, XVIII (1928), 7-73; Robert F. McNamara, "Trusteeism in the Atlantic States: 1785-1863," *CHR*, XXX (1944-5), 135-54; Alfred G. Stritch, "Trusteeism in the Old Northwest," *ibid.*, 155-64.

²⁶ RABP, N, BP, Noethen, "Aus dem Leben."

²⁷ KL, p. 3.

²⁸ *Berichte*, Heft XI (1838), 54-5, Joseph Prost, C.S.S.R., to the Archbishop of Vienna, Rochester, July 12, 1837; BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents and relatives, Tonawanda, October 7, 1838; cf. R. C. McGrane, *The Panic of 1837* (Chicago, 1924); KL, p. 3; BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl], Cayuga, June 4, 1837 (copy).

²⁹ RABP, N, BP, George Pax to Berger, Williamsville, February 16, 1872; Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 122; Berger, *Leben*, p. 162; KL, p. 3; *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LXVI (1837), 275-80, Neumann to [Räss, Cayuga Creek], May 30, 1837; BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl], Cayuga, June 4, 1837 (copy).

³⁰ *Berichte*, Heft XI (1838), 56-62, Neumann to his parents, North Bush, September 5, 1837; cf. RABP, N, BP, George Pax to Berger, Williamsville, February 16, 1872; *ibid.*, Sr. Regina to Berger, Tacony, August 2, 1875; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 169-70.

³¹ LR, II, 95-102, quoting Dichtl's statement in *Der Adler*, 1 Jahr (1838), 276. Cf. *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LXVI (1837), 280, Neumann to [Räss, Cayuga Creek], May 30, 1837; MJG, July 18, 1837; BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl], Cayuga, June 4, 1837 (copy).

³² *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, Neumann to [Dichtl], Tonawanda, May 31, 1839; *Der Katolik* (Speyer), LXVI (1837), 275-80, Neumann to [Räss, Cayuga Creek], May 30, 1837.

³³ BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl], Tonawanda, May 31, 1839; *ibid.*, Neumann to Ant. Rost, president of Prague seminary, Village of Falls of Niagara, July 20, 1839; *ibid.*, Neumann to a friend, Tonawanda, December 12, 1839; Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., "The Proposed Mission Seminary at Altötting, 1845," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, XXVIII (1935), 213-15, 250-2, 286-7; John N. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap., "Projected German Missionary Seminaries for America," *Social Justice*, XXXIV (1941), 58-9, 95-6; Mäthaser, *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I von Bayern*, pp. 216-33; Joseph Salzbacher, *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842* (Vienna, 1845), p. 371 n.

³⁴ Later, the Redemptorists intended to start a German seminary at Baltimore, but apparently they proposed at this time nothing more than a seminary for Redemptorists. Bishop Henni started a diocesan seminary at St. Francis, Wisconsin, which was almost entirely German in personnel. Abbot Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., later started the Latrobe (Pa.) seminary.

³⁵ RABP, N, BP, George Pax to Berger, Williamsville, February 16, 1872; *ibid.*, Noethen, "Aus dem Leben."

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Tonawanda, October 7, 1838.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Wenceslaus Neumann to his parents, North Bush, October 4, 1839;

Aurora und Christliche Woche, September 20, 27, 1935; BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, North Bush, October 4, 1839.

⁴⁰ RABP, N, BP, George Pax to Berger, Williamsville, February 16, 1872.

⁴¹ MJG, August 17, 1836.

⁴² *Ibid.*, August 30, 1836.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, September 6, 1836.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1839.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1837.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1836.

⁴⁷ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 166–7.

⁴⁸ MJG, September 9, 11, 1836.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, September 9, 1836.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, October 28, 30, December 8, 1836.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, October 30, 1836.

⁵² *Ibid.*, August 31, November 12, 23, 1836; BDA, RP, Neumann to [Dichtl], Cayuga, June 4, 1837 (copy); *ibid.*, Neumann to his parents, North Bush, September 5, 1837.

⁵³ "Auszug aus einem Briefe des hochw. Hrn. Alexander Pax in Bezug auf den hochw. Hrn. Johann Nep. Neumann," *Christliche Woche*, March 31, 1876. This article contains a part of Alexander Pax's letter, dated Saargmünd, March 9, 1872; KL, p. 3; MJG, December 9, 1836, July 18, 1837.

⁵⁴ MJG, November 15, December 9, 17, 1836; March 15, July 18, 1837; July 19, 20, 1838.

⁵⁵ KL, p. 3; Mullaney, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 127–9; Wuest, *Annales*, I, 40.

⁵⁶ KL, p. 3; MJG, December 9, 1838; cf. RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1838, draft of letter [Neumann to Prost], n.p., December [9 ?], 1838; BDA, RP, Wenceslaus Neumann to his parents, Pittsburgh, May 12, 1841.

⁵⁷ MJF, May 7, 1835; MJG, May 8, 26, 1835.

⁵⁸ BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Pittsburgh, May 12, 1841.

⁵⁹ *Berichte*, Heft XV (1842), 76, John Hughes to J. G. Schwarz, United States Consul in Vienna, New York, January 6, 1841; Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 198; KL, p. 3; Alexander Pax, "Auszug aus einem Briefe," *Christliche Woche*, March 31, 1876.

⁶⁰ Alexander Pax, *ibid.*

NOTES

CHAPTER V

¹ KL, p. 3.

² The better known biographies of St. Alphonsus are Antonio Maria Tannoja, C.S.S.R., *Della Vita ed Instituto del v.S.d.D. Alfonso M. de Liguori* (3 vols.; Naples, 1789–1802); Carl Dilgskron, C.S.S.R., *Leben des heiligen Bischofs und Kirchenlehrers, Alphonsus Maria de Liguori* (2 vols.; Regensburg, 1887); Austin Berthe, C.S.S.R., *Life of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori*, trans. Harold Castle, C.S.S.R., (2 vols.; Dublin, 1905). Raimundo Telleria, C.S.S.R., *San Alfonso Maria de Liguori: Fundador, Obispo y Doctor* (2 vols.; Madrid, 1950–51). The first scientific history

of the Redemptorists, although only an outline, was published by Maur. De Meulemeester, C.S.S.R., *Histoire Sommaire de la Congrégation du T. S. Rédempteur* (Louvain, 1950).

³ Cf. Adolphe Innerkofler, *Ein österreichischer Reformator* (Ratisbon, 1910); Johann Hofer, C.S.S.R., *St. Clement Maria Hofbauer*, trans. John Haas, C.S.S.R., (New York, 1926).

⁴ Henri Girouille, C.S.S.R., *Life of the Venerable Joseph Passerat, C.S.S.R.*, trans. J. Carr, C.S.S.R., (London, 1928).

⁵ Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 18; *Berichte*, Heft V (1833), 20–23, Simon Senderl [sic] to the Leopoldine Foundation, New York, June 23, 1832; *ibid.*, 23–8 Senderl [sic] to his superior, Detroit, August 28, 1832. Haetscher also wrote to his superior from Detroit, September 17, 1832, *ibid.*, 28–34. Cf. RABP, II, III, for other letters on the arrival and early activities of the first Redemptorists in America. Cf. also John Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap., "Francis Xavier Haetscher, C.S.S.R., Indian Missionary and Pioneer Priest: 1832–1837," *Social Justice*, XLIV (1952), 308–11; *ibid.*, 340–2; *ibid.*, 366–8; *ibid.*, XLV (April, 1952), 19–22; *ibid.*, 49–53.

⁶ John Byrne, C.S.S.R., *The Redemptorist Centenaries* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 41–79.

⁷ Bernard Beck, C.S.S.R., *Goldenes Jubiläum des Wirkens der Redemptoristen-väter an der St. Philomena Kirche in Pittsburgh und Umgebung* (Ilchester, Md., 1889), pp. 51–120; cf. Raymond Knab, C.S.S.R., "Father Joseph Prost, Pioneer Redemptorist," *USCHS Records and Studies*, XXII (1932), 55, 59; Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–4.

⁸ George Dusold, C.S.S.R., *Goldenes Jubiläum der Kirche zum Allerheiligsten Erlöser an der Dritten Strasse, New York* (New York, 1894), pp. 4–5.

⁹ "Relationes P. Alexander Czvitkovicz ex annis 1840, 1841, et 1842," Wuest, *Annales*, I, 288.

¹⁰ RABP, III, Francis X. Tschenhens, "Chronik vom 1839–1844 über Gründung unserer Cong. zu St. Philomena in . . . Pittsburgh" (cited hereafter as Tschenhens, "Chronik"); Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–7, 80, 93, 126; Wuest, *Annales*, I, 85; Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 199. Neumann's investiture took place November 30, 1840.

¹¹ KL, p. 3.

¹² RABP, N, BP, Brother Louis Kenning, C.S.S.R., to Berger, New Orleans, March 19, 1875; cf. Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 328.

¹³ Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 147–80.

¹⁴ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 12, 1896. Cf. RABP, N, Neumann Family, A. B. Kalvelage, C.S.S.R., to John Byrne, New Orleans, September 7, 1934, giving excerpts from the Domestic Chronicles of the New Orleans House; RABP, III, Francis X. Tschenhens, "Chronik," 5.

¹⁵ KL, p. 3.

¹⁶ RABP, N, Pittsburgh Years 1841, 1844–7, "Record of Bishop Neumann's Pastoral Work in Pittsburgh," a typed MS by Henry Schorp, C.S.S.R.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* For Neuman's presence in Steubenville, Ohio, cf. KL, p. 4, where he says, "Blieb ich über den Sonntag bei den wenigen Deutschen die ich schon von Pittsburgh aus mehrmals besucht hatte."

¹⁸ KL, p. 3; for Norwalk, cf. Archives of the University of Notre Dame, South

Bend, Indiana (cited hereafter as AUND), Cincinnati Papers, II-4-g, Father Joseph P. Macheboeuf to Bishop John B. Purcell, Norwalk, May 21, 1841.

¹⁹ *Christliche Woche*, March 31, 1876.

²⁰ RABP, N, Data 1841, Prost to [Neumann], Rochester, September 18, 1841; cf. Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 136.

²¹ Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 207-12; Knab, *loc. cit.*, pp. 70-4.

²² RABP, N, Data 1841, Prost to [Neumann], Rochester, September 18, 1841.

²³ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-g, Tschenhens to "My Lord" [Bishop Purcell], St. Alphonsus' [Norwalk, Ohio], September 25, 1841. RABP, III, Francis X. Tschenhens, has a photostat of this letter.

²⁴ Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 212-23; Knab, *loc. cit.*, pp. 75-80.

²⁵ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1841, an unsigned MS in John Neumann's handwriting, evidently a displaced leaf from MJG, Steubenville, Ohio, December 4, 1841.

²⁶ *Journal Historique et Littéraire*, IX, 180, quoted in Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 477. Joseph Fey, C.S.S.R., to "Mon très-révérend Père," Baltimore, May 24, 1842.

²⁷ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1858, Neumann to Frater John Berger, Philadelphia, September 13, 1858.

²⁸ The German translation is in RABP.

²⁹ Cf. n. 25 *supra*.

³⁰ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-h, Tschenhens to "Your Lordship" [Bishop Purcell], St. Alphonsus' [Norwalk, Ohio], January 21, 1842; RABP, III, Francis X. Tschenhens, has a photostat of this letter.

³¹ Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 254.

³² KL, p. 4.

³³ *Ibid.* News of the success of the mission reached Europe, "Kirchliche Nachrichten," Beilage zur *Sion* (Augsburg), 11 Jahr, num. 20 (February 16, 1842), 184; cf. E. P. Graham, *A Sketch of St. John's Church, 1817-1924* (Canton, Ohio, 1924), p. 76.

³⁴ KL, p. 4; cf. n. 25 *supra*.

³⁵ Berger, *Leben*, p. 228.

³⁶ BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Baltimore, October 12, 1842.

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CHAPTER VI

¹ "Diarium P. Alexandri Czvitkovicz a die 10 Nov. 1840 usque ad diem 17 Maji 1843," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 429; cf. RABP, III, Francis X. Tschenhens, "Chronik," p. 14.

² BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Baltimore, October 12, 1842.

³ Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, pp. 93-5; Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 190-204; "Relatio P. Benedicti Bayer," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 345; "Diarium P. Alexandri," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 405-6.

⁴ RABP, N, Data 1842, "Chronological List of Baptisms Performed by John Neumann While at St. James' Church, Baltimore," a MS prepared by Henry Schorp, C.S.S.R.

⁵ Cf. n. 2 *supra*; KL, p. 4.

⁶ Alexander Czvitkovicz [sic], C.S.S.R., "Bericht über den gegenwärtigen Bestand der Versammlung des allerheiligsten Erlösers in Nord-Amerika für die Central-Direction des löblichen Ludwigs-Vereines in München," *Sion* (Augsburg), 12 Jahr (1843), 265-70, 273-7, 289-93; cf. RABP, I, Alexander Papers 1840-5, draft of letter written in Alexander's handwriting "From the Danube"; Benedict Bayer, "Die Mission der Liguorianer in Nordamerika," *Sion* (Augsburg), 10 Jahr (1841), 1425-8.

⁷ *Berichte*, Heft XV (1842), 56-62, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Pittsburgh, May 4, 1841; BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Pittsburgh, May 12, 1841; *ibid.*, Wenceslaus Neumann to his parents, Pittsburgh, May 12, 1841.

⁸ Alexander Czvitkovicz [sic], "Bericht über den gegenwärtigen Bestand," *Sion* (Augsburg), 12 Jahr (1843), 273-4; *Berichte*, Heft XVII (1844), 48-9, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Baltimore, December 6, 1843.

⁹ KL, p. 4; BDA, RP, Neumann to his parents, Baltimore, October 12, 1842.

¹⁰ *Berichte*, Heft XVII (1844), 43-52, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Baltimore, December 6, 1843.

¹¹ "Diarium P. Alexandri Czvitkovicz," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 430-1; KL, p. 4; *The Religious Cabinet*, I (1842), 356; *Cincinnati Wahrheitsfreund*, May 12, 1842; "Auszug aus Einem Briefe eines deutschen Redemptoristen in Baltimore," *Sion*, 11 Jahr (1842), 923-7.

¹² "Diarium P. Alexandri," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 437; Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap., *The Ludwig-Missions-Verein und the Church in the United States: 1838-1918* (Washington, D. C., 1933), p. 52.

¹³ Cf. n. 10 *supra*.

¹⁴ Beck, *Goldenes Jubiläum*, p. 151.

¹⁵ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 136.

¹⁶ Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* (New York, 1940), p. 62; John Gilmary Shea, *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886), pp. 336-8.

¹⁷ *Berichte*, Heft XVII (1844), 11-14, O'Connor to the Archbishop of Vienna, London, September 26, 1843.

¹⁸ Roemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; Mathäser, *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I von Bayern*, pp. 162-76. Mathäser declares that the brochure printed in Philadelphia was brought to Europe by Father Benedict Bayer, then a priest of the Diocese of Baltimore.

¹⁹ AUND, Cincinnati Papers (1844-5), II-4-i, O'Connor to Purcell, Pittsburgh, February 13, 1844.

²⁰ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, I, 4; RABP, "Chronica Prov. Am., C.S.S.R. 1832-1871," p. 112.

²¹ The amount of the debt is mentioned in Father Alexander Czvitkovicz' report; cf. n. 6 *supra*; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 237-8; Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

²² Wuest, *Annales*, I, 136.

²³ Berger, *Leben*, p. 238.

²⁴ *Berichte*, Heft XIX (1846), 12-16, O'Connor to the Archbishop of Vienna, n.d., n.p.; Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁶ Cf. "Der Bischof Neumann," *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, 13 Jahr (1855), 679-80.

²⁷ *Pittsburgh Catholic*, October 10, 1846; the *Pittsburgh Morning Post* is quoted

in *The United States Catholic Magazine*, V (1846), 627; *Cincinnati Wahrheitsfreund*, October 15, 1846.

²⁸ Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 156; RABP, The Sunday Announcement Book of St. Philomena's Church for this time gives evidence of the existence of these societies.

³⁰ *Berichte*, Heft XX (1847), 46-8, Friedrich De Held, C.S.S.R., to the Leopoldine Foundation, Lüttich [Liège], July 9, 1846, mentions three schools; cf. *ibid.*, 17-28, John Mosetizh to the Archbishop of Vienna, Birmingham (near Pittsburgh), January 1, 1847; *ibid.*, XXII (1850), 12-21, O'Connor to the Leopoldine Foundation, Pittsburgh, January 10, 1848.

³¹ RABP, N, Pittsburgh Years, 1841, 1844-7, "Record of Bishop Neumann's Pastoral Work in Pittsburgh," a MS prepared by Henry Schorp, C.S.S.R.

³² *Pittsburgh Catholic*, April 14 and June 13, 1846.

³³ "Notitiae P. Alberti Schaeffler," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 514; *Berichte*, Heft XVII (1844), 48-9, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Baltimore, December 6, 1843.

³⁴ Berger, *Leben*, p. 239.

³⁵ RABP, N, Themata Sermonum 1845-63 of the Parish of St. Philomena.

³⁶ Cf. P. Zimmer, C.S.S.R., *Leben und Wirken des hochwürdigen P. Franz Xaver Seelos aus der Congregation des Allerheil. Erlösers* (New York, 1887).

³⁷ F. E. Tourscher, O.S.A. (ed.), *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* (Philadelphia, 1920), p. 438, Francis Patrick Kenrick to Peter Richard Kenrick, n.p., April [13], 1860. This volume is cited hereafter as *KF*.

³⁸ "The Late Father Joseph Mueller, Redemptorist," New York *Freeman's Journal*, March 11, 1876.

³⁹ Henry Borgmann, C.S.S.R., *History of the Redemptorists at Annapolis, Md., from 1853 to 1903* (Ilchester, 1904), p. 217.

⁴⁰ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, statement of Sister M. Liguori, Ursuline Convent, St. Martin's, Brown Co., Ohio, March 20, 1897.

⁴¹ The future Bishop of Erie, Pa., Tobias Mullen, was one of the seminarians, RABP, N, Pittsburgh Years, 1841, 1844-7, Bishop Mullen to Father Joseph Wirth, C.S.S.R., Erie, October 23, 1886; *ibid.*, Bishop Mullen to Ferdinand Litz, C.S.S.R., Erie, May 24, 1892.

⁴² Wuest, *Annales*, I, 170.

⁴³ Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 158-9.

⁴⁴ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, I, 4, under date of October 9, 1846.

⁴⁵ Berger, *Leben*, p. 256.

⁴⁶ Cf. n. 40 *supra*.

⁴⁷ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 250-2.

⁴⁸ Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁴⁹ Berger, *Leben*, p. 252.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 237. The information is given in an indirect statement.

⁵¹ *Berichte*, Heft XX (1847), 46, De Held to the Leopoldine Foundation, Lüttich, July 9, 1846.

⁵² Berger, *Leben*, p. 256.

⁵³ RABP, N, Pittsburgh Years 1841, 1844-7, Peter Chakert [*sic*], C.S.S.R., to Joseph Müller, C.S.S.R., St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, January 19, 1847.

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CHAPTER VII

¹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1846, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, December 10, 1846.

² The general tenor of the replies from Europe to Neumann's letters indicates that Neumann did not think that he himself was the man for this position. Unfortunately, the letters of Neumann to Europe have failed to appear after the most diligent search in many Redemptorist archival deposits. They may have perished when the Vienna house was taken from the Redemptorists in 1848.

³ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 65, 121.

⁴ The reversal of decisions is evident in the restoration of Prost by Passerat; likewise in the prohibition given to Father Alexander regarding the building of a seminary in Baltimore.

⁵ Cf. Carl Dilgskron, C.S.S.R., *P. Friedrich von Held* (Vienna, 1909), pp. 128–51.

⁶ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 147.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 113, 127, 130, 140, 144.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 139–40.

⁹ *Berichte*, Heft I (1831), 11–14; Résé to the Leopoldine Foundation, Cincinnati, January, 1830; *ibid.*, Heft IX (1836), 65–6, Prost to the Leopoldine Foundation, Detroit, November 12, 1835; "Die Mission von New York," *Annalen der Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung des Glaubens*, I (Einsiedeln, 1831–2), 30–1. The Munich branch of the Propagation of the Faith published the German version of the *Annales* of the Lyons society.

¹⁰ Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 464–7; RABP, I, Alexander Papers 1841–5 has a copy of the circular dated October 14, 1844.

¹¹ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 147.

¹² Dilgskron, *Friedrich von Held*, pp. 202–5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 207; Wuest, *Annales*, I, 156–7.

¹⁴ Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, p. 195; cf. Sister Margaret Gilbert Kelly, O.P., *Catholic Immigration Colonization Projects in the United States: 1815–1860* (USCHS Monograph Series, Vol. XIII [New York, 1939]), pp. 120–6; Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., "König Ludwig I von Bayern als Förderer des Deutschtums und des Katholizismus in Nordamerika," *Gelbe Hefte, Historische und Politische Zeitschrift für das Katholische Deutschland*, 1 Jahr, 2 Halbband (Munich, 1924–5), 616–49; "Die Colonie St. Maria in Pennsylvanien," N. R. Beilage zur *Neuen Sion* (Augsburg), 2 Jahr, num. 3 (January, 1846), 15–16; cf. Wuest, *Annales*, I, 145.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 157; Dilgskron, *Friedrich von Held*, p. 210.

¹⁶ "Allgemeine Anordnungen erlassen in der Kanonischen Visitation des Jahres 1845," Wuest, *Annales*, I, 313–16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 157, n. 2.

¹⁸ Dilgskron, *Frederich von Held*, pp. 213–14; RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1846, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, December 15, 1846; cf. Wuest, *Annales*, I, 348–9.

¹⁹ Dilgskron, *Frederich von Held*, pp. 214–15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

²¹ For the general outline of this proposed seminary, cf. Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., "The Proposed Mission Seminary at Altötting, 1845," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, XVIII (1935), 213-15, 250-2, 286-7; Mathäser, *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I von Bayern*, pp. 216-39. The argument advanced by Mathäser does not take into full account the viewpoint of the American bishops. The proposal for the establishment of a seminary in Germany to supply German priests for the American missions had been made in the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1840. It was unanimously agreed by a committee appointed to study the matter that such a seminary would not serve the purpose. The six reasons advanced against its establishment are given in "Kirchliche Nachrichten," *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol* (Innsbruck), I (1843), 648-52.

²² Dilgskron, *Frederich von Held*, p. 216.

²³ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1846, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, December 10, 1846; cf. Wuest, *Annales*, I, 347.

²⁴ Johannes Nordmann, *Die Liguorianer, Ihre Constitutionen und Korrespondenz* (Vienna, 1849), pp. 192-3. This book was written by a man hostile to religion and to the Redemptorists in particular. It contains copies of many letters rifled from the Vienna archives of the Redemptorist Fathers in the Revolution of 1848. Internal evidence and careful checking of the data of the American letters proves that they are authentic. Joseph Wuest, C.S.S.R., Redemptorist historian of the Baltimore province, used the volume in his *Annales* (1888-1924).

²⁵ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, April 26, 1847; cf. Nordmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-9.

²⁶ B. J. Krieger, C.S.S.R., *Seventy-five Years of Service* (New Orleans, 1923), pp. 14-16; Wuest, *Annales*, I, 136-7.

²⁷ AUND, New Orleans Papers, January-June, 1844, Peter Chackert [*sic*], C.S.S.R., to Bishop Anthony Blanc, Baltimore, April 15, 1844; *ibid.*, Chackert [*sic*] to Blanc, Baltimore, April 29, 1844; *ibid.*, Alexander [Czvitkovicz] to Blanc, Baltimore, March 8, 1844; *ibid.*, [Czvitkovicz] to Blanc, Baltimore, April 28, 1844; *ibid.*, New Orleans Papers (January-June, 1845), [Czvitkovicz] to Blanc, Baltimore, February 7, 1845.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, New Orleans Papers (January-June, 1847), Peter Chackert [*sic*] to [Blanc], Baltimore, March 4, 1847. Bishop Blanc was still kept waiting when Neumann became vicegerent, although Czackert was endeavoring to get the matter before the Visitor, Martin Starck, who was absent conducting the visitation of the various houses, *ibid.*, Chackert [*sic*], to Blanc, Baltimore, June 29, 1847; *ibid.*, New Orleans Papers (July-December, 1847), Chackert [*sic*] to [Blanc], Baltimore, July 10, 1847; *ibid.*, Chackert [*sic*] to [Blanc], August 18, 1847; *ibid.*, Benedict Bayer, Redemptorist, to [Blanc], Buffalo, July 16, 1847.

²⁹ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 166-8, 178.

³⁰ Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³¹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1846, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, December 10, 1846; Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6.

³² Cf. n. 31 *supra*, De Held to Neumann, December 10, 1846.

³³ Sister Maria Alma, C.I.M., *The Reverend Louis Florent Gillet*, (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 60.

³⁴ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1846, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, December 15, 1846.

³⁵ Cf. n. 31 *supra*, De Held to Neumann, December 10, 1846.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, I, 27. This is written under date of March 15, 1847. It was evidently inserted after that date by the chronicler who left a space at the side of the original entry for later notes.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Cf. Wuest, *Annales*, I, 451-7.

⁴⁰ This estimate is based on the figures given in Nordmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-13.

⁴¹ *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XV (Einsiedeln, 1847), 446, Kane-miller [sic] to Hofkaplan [Joseph Ferdinand] Müller, Buffalo, April 27, 1847.

⁴² Wuest, *Annales*, I, 176.

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CHAPTER VIII

¹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, April 26, 1847.

² *Ibid.*, Neumann Letters 1850, Neumann to Seelos, Baltimore, January 30, 1850.

³ Antonio F. Mariani, S.J., *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*, II (London, 1849), 206.

⁴ *The Complete Works of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori, Centenary Edition*, ed. Eugene Grimm, C.S.S.R., XVIII (New York, 1891), 90-3. This is Vol. I, Part I, of the Saint's *General Correspondence*. Neumann's successor, Father Bernard Hafkenschied, refused new foundations for the same reason, Wuest, *Annales*, II, 150.

⁵ Cf. n. 1 *supra*, De Held to Neumann, April 26, 1847.

⁶ *Berichte*, Heft XX (1847), 45, De Held to the Leopoldine Foundation, Lüttich, July 9, 1846.

⁷ RABP, N, Data 1847, Gabriel Rumpler, C.S.S.R., to Neumann, New York, March 18, 1847.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Rumpler to Neumann, New York, April 13, 1847.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1847, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, November 3, 1847.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 178.

¹² Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, I, 77, under date of September 2, 1847.

¹³ RABP, N, Data 1847, Rev. Joseph Kundek to "Rev. Sir" [Neumann], Vincennes, October 21, 1847.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Data 1847, Bishop John M. Henni to Neumann, Milwaukee, September 23, 1847.

¹⁵ John M. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap., "Rev. Simon Saenderl, C.S.S.R., Indian Missionary," *Social Justice*, XXXIV (1941), 130-2, 134, 137, 139, 166-8, 206-7, 242-4, 278-80, 314-16, 350-3, 386-8; F. G. Holweck, "Drei Pioniere aus der Kongregation der Redemptoristen," *Pastoral-Blatt*, LIV Jahr (1920), 113-19.

¹⁶ Wuest, *Suppl.*, II (Ilchester, Md., 1903), 95-6, Giles Smulders, C.S.S.R., to the

archivist of the Baltimore Province [Joseph Wuest, C.S.S.R.], Detroit, April 6, 1888.

¹⁷ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 179–80.

¹⁸ For Gillet's earlier life, cf. Sister Maria Alma, *The Reverend Louis Florent Gillet*, pp. 1–36; Sr. Rosalita, *No Greater Service, History of the Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary* (Detroit, 1948), pp. 21–5.

¹⁹ Nordmann, *Die Liguorianer*, pp. 182–4, Martin Hasslinger, C.S.S.R., to Joseph Passerat, Detroit, January 1, 1848.

²⁰ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1846, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, December 10, 1846. For the other matters, including a civil court case, cf. Sr. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–8.

²¹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, April 26, 1847.

²² Cf. n. 16 *supra*.

²³ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, November 3, 1847.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Data 1847, Rumpler to Neumann, New York, October 24, 1847.

²⁵ Bernard Hafkenschied, C.S.S.R., "Actes authentiques concernant le Vice-Provincialat de la Congrégation du très-Saint Rédempteur dans les États-Unis" (cited hereafter as Hafkenschied, "Actes authentiques"), Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 216; cf. the letter of Hafkenschied to "Most Rev. Archbishop," n.p., n.d., *ibid.*, 256–8; *ibid.*, 210–16. Hafkenschied endeavored to the last to save his vocation.

²⁶ Sr. Maria Alma, *The Reverend Louis Florent Gillet*, pp. 111–14.

²⁷ RABP, N, Data 1847, Joseph Mueller, C.S.S.R., to [Neumann], Pittsburgh, April 8, 1847; *ibid.*, Mueller to Neumann, Pittsburgh, April 27, 1847; *ibid.*, Joseph Urbanczik, C.S.S.R., to Neumann, Rochester, October 9, 1847. Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 129–33, 145, has copies of these letters.

²⁸ P. M. Abbelen, P.S. de N.D., *Die Ehrwürdige Mutter Maria Carolina Friess* (St. Louis, 1892), pp. 73–82; Frederick Friess, *Life of Mother Mary Teresa of Jesus Gerhardinger* (Baltimore, n.d.), pp. 162–70; Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., "König Ludwig I von Bayern als Förderer des Deutschtums und des Katholizismus in Nordamerika," *Gelbe Hefte* (Munich), 1 Jahr, 2 Halbband (1924–5), 636–44; *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XVIII (1850), 453–86, Mother Caroline Friess to Hofkaplan Müller, Baltimore, June 18, 1850.

²⁹ RABP, Circularia Decreta atque Litterae editae a Reverendissimo Rectore Majore. This is a collection of documents written into a book begun by Father Lawrence Holzer, C.S.S.R. The circular addressed to the Fathers is signed by Martin Starck, C.S.S.R., September 7, 1847. It confirms the appointment of Neumann as made by De Held. Since the first appointment was provisional, the canonical authority of Starck's confirmation of Neumann was not permanent until ratified by the highest superior, Father Rector Major, or by Father Passerat.

³⁰ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 177–8.

³¹ AUND, New Orleans Papers (January–June, 1847), Chackert [*sic*] to Blanc, Baltimore, June 29, 1847; *ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-j, Blanc to Purcell, New Orleans, November 4, 1847. For Czackert's career, cf. T. L. Skinner, C.S.S.R., *The Redemptorists in the West* (privately printed, St. Louis, 1933), pp. 84–7.

³² RABP, II, Detroit 1846–60, "Annales Hospicii Detroitensis 1779–1848," Heft I, 15. This is a MS.

³³ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to [Neumann], New York, September 14, 1847.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Dilgskron, *Friedrich von Held*, p. 210; Peter Leo Johnson, "Documents: Letters to Bishop Henni," *Salesianum*, XXIX (October, 1934), 40, Hofkaplan Müller to John Henni at Milwaukee, Munich, March 1, 1847.

³⁶ New Orleans *Morning Star*, August 5, 1883, for an obituary on Father Alexander; cf. "Diarium P. Alexandri," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 372-451; Skinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-12; RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to [Neumann], New York, September 14, 1847.

³⁷ Charles G. Fehrenbach, C.S.S.R., "German Literary Activities of Redemptorists in United States," (Master's dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1937), pp. 60-1.

³⁸ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, I, 27, under date of March 15, 1847; *ibid.*, I, 77, under date of September 2, 1847.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ RABP, N, Data 1847, Anthony Joseph Urbanczik, C.S.S.R., to Neumann, Rochester, September 20, 1847.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Data 1847, Martin Hasslinger, to Rev. Mr. Neymann [*sic*], Detroit, May 27, 1847. This letter is written in Bohemian.

⁴² RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, Müller to Neumann, Munich, September 16, 1847.

⁴³ Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p. 170, Joseph Helmprecht, C.S.S.R., to Martin Starck, Baltimore, February 14, 1847; Berger, *Leben*, p. 253.

⁴⁴ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, statement of Mother Theophila.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, statement of Martin Friedrich.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, statement of E. Jackenberg.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, "Reminiscences of Nicholas Jaeckel, C.S.S.R."

⁴⁸ Berger, *Leben*, p. 281.

⁴⁹ Michael Wisbauer, "Journal meiner Abreise von Obernburg bis zur Ankunft in Milwaukee [*sic*], v 5 July bis 9 Okt., 1847," 21, under date of September 21, 1847. This journal (MS) is in St. Francis' Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin.

⁵⁰ Cf. n. 46 *supra*.

⁵¹ Nordmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8.

⁵² Wuest, *Annales*, I, 393-4, Passerat to Neumann, Liège, June 16, 1848.

⁵³ Cf. n. 51 *supra*.

⁵⁴ RABP, N, Theological Notes of John Neumann, MSS (cited hereafter as Neumann, Theological Notes), "De Statu Religioso," a chapter on religious superiors, wherein he quotes the "Maxims of St. Vincent de Paul" for January 25, February 2, March 15, 25, and May 27.

⁵⁵ "Free Schools of the Redemptorists," *United States Catholic Magazine*, VI (1847), 554.

⁵⁶ Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, January 25, 1849; Abbelen, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-4.

⁵⁷ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, statement of E. Jackenberg.

⁵⁸ Nordmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-1, Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, January 18-26, 1848.

⁵⁹ RABP, BP, [Mother Caroline, S.S.N.D.] to [Berger], April 21, 1874; cf. Berger, *Leben*, pp. 272-6. The contents of the letter prove that it was written by Mother Caroline.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*; the original MSS of Berger's *Leben*, pp. 369–70, has this detail.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Wissel Papers, Sister James [Oblate], to Rev. Joseph Wissel, C.S.S.R., St. Francis' Convent (otherwise unidentified), November 14, 1897. Cf. L. W. Reilly, "A Famous Convent of Colored Sisters," *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, XXXV (December, 1900), 1099–1105; Grace H. Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years* (New York, 1931), pp. 110–19.

⁶² Wuest, *Annales*, I, 201–2; cf. *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XVII (1849), 32–4, George Ruland, C.S.S.R., to Father Provincial [Bruchmann, C.S.S.R.], Baltimore, May 13–20, 1848.

⁶³ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 446–50. The seventy-one stations are enumerated.

⁶⁴ Nordmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–3, Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, January 18–26, 1848; RABP, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, December 3, 1847.

⁶⁵ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 178; cf. Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 523–7, Alexander to Hafkenschaid, Baltimore, October 6, 1849; cf. "Chronica Prov. Am. C.S.S.R. 1832–71," p. 149; cf. copy of letter of Hafkenschaid requesting dismissal papers from the superior general for Father Alig, November 13, 1849, inserted *ibid.*

⁶⁶ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, January 20, 1848; cf. Nordmann, *op. cit.*, 175–81, Benedict Bayer, C.S.S.R., to "Euer Hoch" [De Held], St. Mary's Town, January 5, 1848.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, December 3, 1847.

⁶⁸ *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XV (1847), 446, Kanemiller [*sic*] to Joseph Ferdinand Müller, Buffalo, April 27, 1847.

⁶⁹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, December 3, 1847; *ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1848, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, January 20, 1848.

⁷⁰ Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, January 18–26, 1848.

⁷¹ RABP, II, Pittsburgh 1839–1860, "Prospectus Redituum Domus Congr. SS. Red. ad St. Philomenam, Pittsburghii, Pa., ann. 1847," and "Prospectus Expensarum Domus Congr. SS. Red. ad St. Philomenam, Pittsburghii, Pa., ann. 1847"; the same folder contains a summary of receipts and expenses at Pittsburgh for 1848; *ibid.*, New York 1842–1860, "Einnahmen des Hauses des Allerh. Erlösers in Neu York [1847, 1848]," and "Ausgaben desselben Hauses . . . 1847, 1849." For the debts cf. n. 40 *supra*.

⁷² Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, January 18–26, 1848.

⁷³ RABP, N, Data 1847, Letters of Anthony Joseph Urbanczik, C.S.S.R., to Neumann, Rochester, September 20, October 29, December 4, 1847; *ibid.*, Data 1848, Urbanczik to Neumann, March 30, May 11, July 5, 1848, all from Rochester.

⁷⁴ *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XVI (1848), 437, Neumann to Joseph Ferdinand Müller, Baltimore, July 4, 1848.

⁷⁵ Berger, *Leben*, p. 279. A copy of these *Constitutionen und Regeln der Versammlung der Priester unter dem Titel des allerheiligsten Erlösers* (Baltimore, 1847), is in RABP.

⁷⁶ RABP, "Direttorio per uso de' Novizi della Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore," in appendix to a printed copy of the *Constitutionen und Regeln*.

⁷⁷ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 178.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 178, 457.

⁷⁹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to [Neumann], New York, September 14, 1847.

⁸⁰ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 200–1. This John Duffy was later to send a young man, James Gibbons, from New Orleans to St. Charles' College, Catonsville, Md., to study for the priesthood . . . the future Cardinal Gibbons. Cf. BCA, Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851–62, pp. 83, 84, under dates June 8 and July 11, 1855. For a sketch of Duffy's life cf. Skinner, *The Redemptorists in the West*, pp. 99–104.

⁸¹ Walter Elliott, C.S.P., *The Life of Father Hecker* (New York, 1891), pp. 198–229. Before going to Wittem, they were to make their novitiate at St. Trond, Belgium.

⁸² Wuest, *Annales*, I, 185; Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 150; John G. Shea, *The Catholic Churches of New York City* (New York, 1878), pp. 357–8.

⁸³ Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 157–8, Rumpler to Czackert, New York, January 7, 1847; cf. Wuest, *Annales*, I, 204; *ibid.*, II, 37–8.

⁸⁴ Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Stelzig to Starck, January 18–26, 1848.

⁸⁵ The Bishop of Buffalo [Rt. Rev. John Timon, C.M.], *Missions in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1862), p. 235; cf. Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–8.

⁸⁶ RABP, N, Data 1847, Joseph Müller, C.S.S.R., to Neumann, Pittsburgh, March 30, 1847.

⁸⁷ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 370–4; Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁸⁸ Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 179–80, Joseph Fey, C.S.S.R., to Neumann, Philadelphia, May 22, 1847.

⁸⁹ RABP, III, Matthias Poilvache, "Short Account of the Life and Edifying Death of R. P. Matth. Poilvache," MS, n.p., n.d.; *Life of F. Francis Poilvache*, (Ilchester, Md., 1890), pp. 71–83; *The Sisters of the I. H. M.* by a member of the Scranton Community (New York, 1921), pp. 24–40.

⁹⁰ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-j, Blanc to Purcell, New Orleans, October 1, 1847; Wuest, *Annales*, I, 195–6.

⁹¹ Krieger, *Seventy-Five Years of Service*, pp. 18–20; Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

⁹² Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p. 133, Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, January 18–26, 1848.

⁹³ Hafkenschaid, "Actes authentiques," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 187.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 192–3.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 191; cf. Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 146.

⁹⁶ Hafkenschaid, "Actes authentiques," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 194.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 196; cf. RABP, "Chronica Prov. Am. C.S.S.R. 1832–71," p. 198.

⁹⁸ Hafkenschaid, "Actes authentiques," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 205.

⁹⁹ Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–6; cf. "Notitiae P. Maximi Leimgruber, C.S.S.R.," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 35–47. Cf. George Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit: 1701–1888* (Detroit, 1951), pp. 452–3.

¹⁰⁰ Nordmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–81, Benedict Bayer, C.S.S.R., to "Euer Hoch" [De Held], St. Mary's Town, January 5, 1848; cf. Wuest, *Annales*, I, 186–90.

¹⁰¹ Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁰² *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XVI (1848), 437–40, Neumann to Joseph Ferdinand Müller, Baltimore, July 4, 1848; P. M. Abbelen, *Die Ehrwürdige Mutter Maria Caroline Friess*, p. 82; Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, January 25, 1849; cf. *Mother Caroline and the School Sisters of Notre Dame* (St. Louis, 1928) I, 32–44.

¹⁰³ RABP, N, BP, [Mother Caroline, S.S.N.D.], to [Berger], Milwaukee, April 21, 1874.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Wissel Papers, statement of Martin Friedrich.

¹⁰⁵ The problem of wider powers was evident from the start. Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, I, 100, reported that Neumann received from De Held all the powers that the Belgian Provincial had. The trouble was aggravated because De Held was then seeking to be relieved of the charge of the American houses.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. pp. 112-17.

¹⁰⁷ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1846, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, December 10, 1846; cf. *ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1847, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, November 28, 1847.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, November 3, 1847.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, November 28, 1847.

¹¹⁰ Seven letters were sent by Neumann to De Held and to Starck. Cf. RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, 1848, De Held to Neumann, Lüttich, April 26 and November 3, 1847; Starck to Neumann, Vienna, December 3, 1847 and January 20, 1848. A diligent search has failed to bring to light these letters, but from the answers given to them it appears that Neumann was suffering under the burden of his position as vicegerent. The subsequent letter of Passerat, Vienna, January 14, 1848, tells Neumann that he would not have to bear the burden long; cf. n. 114 *infra*.

¹¹¹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, Passerat to the Redemptorists in the United States, Vienna, December 2, 1847 (copy).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, December 3, 1847.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1848, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, January 1, 1848.

¹¹⁴ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 381, Passerat to Neumann, Vienna, January 14, 1848.

¹¹⁵ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, January 20, 1848.

¹¹⁶ Three of the complaining letters were published in Nordmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-39; Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, January 18-26, 1848; *ibid.*, pp. 140-53, Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, February 5, 1848; *ibid.*, pp. 154-9, Stelzig to Starck, Baltimore, February 17, 1848.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 174, Joseph Helmpraecht to Starck, Baltimore, February 14, 1848.

¹¹⁸ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1847, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, December 3, 1847; *ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1848, Starck to Neumann, Vienna, January 20, 1848; RABP, "Chronica Prov. Am. C.S.S.R.," p. 178.

¹¹⁹ Carr, (trans.) Henri Girouille's *Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Passerat*, pp. 516-22; Carl Mader, C.S.S.R., *Die Congregation des Allerheiligsten Erlösers in Österreich* (Vienna, 1887), pp. 42-3; cf. RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Michael Heilig, C.S.S.R., to [Neumann], Lüttich, April 30, 1848.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Letters from Europe 1848, Heilig to [Neumann], Lüttich, May 30, 1848.

¹²¹ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 393-4, Passerat to Neumann, Liège, June 16, 1848.

¹²² RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Heilig to [Neumann], Lüttich, July 15, 1848.

¹²³ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 216–22; *ibid.*, 393–4, Bro. Louis Kenning to “Very Rev. Father Superior” [John Neumann], Lafayette, November 9, 1848.

¹²⁴ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 211.

¹²⁵ RABP, “Chronica Prov. Am. C.S.S.R.,” p. 177.

¹²⁶ Wuest, *Annales*, I, 199.

¹²⁷ This statement is taken from the original MS life of John Neumann by Berger, 367–8, RABP.

¹²⁸ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Circular letter of Father Michael Heilig to all the houses in America, September 28, 1848, giving the outline of these involved negotiations; cf. n. 120 *supra*; Wuest *Annales* I, 403–7.

¹²⁹ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Heilig to Neumann, Lüttich, August 29, 1848.

¹³⁰ Cf. n. 128 *supra*.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Heilig to [Neumann], Lüttich, October 7, 1848.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ RABP, N, Letters from Europe 1848, Heilig to [Neumann], Lüttich, October 31, 1848. The circular letter of Father Heilig to the American Fathers gave official notice of the new vice-provincial's name. The vice-provincial's powers were sent in an accompanying printed circular, “Jura et Officia Congregationis SSmi. Redemptoris” in America, signed by Heilig, December 8, 1848, RABP, I, Hafkenschied Papers 1849–54. Heilig had already informed Hafkenschied as early as September 23, 1848 that he was to be given charge of the American vice-province; cf. Hafkenschied, “Actes authentiques,” Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 184.

¹³⁵ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 13.

NOTES

CHAPTER IX

¹ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1851, Neumann to Francis [Seelos], C.S.S.R., Baltimore, December 31, 1851.

² Wuest, *Annales*, I, 199–200.

³ Cf. P. Claessens, C.S.S.R., *Vie du Père Bernard* (Tournai, 1873), trans. (New York, 1875); for Hafkenschied's idea on expansion cf. Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 264–5, Hafkenschied to Bishop Henni of Milwaukee, Baltimore, July 23, 1849; *ibid.*, Hafkenschied to Henni, Baltimore, March 16 [1850]; *ibid.*, 310, Hafkenschied to Mr. Smith and other German Catholics of Fells Point, Baltimore, March 16, 1850.

⁴ Hafkenschied, “Actes authentiques,” Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 184; Wuest, *Annales*, II, 26.

⁵ LR, I, 157–60, Hafkenschied to Heilig, New York, May 11, 1850.

⁶ *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 37–46, Hafkenschied to the Archbishop of Vienna, Baltimore, June 19, 1852.

⁷ Hafkenschied, “Actes authentiques,” under date of March 25, 1849, Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 191–2; *ibid.*, November 13, 1849, p. 210; *ibid.*, March 27, 1851, p. 224.

⁸ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 54–8, 346–9. The literature on the subject of the transfer is considerable; cf. “Mémoire adressé au R. P. Provincial de la Belgique et à ses

consulteurs sur la colonie et la ville de Ste-Marie dans Elk County, Pennsylvanie," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 266-79; cf. also the correspondence on the subject with the Bishop of Pittsburgh and others, *ibid.*, 285-95.

⁹ Hafkenschaid, "Actes authentiques," March 10, 1849, Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 190.

¹⁰ Cf. Baptismal registers of St. Alphonsus' Church, Baltimore, and of St. Augustine's Church, Elkridge Landing, for years 1849, 1850, 1851. RABP, N, has a chronological list of Neumann's entries in these registers, copied from the originals by Henry Schorp, C.S.S.R.

¹¹ RABP, N, Neumann's Letters 1850, Neumann to Seelos, Baltimore, January 30, 1850.

¹² Charles Warren Currier, *Carmel in America* (Baltimore, 1890), pp. 243-7.

¹³ RABP, N, BP, [Mother Caroline, S.S.N.D.] to [Berger], Milwaukee, April 21, 1874.

¹⁴ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 273-4.

¹⁵ "Textus Litterarum Circularium Superioris Vice-Provincialis, P. Bernardi Hafkenschaid, antequam iter in Europam aggrediretur," Baltimore, August 24, 1850, Wuest, *Annales*, II, 417-18.

¹⁶ RABP, I, Hafkenschaid Papers 1849-54. Cf. Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 305-8, for the petition for erection of the province, signed by Hafkenschaid, March 4, 1850. Notable among the reasons advanced for it was the desire for greater authority in America to handle the situation. For the actual decree of erection signed by the Superior General, Most Rev. Vincent Trapanese, June 29, 1850, cf. Wuest, *Annales*, II, 124.

¹⁷ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 19, 90-5; Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, p. 419.

¹⁸ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 134-5.

¹⁹ Richard J. Purcell, "Clarence Augustine Walworth," *DAB*, XIX (New York, 1936), 405-6; Ellen H. Walworth, *Life Sketches of Father Walworth* (Albany, 1907), pp. 64-140.

²⁰ Walter Elliott, C.S.P., *The Life of Father Hecker* (New York, 1891), pp. 230-50.

²¹ Raymond William Adams, "Augustine Francis Hewit," *DAB*, VIII (New York, 1932), 604.

²² Walworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-3.

²³ "Letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick to the Family of George Bernard Allen," ACHS *Records*, XXI (1920), 210-12, F. P. Kenrick to George Bernard Allen, Baltimore, April 6, 1853, and F. P. Kenrick to Mrs. Allen, Baltimore, June 5, 1853; cf. A. E. Hewit, *Sermons of the Rev. Francis A. Baker, Priest of the Congregation of St. Paul, with a Memoir of His Life* (New York, 1865), pp. 110-70.

²⁴ Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-6. For the part played by the other Fathers one has to read the *Annales*, II, *passim*. Thus, at the first mission given in New York, Father Duffy assisted with the preaching and Fathers Alexander, Hespelien, Krutil, Anwander and Kleineidam heard the confessions; cf. Hafkenschaid, "Actes authentiques," April 6, 1851, Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 224.

²⁵ Cf. n. 16 *supra*. The idea of a seminary seemed to be foreshadowed in the petition for the erection of a separate province.

²⁶ Wuest, *Historia Separationis Paulistarum 1857-1858* (Ilchester, Md., 1900), pp. 103-4, Clarence Walworth to Edgar Wadhams, The Feast of Corpus Christi, May, 1845.

²⁷ Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9.

²⁸ Sister M. M. Mildred, S.H.C.J., "James Alphonsus McMaster, Pioneer Catholic Journalist of the United States," *ACHS Records*, XLV (1935), 1-21; Sister Mary Canisius Minahan, "James A. McMaster, A Pioneer Catholic Journalist," *ACHS Records*, XLVI (1936), 87-131; Sister Mary Augustine Kwitchen, O.S.F., *James Alphonsus McMaster, a Study in American Thought* (Washington, D. C., 1949) pp. 49-67.

²⁹ Nordmann, *Die Liguorianer*, pp. 208-9; Wuest, *Annales*, II, 152.

³⁰ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1850, Neumann to Seelos, Baltimore, January 30, 1850.

³¹ *Ibid.*, BP, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d.

³² BCA 27 A F 3, Neumann to Archbishop [Samuel Eccleston], St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, March 27, 1848; Maurice De Meulemeester, C.S.S.R., *Bibliographie Générale des Écrivains des Redemptoristes*, II (Louvain, 1935), seems to think Neumann was the author or compiler of *Christkatholischer Katechismus nach dem grösseren Werke des Ehrw. Pater Kanisius, Neu aufgelegt durch die Versammlung des allerheiligsten Erlösers in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1842).

³³ *Kleiner Katechismus herausgegeben von der Versammlung des allerheiligsten Erlösers*, n.d. (but with approbation of Bishop O'Connor), and *Katholischer Katechismus herausgegeben von der Versammlung des allerheiligsten Erlösers* (Pittsburgh, 1846). In RABP is a bound copy of both catechisms in one volume; cf. Beck, *Goldenes Jubiläum*, p. 154, n.

³⁴ BCA 27 A F 3, Neumann to [Eccleston], Baltimore, March 27, 1848.

³⁵ RABP, N, Neumann's Catechisms.

³⁶ Beck, *Goldenes Jubiläum*, p. 154, n.

³⁷ RABP, N, Neumann's Catechisms, "Synopsis Catechismi ad Parochos"; this sixty-page catechism is divided into three parts: Creed, Sacraments, Commandments.

³⁸ Cf. p. 27.

³⁹ RABP, N, BP, [Mother Caroline, S.S.N.D.] to [Berger], Milwaukee, April 21, 1874.

⁴⁰ John Neumann, "Exegesis Veteris Testamenti, Prachaticii," dated August 15, 1835, and "Exegesis Librorum Novi Testamenti, II di anni theologi, 1832," bound MSS. The original manuscripts of these exegetical notes are in the library of St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. A faithful copy is in RABP.

⁴¹ RABP, N, Neumann's Bible History, "Biblische Geschichte des Alt. Testamentes," a twenty-page MS dated Williamsville, February 9, 1837.

⁴² Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 154. Cf. *Katholische Katechismus* (Pittsburgh, 1846), in which are numerous references to this Bible History.

⁴³ RABP, N, Neumann's Bible History, four MS folders containing "Biblische Geschichte des Alt. Testamentes."

⁴⁴ *Biblische Geschichte des Alten und Neuen Testamentes um Gebrauche der Katholischen Schulen* (Baltimore, 1849). The outside cover has the date 1850; the name of the author is not given.

⁴⁵ KK, January 12, 1860. It was only after Neumann's death that his theological writings in this paper were made known. For Oertel, cf. Charles Herbermann, "John James Maximilian Oertel," *USCHS Records and Studies*, Vol. IV, Parts I and II (1906), 139-44; cf. John James Maximilian Oertel, *The Reasons of John James Maximilian Oertel, late a Lutheran Minister, for Becoming a Catholic* (New York, 1840).

⁴⁶ RABP, N, BP, Abbot Wimmer to John Berger, Westmoreland, March 27, 1872; cf. ACHS *Records*, XXXI (1920), 187, F. P. Kenrick to George Allen, Baltimore, March 16, 1852; Alexander Pax, in *Christliche Woche*, March 31, 1876; RABP, N, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d.

⁴⁷ The Theological Notes are in RABP, N.

⁴⁸ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 153.

⁴⁹ Hafkenschaid, "Actes authentiques," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 223.

⁵⁰ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 153.

⁵¹ RABP, N, BP, Coudenhove to [Berger], n.p., n.d.; Wuest, *Annales*, II, 152; RABP, N, Wissel Papers, statement of Martin Friedrich.

⁵² *Ibid.*, BP, Charles Rosenbauer, C.SS.R., to [Berger]. The superscription of the letter is torn off.

⁵³ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father and sisters, Baltimore, June 10, 1851; *ibid.*, Neumann to his father and relatives, Baltimore, September 10, 1851.

⁵⁴ Berger, *Leben*, p. 284.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁵⁶ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, under date of January 21, 1852.

NOTES

CHAPTER X

¹ John J. O'Shea, *The Two Kenricks* (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 160; cf. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, p. 181. For Bishop Conwell's difficulties cf. Martin I. J. Griffin and Lemuel B. Norton, "Life of Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia," ACHS *Records*, XXIV-XXIX (1913-18); Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), I, 380-425; cf. Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., *The Hogan Schism and Trustee Troubles* (Philadelphia, 1930); cf. Hugh J. Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia: 1830-1851* (Philadelphia, 1948), pp. 61-101.

² *KF*, p. 316, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick [Baltimore ?], April 26, 1851; *ibid.*, p. 317, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., May 15, 1851.

³ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-1, Chanche to Purcell, Natchez, October 9, 1851; for other ideas concerning the possible successor of Archbishop Eccleston, cf. Nolan, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-8.

⁴ Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore: 1791-1884* (New York, 1932), p. 271.

⁵ Nolan, *op. cit.*, is the first full-length biography of the third Bishop of Philadelphia; cf. O'Shea, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-160; Kenrick, Francis Patrick, *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick*, trans. and ed. [Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A.], (Lancaster, 1916); for his literary work cf. Michael Moran, "The Writings of Francis Patrick Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore: 1797-1863," ACHS *Records*, XLI (1930), 230-61.

⁶ *KF*, p. 314, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., March 15, 1851.

⁷ Donald Shearer, O.F.M. Cap., *Pontificia Americana* (Washington, D. C., 1933), p. 248, Propaganda Fide to Archbishop Eccleston, July 3, 1847.

⁸ Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England*, II, 383.

⁹ Mathäser, *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I von Bayern*, pp. 162-7; cf. also John M. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap., "German Catholic Aid to the Church in America," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, XXXII (1939), 237-8. The 1840 remonstrance was called "Die Katholische-irisch-bischöfliche Administration in Nordamerika," by Severus Brandanus. Who the real author of this exaggerated picture of the religious status of the Germans in the United States was, is not divulged. Cf. Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missions-Verein and the Catholic Church in the United States: 1838-1918*, pp. 17-19, wherein that author calls the remonstrance a "diatribe." The complaints occasioned the visit of Canon Joseph Salzbacher in 1842, who came to investigate the truth of them and to study the conditions of the church in the United States. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 42-3; Mathäser, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-71. The idea of restricting the money collected in Germany for the use of the Germans in the United States seems to have gained many adherents in Bavaria. Cf. Roemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19. The funds collected in Bavaria were sent through the Society of the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons to the American bishops. Not all the Germans agreed with the complaints. The Redemptorist, Father Prost, said that the contributions from Germany were only a very small part of what was needed for the churches in the United States, Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 233-8, Prost to Brother Friedrich Röder, C.S.S.R., Puchheim, June 10, 1875. The same Father declared that the American bishops were not the sole cause of the situation, Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*, I, 230-1. For one bishop's hostile reaction to the pressure from Europe in this matter, cf. AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-i, O'Connor to Purcell, Pittsburgh, February 13, 1844. Bishop Richard Miles of Tennessee regarded Salzbacher's visit in the same light, saying, "It is really humiliating to be subjected to such espionage," *ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-h, Miles, O.P., to Purcell, Nashville, May 7, 1842.

¹⁰ Mathäser, "König Ludwig I von Bayern als Förderer des Deutschtums und des Katholizismus in Nordamerika," *Gelbe Hefte, Historische und Politische Zeitschrift für Das Katholische Deutschland*, 1 Jahr, 2 Halbband (Munich, 1924-5), 616-49.

¹¹ John Berger, C.S.S.R., *Life of the Rt. Rev. John N. Neumann*, trans. Eugene Grimm, C.S.S.R. (New York, 1884), p. 440. This translation (cited hereafter as Berger, *Life*) contains the original draft of the funeral sermon preached over Neumann by Francis P. Kenrick. The German *Leben* has another version. In the original draft, Kenrick explains why his attention was directed to Neumann: "I deemed the knowledge of the German language an important qualification for a prelate in a diocese containing so large a population speaking that tongue."

¹² BCA 29 C 2, Van de Velde, S.J., of Chicago, to F. P. Kenrick, Chicago, October 27, 1851; *ibid.*, 29 H 9, Hughes to F. P. Kenrick, New York, October 8, 1851.

¹³ *KF*, p. 319, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., September 19, 1851.

¹⁴ BCA 29 T 71, P. R. Kenrick to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., n.d.

¹⁵ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-l, F. P. Kenrick to Purcell, Philadelphia, October 5, 1851.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ BCA 29 H 9, Hughes to F. P. Kenrick, New York, October 8, 1851.

¹⁸ *KF*, pp. 367-8, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, March 29, 1854; cf. Code, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁹ Cf. n. 17 *supra*.

²⁰ *KF*, p. 323, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, October 14, 1851; Archivio della S.C. de Propaganda Fide, Rome, Italy (cited hereafter as APF), Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali (cited hereafter as SRCG), 1852, Vol. CMLXXV, fols. 83rv, 84v, F. P. Kenrick to James Cardinal Franzoni, prefect of Propaganda, Baltimore, October 14, 1851.

²¹ Berger, *Life*, p. 440; cf. p. 176.

²² RABP, N, BP, Coudenrove to [Berger], n.p., n.d.; Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, I, 4.

²³ *ACHS Records*, XXXI (1920), 187, F. P. Kenrick to George Allen, Baltimore, March 16, 1852.

²⁴ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Eccleston to Purcell, Baltimore, April 16, 1850.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, New Orleans Papers (January-June, 1848), Eccleston to Blanc, Baltimore, May 20, 1848; *ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Eccleston to Purcell, Baltimore, May 20, 1848.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II-4-k, Ignatius Reynolds to Purcell, Charleston, S. C., July 10, 1850.

²⁷ *Character Glimpses of Most Reverend William Henry Elder, D.D.* (New York, 1911), pp. 11-27.

²⁸ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, O'Connor to Purcell, Pittsburgh, May 1, 1848.

²⁹ APF, SRCG, 1852, Vol. CMLXXV, fol. 89rv, F. P. Kenrick to Bernard Smith, Baltimore, October 26, 1851 (extract of letter).

³⁰ *KF*, p. 323, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, October 14, 1851; New York Archdiocesan Archives, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. (cited hereafter as NYAA), A-12, F. P. Kenrick to John Hughes, Baltimore, [no day], 1851.

³¹ APF, SRCG, 1852, Vol. CMLXXV, fol. 81rv, O'Connor to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Pittsburgh, December 12, 1851.

³² BCA 31 G 2, Reynolds to F. P. Kenrick, Charleston, October 28, 1851.

³³ *KF*, pp. 473-4, F. P. Kenrick to Marc Frenaye, Baltimore, January 19, 1852, saying, "It is necessary to have something more than orators."

³⁴ APF, SRCG, 1852, Vol. CMLXXV, fol. 91rv, 92v, Reynolds to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda [James Franzoni], Charleston, Pridie Kal. Novembris [October 31], 1851.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 97rv, 98v, Whelan to Franzoni, Wheeling, November 17, 1851.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 100rv, 101v, Van de Velde, S.J., to the Cardinal Prefect, Chicago, November 20, 1851.

³⁷ APF, Scritture riferite nei congressi, America Centrale dal Canada all' istmo di Panama (cited hereafter as SRC, America Centrale), 1852-1854, Vol. XVI, fols. 22r-23v, McGill to Franzoni, Richmond, Va., January 2, 1852.

³⁸ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-l, Chanche to Purcell, Natchez, December 5, 1851. BCA 32 A N 2, Spalding to F. P. Kenrick, Louisville, October 31, 1851.

³⁹ F. P. Kenrick to Bernard Smith, cf. n. 29 *supra*; BCA 31 J 3, Bernard Smith to F. P. Kenrick, Rome, December 20, 1851.

⁴⁰ APF, Acta S. C. de Propaganda Fide (cited hereafter as ASC), 1852, Vol. CCXIV, fol. 53 (Sommario della pendenza), F. P. Kenrick to the Cardinal Prefect, Baltimore, November 17, 1851.

⁴¹ BCA 31 J 3, Bernard Smith to F. P. Kenrick, Rome, December 20, 1851.

⁴² *KF*, pp. 324–7, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, [Baltimore ?], Feast of the Holy Name 185[2?].

⁴³ Berger, *Leben*, p. 285.

⁴⁴ Claessens, *Vie du Père Bernard*, p. 99.

⁴⁵ Cf. n. 43 *supra*.

⁴⁶ *KF*, pp. 473–4, F. P. Kenrick to Marc Frenaye, Baltimore, January 19, 1852.

⁴⁷ *Catholic Herald*, January 29, 1852.

⁴⁸ *KF*, p. 474, F. P. Kenrick to Frenaye, Baltimore, January 25, 1852; *ibid.*, p. 475, F. P. Kenrick to Frenaye, Baltimore, February 10, 1852; BCA 31 G 4, Reynolds to F. P. Kenrick, Charleston, February 14, 1852.

⁴⁹ Life sketches of these prelates may readily be found under their names in Code, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ BCA 32 A I 3, Frenaye to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, January 28, 1852.

⁵¹ Cf. n. 47 *supra*.

⁵² BCA 31 K 5, Sourin to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, January 22, 1852.

⁵³ BCA 31 K 6, Sourin to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, January 31, 1852.

⁵⁴ BCA 30 W 5, O'Connor to F. P. Kenrick, Pittsburgh, February 26, 1852.

⁵⁵ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 1, under date of January 22, 1852.

⁵⁶ *KF*, p. 474, F. P. Kenrick to Frenaye, Baltimore, January 25, 1852.

⁵⁷ APF, SRG, 1852, Vol. CMLXXV, fol. 104rv, 105v, Rudolf Smetana, C.S.S.R., to the Holy Father, Coblenz, December 8, 1851.

⁵⁸ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 286–7; BCA 31 J 4, Bernard Smith to F. P. Kenrick, Irish College, Rome, February 2, 1852.

⁵⁹ APF, Lettere e Decreti della S. C. e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario (cited hereafter as LD), 1852, Prima Parte, Vol. CCCXLI, fol. 240rv.

This decree of Propaganda Fide, February 5, 1852 (on Neumann's election), says the Holy Father approved the choice of the cardinals and ordered the apostolic brief drawn up, "contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus." The official notice to John Neumann, dated February 21, 1852, says: "Superest ut significem Bmum Patrem, praeter ea in ipsis apostolicis litteris continentur ad omnem praecavendam difficultatem mentem suam declarasse ut addito obedientiae praecepto ad onus hujusmodi subeundum tua Paternitas adigeretur," *ibid.*, Prima Parte, CCCXLI, fol. 228v; cf. Berger, *Leben*, p. 287. It would seem that the claim of being greatly instrumental in bringing John Neumann to the bishopric made by Graf Spauer in his letter to the former King Ludwig I of Bavaria, was, to say the least, greatly exaggerated. Cf. Mathäser, "König Ludwig I von Bayern als Förderer des Deutschtums und des Katholizismus in Nordamerika," *Gelbe Hefte* (Munich), 1 Jahr, 2 Halbband (1924–5), 633. On this point cf. George Timpe, P.S.M., "Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B., und Koenig Ludwig I," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, XXXII (1939), 251–2.

⁶⁰ Hafkenschaid, "Actes authentiques," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 230–1; Berger, *Leben*, p. 286.

⁶¹ *KF*, p. 329, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., Kalends of March, 1852.

⁶² BCA 34 J 15, F. P. Kenrick to the Bishop of Louisville [Martin J. Spalding], Baltimore, March 1, 1852.

⁶³ NYAA, A-12, F. P. Kenrick to Hughes, Baltimore, March 1, 1852.

⁶⁴ BCA 28 A 5, Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, March 14, 1852.

⁶⁵ ACHS *Records* XXXI (1920), 187, F. P. Kenrick to Mrs. Allen, Baltimore,

March 16, 1852; *ibid.*, F. P. Kenrick to George B. Allen, Baltimore, March 16, 1852.

⁶⁶ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-1, Chanche to Purcell, Natchez, March 15, 1852.

⁶⁷ BCA 29 I 1, Hughes to F. P. Kenrick, New York, March 15, 1852.

⁶⁸ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-1, O'Connor to Purcell, Pittsburgh, March 3, 1852.

⁶⁹ RABP, N, Data 1852, Coudenhove to Holzer, Philadelphia, March 12, 1852.

⁷⁰ Hafkenschied, "Actes authentiques," Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 230, under date of March 4, 1852; Berger, *Leben*, p. 289.

⁷¹ BCA C I 13, Cardinal Franzoni to F. P. Kenrick, In Aedibus, S.C.P.F., Rome, February 21, 1852.

⁷² *KF*, pp. 329-30, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., Kalends of March, 1852.

⁷³ For the collections to purchase vestments, etc., cf. the "Dank Adresse," drawn up on March 22, 1852, RABP, N, Data 1852; cf. Berger, *Leben*, pp. 287, 290.

⁷⁴ Cf. p. 63; cf. Code, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

⁷⁵ BCA 30 W 6, O'Connor to F. P. Kenrick, Pittsburgh, March 26, 1852.

⁷⁶ Berger, *Leben*, p. 291.

⁷⁷ *Catholic Herald*, March 25, 1852, announced that the Bishops of Wheeling, Pittsburgh, and Charleston would be on hand; cf. BCA 31 G 8, Reynolds to F. P. Kenrick, Charleston, March 24, 1852.

⁷⁸ St. Gregory the Great, *Liber Pastoralis*, Part II, chap. I (Innsbruck, 1845), p. 24.

⁷⁹ Berger, *Leben*, p. 290, gives the sentence in direct quotations. Coudenhove, from whose account it appears to be taken, gives the phrasing in an indirect sentence, but with quotations around it; RABP, BP, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d.

NOTES

CHAPTER XI

¹ This account of the consecration is taken from a variety of sources. Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, April 8, 1852; *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 33-46, Hafkenschied to the Archbishop of Vienna, Baltimore, June 19, 1852; BDA, RP, Neumann to his father and sisters, Philadelphia, April 21, 1852; *North American and United States Gazette*, March 30, 1852; RABP, N, BP, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d.

² Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, p. 195.

³ RABP, N, Theological Notes, "De Episcopis."

⁴ Michael O'Connor, hearing that he was being proposed as a bishop, went to Gregory XVI to evade the honor, stating that he wanted to be a Jesuit. Gregory replied, "You will be a bishop first and a Jesuit afterwards"; *Woodstock Letters* II (Woodstock, Md., 1873), 71. Bishop Lefevre took the office only out of obedience; cf. Detroit Archdiocesan Archives (cited hereafter as DAA), Letter Book of Bishop Lefevre, September 24, 1857-February 15, 1870, Lefevre to Purcell,

Detroit, February 27, 1860. Rev. Charles Montgomery declined his nomination for the See of Monterey, California, AUND, Cincinnati Papers, 11-4-k, Eccleston to Purcell, Baltimore, April 16, 1850; James Oliver Van de Velde, S.J., sought to evade it unsuccessfully, AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Van de Velde to Purcell, St. Louis, January 10, 1849. The list of priests who refused the mitre in the 1850's includes also Revs. James Corcoran, John McCaffrey, John Byrne, and others.

⁵ Hassard, *The Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes*, p. 167.

⁶ Cf. n. 1 *supra*.

⁷ RABP, N, BP, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d.

⁸ Berger, *Leben*, p. 289.

⁹ RABP, N, Data 1852, Wenceslaus Neumann to his father, Detroit, December 8, 1852; RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15-25, 1860.

¹⁰ Hafkenscheld, "Actes authentiques," in Wuest, *Suppl.*, II, 231; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 291-2.

¹¹ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 9.

¹² "Aurora Borealis," Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, April 1, 1852, gives the weather conditions.

¹³ Cf. n. 7 *supra*.

¹⁴ *Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann* (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 8-10.

¹⁵ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father and sisters, Philadelphia, April 21, 1852.

¹⁶ Berger, *Leben*, p. 296. Neumann's pastoral mentions the respect and kindness shown him.

¹⁷ Cf. n. 7 *supra*.

¹⁸ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 9.

¹⁹ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father and sisters, Philadelphia, April 21, 1852, says that he had about one hundred priests and as many churches, with 170,000 Catholics. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1852 gives 111 priests. The figure given for the general population is based on the population of Philadelphia, 408,000, and the smaller towns of the diocese in 1850.

²⁰ For descriptions of the city in those days cf. R. A. Smith, *Philadelphia as It Is in 1852*, (Philadelphia, 1852); also *Stranger's Guide to Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1860); cf. Dr. F. X. Paulhuber, "Bilder des Amerikanischen Missions-Lebens," *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, XXII (1864), 395; *ibid.*, VII (1849), 1412; *ibid.*, VIII (1850), 974; cf. *Catholic Herald*, October 25, 1855.

²¹ Frederick Bremer, *The Homes of the New World*, trans. Mary Hewitt (New York, 1864), I, 435-6.

²² Martin I. J. Griffin, "William Penn, the Friend of Catholics," *ACHS Records*, I (1884-6), 79, 82-3; E. I. Devitt, S.J., "The Planting of the Faith in America," *ibid.*, VI (1895), 175-6.

²³ Martin I. J. Griffin, "Barry's Grave," *American Catholic Historical Researches* (cited hereafter as *Researches*), XXIV (1907), 378; cf. Michael J. Ryan, "Old St. Mary's—a National Shrine," *ACHS Records*, XXXVIII (1927), 158-67.

²⁴ Mary A. Greene, "Reminiscences of St. John's Church," *Golden Jubilee of St. John the Evangelist's Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary: 1852-1902* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 33-6; cf. Martin I. J. Griffin, "History of the Church of St. John the

Evangelist, Philadelphia," *ACHS Records*, XX (1909), 350-405; *ibid.*, XXI (1910), 129-38.

²⁵ Francis J. Hertkorn, *A Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish: 1789-1914* (Philadelphia, n.d.), p. 37.

²⁶ Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., *Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia with Some Records of the Austin Friars in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1937).

²⁷ Maurice Francis Egan, *Recollections of a Happy Life* (New York, 1924), p. 29.

²⁸ For Trenton, cf. Walter T. Leahy, *The Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton, N. J.* (Princeton, 1907), pp. 20-84; for Scranton, cf. Mark F. Valette, "Brief Sketch of Catholicity in the Coal Regions of Pennsylvania," *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, I (1887), 385-91; for York, cf. M.A.W., *History of St. Mary's Parish, York, Pennsylvania: 1852-1927* (n.p., 1927); for Columbia, cf. *Historical Sketch of St. Peter's Church, Columbia, Pa., 1828-1929* (n.p., n.d.); for Lancaster, cf. S. M. Sener, "The Catholic Church at Lancaster," (Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., ed.), *ACHS Records*, V (1894), 307-56; for Chester, cf. Joseph M. O'Hara, *Chester's Century of Catholicism: 1842-1942* (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 46-100; Valette, "Sketch of Catholicity in Pennsylvania Prior to 1800," *The Catholic Record*, XII (April, 1877), 321-8; "Catholicity in Eastern Pennsylvania from 1800 to 1835," *ibid.*, XIII (July, 1877), 129-41; also "Catholicity in Eastern Pennsylvania from 1835 to 1844," *ibid.*, XIII (August, 1877), 210-23.

²⁹ Egan, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-6.

³⁰ "Some Philadelphia Converts," *ACHS Records*, XXXIII (1922), 265-6. He was handicapped by deafness in later years, *ibid.*, XXXII (1921), 117.

³¹ Ella M. Flick, "The Rev. Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter, V.G.: 1803-1879," *ACHS Records*, XXXIII (1922), 193-215.

³² *The Sisters of the I. H. M.*, by a member of the Scranton Community (New York, 1921), pp. 160-7. Cf. "Reminiscences of Sister M. Teresa White," *ACHS Records*, XII (1901), 64-5.

³³ Edward Roth, "Memoir of the Very Rev. Patrick Reilly, V.G., First Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Wilmington, Delaware," *ACHS Records*, V (1894), 7-18; cf. AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II 4-1, P. R. Kenrick to Purcell, St. Louis, January 19, 1853.

³⁴ Richard M. Reilly, "Bernard Keenan," *Paper Read Before the Lancaster Historical Society*, XXVIII, No. 6 (Lancaster, 1924), 85-91; cf. Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1882), pp. 462-3; cf. *Catholic Instructor*, Philadelphia, June 9, 1855.

³⁵ John E. McCann, "History of Catholicity in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, from the Earliest Times to the Present, A.D. 1737-1920," *ACHS Records*, XXXII (1921), 77.

³⁶ Eleanor C. Donnelly, *A Memoir of Father Felix Joseph Barbelin, S.J.*, (Philadelphia, 1886).

³⁷ Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, July 13, 1892.

³⁸ Francis X. Talbot, S.J., *Jesuit Education in Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's College: 1851-1926* (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 56; "Reminiscences of Father Jordan, S.J.," *ACHS Records*, XII (1901), 215-16.

³⁹ Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., "Some Memoirs of Our Lady's Shrine at Chestnut Hill, Pa.: 1855-1900," *ACHS Records*, XII (1901), 261-80; cf. *Catholic Instructor*, March 31, 1855.

⁴⁰ "Dedication of St. Philomena's Church," *United States Catholic Magazine*, V (1846), 284-7; *Catholic Herald*, June 7, 1856.

⁴¹ Code, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴² M. A. Drennan, "The Early History of the 'Congregation of the Mission' in Philadelphia," *ACHS Records*, XX (1909), 4-14.

⁴³ George O'Donnell (ed.), *St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa.* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 1-13. The list of the priests of the diocese on pp. 193-7 indicates the growing strength of the seminary during Neumann's episcopate.

⁴⁴ Louise Callan, R.S.C.J., *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America* (New York, 1937), pp. 357-79. The Society of the Sacred Heart began at McSherrystown and later transferred to Eden Hall.

⁴⁵ Abbé Rivaux, *Life of the Rev. Mother St. John Fontbonne*, trans. (New York, 1887), pp. 222-5; Callan, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

⁴⁶ *Catholic Instructor*, May 3, 1851.

⁴⁷ Talbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-42.

⁴⁸ Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., *Historical Sketch of the Augustinian Monastery, College and Mission of St. Thomas of Villanova, 1842-1892* (Villanova, 1893), pp. 18-38.

⁴⁹ "St. Mary's College, Wilmington, Del.," *United States Catholic Magazine*, VII (1848), 369-72.

⁵⁰ *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1852, pp. 84-5; *Catholic Instructor*, September 4, 1852. The Sisters of Charity conducted St. Joseph's Female Orphan Asylum in Philadelphia and St. Peter's Orphan Asylum in Wilmington. The Sisters of St. Joseph conducted St. John's Male Orphan Asylum in Philadelphia as well as St. Joseph's Hospital.

⁵¹ Hassard, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁵² Cf. p. 275.

⁵³ In the absence of financial statements concerning the cathedral building operations, it is impossible to determine how much of a debt was on the cathedral when Neumann arrived. In his letter to the Holy See in September, 1858, Bishop Wood complained that the episcopal residence and the cathedral were in debt 100,000 scudi, roughly equivalent to \$100,000, cf. p. 327. Since John Neumann steadfastly refused to build without money for the construction of the cathedral and held fast to the "pay-as-you-go" policy, one can justly conclude that as far as the cathedral was concerned, the debt at Neumann's advent was already considerable. Bishop Francis P. Kenrick did not have the sympathy of the clergy with him when he resolutely began building the cathedral, and apparently its construction was halted for a time, *KF*, p. 297. Later Bishop Kenrick wrote, "Work on the Cathedral building is going ahead well enough; but the cost of the front will be very great." *Ibid.*, p. 309. It was the cost of the façade that augmented the difficulties.

⁵⁴ The debt was the mortgage held by Marc Anthony Frenaye, later transferred to the seminary; cf. "Marc Anthony Frenaye, a Sketch," *ACHS Records*, XXX-VIII (1927), 136-8.

⁵⁵ *Catholic Herald*, July 8, 1852, item on St. Malachy's Church.

⁵⁶ *Catholic Instructor*, September 4, 1852.

⁵⁷ *KF*, p. 321, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., December 24, 1851.

⁵⁸ Martin I. J. Griffin, "History of the Church of St. John the Evangelist,

Philadelphia," ACHS *Records*, XXI (1910), 133-4; "Rules of the Bishop's Bank," *ibid.*, XXII (1911), 106-7; cf. Nolan, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

⁵⁹ "Marc Anthony Frenaye," ACHS *Records*, XXXVIII (1927), 132-43.

⁶⁰ *Catholic Herald*, February 19, 1852.

⁶¹ BCA 31 K 3, Sourin to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, November 29, 1851.

⁶² Joseph Jackson, "Building Philadelphia's Cathedral," ACHS *Records*, LVI (1945), 163-76; the dioceses of Cleveland, Albany, St. Louis, Detroit, and Milwaukee were then engaged in building cathedrals; cf. *Catholic Herald*, October 28, November 18, 25, 1852. New Orleans had completed one in 1851; Charleston, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo were likewise engaged in such work; cf. *Catholic Herald*, September 25, 1851.

⁶³ *Catholic Herald*, April 29, 1852; *ibid.*, October 28, 1852.

⁶⁴ Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration: 1837-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 280-306; Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, (New York, 1942), I, 500; George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration: 1820-1924* (Boston, 1926) p. 99.

⁶⁵ Howard M. Jenkins (ed.), *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal, A History: 1608-1903*, III (Philadelphia, 1903), 420-85, 509-87.

⁶⁶ *Berichte*, Heft XIX (1846), 1-6, Bishop John Odin, C.M., to the Archbishop of Vienna, San Antonio, September 19, 1844; *ibid.*, Heft XIX (1846), 12-17, O'Connor to the Archbishop of Vienna, n.p., n.d.; *ibid.*, Heft XIX (1846), 47-51, Bishop William Quarter to the Archbishop of Vienna, Chicago, December 20, 1845; cf. *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XVIII (1850), 353-4, Van de Velde to the Ludwig Missionsverein, Chicago, December 13, 1849; the theme of poverty in face of immigration difficulties runs through almost all the letters.

⁶⁷ Martin Marty, O.S.B., *Dr. Johann Martin Henni, Erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee* (New York, 1888), p. 121, gives the prospectus of *Der Wahrheitsfreund; Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XXVI (1858), 282-301, Franz X. Weniger, S.J. to the Ludwig Missionsverein, Cincinnati, January, 1858. In this long letter he attributes the expression "Language keeps Faith" to Bishop Henni and discusses its value as against the slogan of Irish and English priests, "One people, one language." Neumann's efforts to supply German priests and German churches were prompted by the realization that the adoption of the English language by the immigrants and their conformity to the American ways of life would be slow, gradual processes. Necessarily during the years of transition the spiritual needs of the Germans had to be supplied in their mother tongue. Failure to do so was contributing to the loss of souls. The bishop was using the means best suited to the end in view, the salvation of souls; cf. *Berichte*, Heft XV (1842), 60, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Pittsburgh, May 4, 1841. Many farseeing Germans realized that the use of the German language was a temporary expedient. Rev. Peter Henry Lemcke declared: "The German language cannot survive among the German Catholics in America; this was Gallitzin's opinion and I think he was right," Peter Henry Lemcke, O.S.B., *Life and Work of Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, trans. Joseph C. Plumpe (New York, 1940), p. 225. Prost, C.S.S.R., declared the Germans should hold their language until the immigration ceased. "We are apostles to bring the people to Christ . . . not to maintain or implant a nationality or to spread a language . . . How laughable it is therefore for the German farmer and laborer to wish to establish a 'Deutschtum' in America"; cf. Prost, "Die Geschichte," Wuest, *Suppl.*,

I, 228; cf. Emmet H. Rothan, O.F.M., *The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States: 1830-1860* (Washington, D. C., 1946), p. 150.

⁶⁸ Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade: 1800-1860* (New York, 1938), pp. 146-56.

⁶⁹ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Philadelphia, November 19, 1853.

⁷⁰ Cf. Martin I. J. Griffin, "More than Two," *Researches*, XXV (1908), 83; also "The Venerable Bishop Neumann and Parish Schools"; *ibid.*, XXVIII (1911), 313-16; cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1852, p. 85; RABP, N, Philadelphia Parochial Schools, Bishop Philip R. McDevitt to Rev. John F. Byrne, C.S.S.R., Harrisburg, November 24, 1933.

⁷¹ *Berichte*, Heft XV (1842), 57, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Pittsburgh, May 4, 1841.

NOTES

CHAPTER XII

¹ Mary A. Greene, "Reminiscences of St. John's Church," *Golden Jubilee of St. John the Evangelist's Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary: 1852-1902* (n.p., n.d.), p. 33.

² Eden Hall Journal, Eden Hall, Philadelphia, under date of April 2, 1852.

³ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 296-7; the words "unequivocal marks of attachment and obedience" were in Neumann's first pastoral, cf. n. 8 *infra*.

⁴ Berger, *Leben*, p. 297; *Catholic Herald*, April 8, 1852; *ibid.*, November 11, 1852; cf. *North American and United States Gazette*, April 2, 1852.

⁵ BCA 28 A 8, George Allen to Archbishop Kenrick [Philadelphia?], May 7, 1852.

⁶ *Catholic Instructor*, April 17, 1852; cf. resolutions passed by this society on his death, *Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann*, pp. 27-9.

⁷ New York *Freeman's Journal*, April 10, 1852.

⁸ A copy of this pastoral, given out by Edmund E. Q. S. Waldron, is in RABP, N, Data 1852; cf. Berger, *Life*, p. 328.

⁹ *Catholic Herald*, May 6, 1852, gives the text of the circular dated May 4, 1852.

¹⁰ BCA 30 U 6, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, April 29, 1852; RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1852, Neumann to "Father Provincial" [Hafkenschaid, C.S.S.R.], Philadelphia, April 4, 1852; for the pastoral cf. n. 8 *supra*; the bishop presided at the profession of six Visitation Sisters, *Catholic Herald*, May 6, 1852; cf. BDA, RP, Neumann to his father and his sisters, Philadelphia, April 21, 1852.

¹¹ BCA 30 U 6, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 29, 1852.

¹² "Das Erste National-Concilium der Katholischen Bischöfe in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika," *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 1-2.

¹³ Hassard, *The Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes*, pp. 100-1; cf. Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia*, pp. 430-1.

¹⁴ Hassard, *op. cit.*, *passim*; cf. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, pp. 62-5, 231-2.

¹⁵ Cf. Robert Lord, John Sexton, and Edward Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), II, 390-766.

¹⁶ Charles G. Deuther, *Life and Times of the Right Reverend John Timon*, (Buffalo, 1870).

¹⁷ Cf. p. 98.

¹⁸ John Cardinal Farley, *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey, First Prince of the Church in America* (New York, 1916).

¹⁹ Cf. John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (New York, 1921), pp. 70-85.

²⁰ Cf. O'Shea, *The Two Kenricks*.

²¹ Richard Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), pp. 327-409.

²² Cf. Michael J. Curley, C.S.S.R., *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas: 1783-1822* (Washington, D. C., 1940).

²³ For William Dubourg, cf. Baudier, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-305; for Rosati, cf. Frederick J. Easterly, C.M., *The Life of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, First Bishop of St. Louis: 1788-1843* (Washington, D. C., 1942).

²⁴ Cf. Lyman Beecher, *A Plea for the West* (Cincinnati, 1835), pp. 72, 117-18. This volume was very instrumental in spreading the alarm. For a sharp reply cf. James Hall, *The Catholic Question to Which Are Annexed Critical Notices of a Plea for the West* (Cincinnati, 1838).

²⁵ Robert Gorman, *Catholic Apologetical Literature in the United States: 1784-1858* (Washington, D. C., 1939), pp. 106, 108; John L. Spalding, *The Life of the Most Reverend M. J. Spalding, D.D.* (New York, 1873).

²⁶ Sister Letitia Mary Lyons, S.H.N., *Francis Norbert Blanchet and the Founding of the Oregon Missions: 1838-1857* (Washington, D. C., 1940).

²⁷ APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1855-1857, Vol. XVII, fols. 43r-113v. The report is styled "Relazione completa rimessa da Mons. Bedini all' Emin. Sig. Card. Prefetto dello stato di quelle vaste regioni nell' anno 1855;" a copy of this is in Georgetown University Archives (cited hereafter as GUA), Shea Collection, Case 32, No. 7. For a broader view of the church and its bishops in this period see Thomas T. McAvoy, "The Formation of the Catholic Minority in the United States 1820-1860," *Review of Politics*, X (1948), 13-34; and Francis J. Tschan, "The Catholic Church in the United States, 1852-1868: A Survey," *ACHS Records*, LVIII (1947), 123-32, 182-8; LIX (1948), 35-43, 76-119.

²⁸ Sourin's sermon at St. John's, Philadelphia, *Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann*, p. 8.

²⁹ Cf. n. 12 *supra*.

³⁰ Robert Joseph Murphy, "The Catholic Church in the United States During the Civil War Period: 1852-1866," *ACHS Records*, XXXIX (1928), 283. The Bishop of Toronto, Armand Charbonnel, was also present, making thirty-one.

³¹ *ACHS Records*, XXXI (1920), 192, F. P. Kenrick to Mrs. Allen, Baltimore, May 10, 1852.

³² Cf. Peter Guilday, "The First Plenary Council: 1852," *A History of the Councils of Baltimore: 1791-1884* (New York, 1932), pp. 167-186.

³³ "Decreta Concilii Plenarii Totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae," *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum Recentiorum, Collectio Lacensis* (cited hereafter as *Coll. Lacensis*), III (Fribourg, 1875), 147. The thirteenth decree says: "Hortamur Episcopos, et attentis gravissimis malis quae ex juventute haud rite instituta

sequi solent, per viscera misericordiae Dei obsecramus, ut scholas omnique ecclesiae in eorum diocesibus annexas, instituendas curent; etsi opus fuerit, et rerum adjuncta sinant provideant ut ex redditibus ecclesiae cui schola annexa sit, idonei magistri in ea habeantur."

³⁴ BCA 32 B F 1, Acta Concilii Plenarii Primi Totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae, Baltimori Habiti.

³⁵ Cf. Murphy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 293-5, 302-3; cf. Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B., und König Ludwig I von Bayern (Munich, 1938), pp. 90-1; Shearer, *Pontificia Americana*, pp. 201-5; Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, pp. 169-82.

³⁶ BCA 30 U 9, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, November 16, 1852. The proposed new dioceses were: Portland (Maine), Burlington, Newark, Brooklyn, Erie, Covington, Quincy, Santa Fe, San Francisco, Natchitoches, and Upper Michigan. San Francisco was to have a metropolitan status. The first ten were created and Upper Michigan was made a vicariate apostolic, cf. Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, pp. 171, 188-9.

³⁷ *Coll. Lacensis*, III, 147, decree 17.

³⁸ RABP, N, BP, Wimmer to Berger, St. Vincent's Abbey, Westmoreland, Pa., March 27, 1872; Berger, *Leben*, p. 368, and Wuest, *De Vita Ven. Joannis Neumann* (Ilchester, Md., 1911), p. 44, assign this remark to Neumann's activities at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852. The Abbot of St. Vincent's, Boniface Wimmer, however, was also at the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858.

³⁹ *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 41, Hafkenschied to the Archbishop of Vienna, Baltimore, June 19, 1852. An almost verbatim copy was sent to the Archbishop of Munich, *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XX (1852), 383.

⁴⁰ BCA 28 D 48, Mrs. Allen to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 9, 185[?].

⁴¹ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15-25, 1860.

⁴² Berger, *Leben*, p. 309.

⁴³ *Catholic Herald*, April 8, 1852. Father Barbelin, S.J., presided at the meeting on April 4, 1852. The first meeting was at St. Joseph's, Philadelphia. This preliminary meeting was called again when Barbelin assembled the pewholders on April 11. The resolution was carried to invite other pastors on May 10 at St. John's, but the meeting was called at the bishop's residence April 28, apparently because of a conflict of date with the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, *Catholic Herald*, April 29, 1852.

⁴⁴ RABP, N, Data 1852, Neumann's first pastoral, Easter Week, 1852.

⁴⁵ *Catholic Herald*, May 13, 1852.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; J. A. Burns, C.S.C., *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States* (New York, 1912), pp. 199, 276; J. A. Burns, C.S.C., and Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States* (New York, 1937), p. 184.

⁴⁷ *Catholic Herald*, June 3, 1852.

⁴⁸ *Concilium Plenarium Totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae, Baltimori Habitum anno 1852* (Baltimore, 1853), p. 37.

⁴⁹ *Pastoral Letter of the First National Council of the United States, Held at Baltimore in May, 1852* (Baltimore, 1852), p. 11.

⁵⁰ *Catholic Herald*, June 3, 1852.

⁵¹ *Freeman's Journal*, December 25, 1852.

⁵² *KK*, November 18, 1852.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, December 23, 1852.

⁵⁴ Berger, *Life*, pp. 441-2.

⁵⁵ GUA, 23-9, "Neumann to Admodum et Ex. Domine," Philadelphia, June 28, 1852.

⁵⁶ *Catholic Herald*, June 3, 1852. St. John's had a school long before 1852, but it seems to have been in a precarious state when Neumann arrived. Cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1839, 1842, 1845, and 1847.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* for 1853, p. 175. St. Augustine's also had a good school before 1844, but a disastrous fire appears to have put it out of existence until Bishop Neumann's time.

⁵⁸ *Catholic Herald*, September 16, 1852.

⁵⁹ *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XX (1852), 379-387, Hafkenschied to the Archbishop of Munich, Baltimore, June 19, 1852.

⁶⁰ *KK*, October 21, 1852.

⁶¹ *Freeman's Journal*, December 25, 1852.

⁶² Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, p. 178; *KK*, December 23, 1853.

⁶³ Cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854, p. 86.

⁶⁴ *Catholic Herald*, September 15, 1853; cf. *Catholic Instructor*, May 21, September 17, 1853.

⁶⁵ Cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854; cf. also *Catholic Herald*, January 18, 1855, wherein the boys' department of the parish school is said to have 300 pupils under five excellent teachers. The girls were taught by six Sisters of St. Joseph. St. Philip's had a school before Neumann's time, but, again, it seems to have faded out before he arrived. For the arrival of the Sisters of St. Joseph cf. Sister Maria Kostka Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia* (Westminster, Md., 1950), p. 345.

⁶⁶ Cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854.

⁶⁷ St. Michael's had a school in 1839, but this, too, seems to have been discontinued. Cf. Lydia Sterling Flintham, "The Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary," *ACHS Records*, XV (1904), 53; cf. Berger, *Leben*, p. 314, in which the author says the pastor built the school and 1,000 children were enrolled the first day.

⁶⁸ *Catholic Instructor*, August 26, 1854; *Catholic Herald*, August 24, 1856. The dismissal of Catholic teachers was to come up again five years later; cf. *Catholic Herald*, September 10, 1859; cf. *Freeman's Journal*, August 9, 1854.

⁶⁹ M. A. W., *History of St. Mary's Parish, York, Pennsylvania: 1852-1927*, pp. 10-11. Cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854, which mentions schools for both St. Mary's and St. Patrick's.

⁷⁰ *KK*, December 9, 1852, in which a member of St. Joseph's parish said a new school would be ready in a week; cf. also *ibid.*, April 21, 1853. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854 mentions a school here.

⁷¹ St. Mark's, Bristol, is mentioned in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1853; Frederick Fasig, *Souvenir of the Centennial Celebration of St. John the Baptist Church, Pottsville, Penna.* (n.p., 1942), p. 34. Notice of this school appears apparently for the first time in *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac and List of the Clergy* for 1858.

⁷² St. Mary's, Lebanon, is listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1853; St. Mary's, Pottstown, is listed *ibid.* for 1854.

⁷³ GUA, 23-9, Neumann to Jesuit Father [Cotting ?], Philadelphia, November 18, 1852.

⁷⁴ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Philadelphia, November 19, 1853.

⁷⁵ "Relatio status Ecclesiae Philadelphiensis in Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis Statibus, A.D. MDCCCLIV," APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1852-1854, Vol. XVI, fols. 852r-857v. This is Neumann's *ad limina* report.

⁷⁶ Cf. n. 74 *supra*.

⁷⁷ Middleton, *Historical Sketch of the Augustinian Monastery, College and Mission of St. Thomas of Villanova, 1842-1892*, pp. 26-36, 58.

⁷⁸ Talbot, *Jesuit Education in Philadelphia*, pp. 39, 42-3, 48; cf. Brother Matthew McDevitt, F.S.C., *Joseph McKenna, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court* (Washington, D. C., 1946), pp. 4-5.

⁷⁹ *United States Catholic Magazine*, VII (1848), 369-72; Edward Roth, "A Memoir of Very Rev. Patrick Reilly," *ACHS Records*, V (1894), 14-15; Sebastian Anthony Erbacher, O.F.M., *Catholic Higher Education for Men in the United States: 1850-1866* (Washington, D. C., 1931), pp. 9-10; cf. also Francis Patrick Cassidy, *Catholic College Foundations and Development in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1924), pp. 59-60, wherein the author declares that Senator Spearman acted decisively in obtaining the state charter.

⁸⁰ Erbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5; *The Sisters of the I. H. M.*, pp. 53-4. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1856 states the number of students was forty; this college had three students who later became bishops of the Diocese of Harrisburg—Jeremiah Shanahan, Thomas McGovern, and John Joseph Shanahan—*ACHS Records*, XLI (1930), 173n.

⁸¹ Callan, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America*, pp. 277-8.

⁸² *Catholic Herald*, September 2, 1852; *Catholic Instructor*, September 4, 1852; cf. V. M. "Early Catholic Secondary Education in Philadelphia," *ACHS Records*, LIX (1948), 184-5.

⁸³ BCA 30 U 7, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, August 25, 1852; BCA 30 U 8 Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, September 13, 1852.

⁸⁴ RABP, N, Visitation Sisters, Neumann to "My dear and much respected Sisters," Philadelphia, December 7, 1853.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Neumann to "Dear Sister," Philadelphia, February 21, 1854.

⁸⁶ Rivaux, *Life of Rev. Mother St. John Fontbonne* trans., pp. 225-6.

⁸⁷ BCA 30 U 7, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, August 25, 1852.

⁸⁸ Eden Hall Journal, Eden Hall, Philadelphia, under dates, July 20, November 27, 1852; January 14, May 26, 1853; October 4, 1854; cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; cf. *Catholic Herald*, November 10, 1853.

⁸⁹ Berger, *Leben*, p. 315.

⁹⁰ *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 33, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Philadelphia, September 10, 1852.

⁹¹ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1852, Neumann to Father [Daniel Oberholzer, O.C.], Philadelphia, December 10, 1852.

⁹² BDA, RP, Neumann to Rev. [Herman Dichtl], Philadelphia, May 20, 1853, mentions Wenceslaus Repish and Francis Wachter as coming over at the time, adding the words, "so far none of the others whom Your Reverence mentioned in your first letter has arrived." Francis Wachter was then a student of theology.

Cf. "Kirchliche Mitteilungen," *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol* (Innsbruck), Beilage zu num. 16, 11 Jahr (April 20, 1853), 392; cf. GUA, 23-9; Neumann to [Cotting, S.J. ?], Philadelphia, March 16, 1853; also RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1853, Neumann to [Michael Holba], Philadelphia, November 16, 1853.

⁹³ KK, December 23, 1852; *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854 mentions a Father [Caspar] Mueller at Honesdale.

⁹⁴ Francis X. Reuss, "Catholic Chronicles of Pennsylvania," *ACHS Records*, XIV (1903), 41-9.

⁹⁵ Cf. Neumann to [Dichtl], n. 92 *supra*; O'Donnell (ed.), *St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook*, p. 197.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*; Francis J. Hertkorn, *Diamond Jubilee Memoir of St. Alphonsus' Church: 1853-1928* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 33-4.

⁹⁷ GUA, 23-9, Neumann to [Cotting, S. J. ?], Philadelphia, March 16, 1853; *ibid.*, Neumann to a priest, Philadelphia, June 20, 1853; Wuest, *Annales*, II, 224.

⁹⁸ APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1852-1854, Vol. XVI, fols. 644r-645v, F. P. Kenrick to Cardinal Franzoni, Baltimore, August 5, 1853; cf. Stephen V. Ryan, "Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries," *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, I (1887), 385.

⁹⁹ M. A. Drennan, "The Early History of the 'Congregation of the Mission' in Philadelphia," *ACHS Records*, XX (1909), 13-16.

¹⁰⁰ Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, p. 272.

¹⁰¹ Francis X. Reuss, "A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Ignatius Balfe, D.D.," *ACHS Records*, IX (1898), 35-63.

¹⁰² St. Mary's, Salem, N. J.; Leahy, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Trenton*, p. 58.

¹⁰³ St. Joseph's, Dallastown, *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 34, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Philadelphia, September 10, 1852; cf. *ACHS Records*, XLI (1930), 13.

¹⁰⁴ For St. Malachy's, cf. *Catholic Herald*, July 8, 1852; *ibid.*, July 15, 1852. The church was dedicated September 19, 1852; cf. *ibid.*, September 23, 1852; *Catholic Instructor*, September 25, 1852.

¹⁰⁵ St. Boniface's at St. Clair, *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 34, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Philadelphia, September 10, 1852; *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854; KK, October 20, 1853.

¹⁰⁶ St. Mary's, York, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, September 10, 1852, cf. n. 105 *supra*; M. A. W., *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰⁷ St. Joseph's, KK, October 7, 1852; *ibid.*, June 23, 1853; cf. *Catholic Herald*, October 14, 1852. This parish had some difficulty in paying off the \$4,200 debt contracted, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, September 10, 1852, cf. n. 105 *supra*; "Erzbischöfliche u. bischöfliche Sitze in den vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika," *Berichte*, Heft XXVI (1854), 35.

¹⁰⁸ St. Francis' Church, Trenton; Leahy, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Bishop Neumann received the church from the Redemptorists and appointed John Gmeiner pastor in June, 1853; cf. KK, July 14, 1853; *ibid.*, November 3, 1853.

¹⁰⁹ St. Peter's, Progress; Leahy, *op. cit.*, p. 88. The sheriff had a claim on this church before it was completed. Neumann received money from the *Ludwig Missionsverein* and gave it to the church when the sheriff threatened to take possession, *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XXIV (1856), 74-6, Lawrence Holzer, C.S.S.R., to the *Ludwig Missionsverein*, Philadelphia, May 31, 1855.

¹¹⁰ *Catholic Instructor*, December 24, 1853.

¹¹¹ *KK*, October 14, 1852.

¹¹² *Catholic Herald*, October 21, 1852.

¹¹³ St. Mary's, Lancaster, *Catholic Instructor*, April 2, 1854. The dedication took place on March 19 of that year.

¹¹⁴ St. Francis', Gettysburg, J. T. Reilly, *Conewago* (Martinsburg, W. Va., 1905), p. 163. The cornerstone was laid on June 20, 1852, *Catholic Herald*, June 17, 1852, *KK*, September 2, 1854.

St. Catherine's, Drumore, appears in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1853, replacing St. Patrick's listed in that directory for the preceding year. Cf. S. M. Sener, "The Catholic Church at Lancaster," (Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., ed.), *ACHS Records*, V (1894), 307-56.

¹¹⁵ St. Mary's [Immaculate Conception], Wilkes-Barre, *KK*, January 11, 1855.

For Ivy Mills cf. *Catholic Herald*, August 26, September 2, 1852; *Catholic Instructor*, September 4, 1852; the cornerstone of St. Thomas' Church at Ivy Mills was laid at this time. Previously, the place had a private chapel called St. Mary's, *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1851.

¹¹⁶ Patterson (now Brocton) had a St. Patrick's Church since 1833. A second church, St. Bartholomew's, was blessed by Bishop Neumann in 1854, "Moving Mountains," *A Story of Catholicity in the Schuylkill Mountains: 1846-1929* (Tamaqua, 1929), pp. 17, 20.

¹¹⁷ St. Thomas', Archbald, *Catholic Instructor*, June 24, 1854.

¹¹⁸ St. Andrew's, Blossburg, *Catholic Herald*, October 13, 1853, and September 28, 1854; the Visitation Record of Bishop Neumann in the Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. (cited hereafter as VR), p. 9. This Visitation Record, sometimes erroneously called a journal, appears in *ACHS Records*, XLI (1930), 1-26, 162-92, as "Note Book of the Venerable Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann, C.S.S.R."

¹¹⁹ St. Mary's, Ridgebury, blessed by Neumann, October 5, 1853, VR, p. 8; cf. *Catholic Herald*, November 24, 1853.

¹²⁰ St. John Nepomucene's, Troy, blessed October 9, 1853, VR, p. 7. This was a church bought from the Anglicans. Cf. *Catholic Herald*, November 24, 1853.

¹²¹ Our Lady Help of Christians, Frenchtown (sometimes called Frenchville or Janesville), Luzerne Co., is listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855, although VR, p. 138, says that it was begun only in October of that year and was blessed on December 6, 1857.

¹²² St. Mary's, Millerstown, first appears in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854. The cornerstone was laid in 1852, VR, p. 70.

St. Paul's, Delaware City. This church is mentioned apparently for the first time in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855; cf. "History of the Catholic Church of Delaware City," *The Delmarvia Catholic*, May, 1928, p. 3, which says the cornerstone was laid in 1852.

¹²³ St. Mary Magdalen's, Honesdale; *KK*, July 20, 1854, gives the date "Corpus Christi," which was June 15, 1854, for the blessing of the church; VR, p. 139.

¹²⁴ St. Vincent's, Scranton; the name of this church was later changed to St. Peter's, and it became the cathedral of the Scranton diocese, "History of St. Peter's Cathedral," *The Catholic Light*, Silver Jubilee of His Excellency, the Most Reverend William J. Hafey, D.D., Bishop of Scranton (Scranton, 1939), [p. 5].

¹²⁵ SS. Philip and James', Sugar Ridge, VR, p. 11, says a cornerstone was blessed July 27, 1854; cf. *Catholic Herald*, September 28, 1854.

¹²⁶ Holy Rosary, Hamburg, blessed September 24, 1854, VR, p. 43; cf. *Catholic Herald*, September 28, 1854; KK, July 7, 1853, describes the laying of the cornerstone. The Reading Railroad ran a six-car excursion for the event.

¹²⁷ St. John Nepomucene's, Susquehanna, blessed August 13, 1854, VR, p. 128; *Catholic Herald*, September 28, 1854. A frame chapel had been erected in 1847 at Lanesboro, but this was torn down in 1855 and moved to Susquehanna for use as a school. Meanwhile, a new church was erected in 1853, Rev. James O'Hara to the author, Susquehanna, February 5, 1952.

¹²⁸ The cornerstone of St. Alphonsus' was laid June 18, 1853; *Catholic Herald*, June 23, 1853; *Catholic Instructor*, June 18, 25, 1853; KK, June 23, 1853. The church was opened April 2, 1854, VR, p. 65; KK, April 13, 1854.

¹²⁹ Our Lady of Sorrows, Philadelphia (then called St. Gregory's), Joseph L. J. Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 363-4. In the beginning, the church was little more than a tool shed, but it became a great parish church. Cf. *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Churches and Institutions of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 101.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107; *Catholic Instructor*, September 23, 1854; *Catholic Herald*, September 28, 1854. Mass was first celebrated in St. Bridget's on April 15, 1855. Cf. *Catholic Herald*, April 12, 19, 1855; *Catholic Instructor*, November 3, 1855.

¹³¹ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Philadelphia, November 19, 1853.

¹³² These figures are obtained from a study of all available sources giving information on the building of new churches, *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for the years 1851, 1852, and 1855, the *Diary and Visitation Record of the Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick*, Bishop Neumann's Visitation Record, parochial registers, parish histories and the Catholic newspapers of that period.

A mere comparison of *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for the years 1852 and 1855 will not suffice, for both years have some inaccuracies. Three churches listed in 1851 were not included in the 1852 volume: Immaculate Conception Church of Manayunk, St. John's Church, Honesdale, and St. Patrick's Church, Norristown. Likewise, St. Nicholas' at Wilkes-Barre is listed in 1852 as a church while it was then a chapel. There is some doubt also concerning the structure at Coffee Run, Delaware, which is listed in the 1852 directory as a chapel, but according to Bishop Neumann's Visitation Record, the old chapel had been replaced by a church in 1850. When these were taken into account, there were eighty-nine churches in the Pennsylvania-Delaware portion of the Diocese of Philadelphia when Neumann arrived in 1852.

The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1855 lists 131 churches in the Diocese of Philadelphia. However, this list includes twelve churches that were still building, at Pottstown, Ashland, Tremont, Lock Haven, Safe Harbor, Lykenstown, Chestnut Hill, Williamsport, Durham Furnace, Craneville, Pittston (St. John's) and the cathedral in Philadelphia. Moreover, two of the churches in the 1855 list were begun before 1852 and were merely completed after Neumann's arrival: the one at Dallastown, cf. n. 103 *supra*, and the other at Downingtown, *Catholic Herald*, June 17, 1852. Without these fourteen churches, there were 117 churches in the Pennsylvania-Delaware area, an increase of twenty-eight over 1852. Two new churches (cf. nn. 108 and 109 *supra*) were

built by Bishop Neumann in the New Jersey portion of his diocese cut off from Philadelphia in 1853. This gives an increase of thirty new churches.

Besides the four churches mentioned as begun by Kenrick and completed under Neumann (St. Mary's, Salem, St. Joseph's, Dallastown, St. Malachy's, Philadelphia, and St. Joseph's, Downingtown), the following are to be noted:

St. Mary's, Pittston, was started in 1851 and finished in 1852, *The Catholic Light*, Silver Jubilee of His Excellency, The Most Reverend William J. Hafey, D.D., Bishop of Scranton, [p. 25].

The cornerstone of St. James' Church, Philadelphia, was laid on July 14, 1851, three months before Archbishop-elect Francis Kenrick left for Baltimore. The church was blessed only six months after Neumann's arrival. How much was done under Bishop Neumann is difficult to determine.

The Immaculate Conception Church of Mauch Chunk is listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1852, though the *Catholic Herald* for October 14, 1852, reports a visit by Bishop Neumann to that place and news that "the Congregation is making great efforts to furnish the Church; hopes are entertained that it will soon be in readiness for Divine Services."

Besides the three churches mentioned in the text as having been rebuilt by Neumann, the following are to be noted:

St. Agnes', West Chester, dedicated June 26, 1853, was built to replace Christ Church, *Catholic Herald*, July 4, 1853. Cf. William B. Schuyler, *The Pioneer Catholic Church of Chester County, St. Agnes, West Chester: 1793-1943* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 148-54.

St. Mary's, Path Valley, replaced St. Ferdinand's of the same locality, and was blessed on November 13, 1853, VR, p. 76.

St. Mary's, Phoenixville, was so altered that it was practically a rebuilt church and was re-dedicated, Sexagesima Sunday, 1854, cf. *Catholic Herald*, March 30, 1854.

Twenty-six new churches are mentioned in the text. Others built at this time were:

St. Andrew's Church, Waynesboro. A Catholic church previously here had been out of existence for years but a cornerstone for a new church was laid in 1850; apparently it never got far, for the church does not appear in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* until 1855, cf. VR, p. 75, *Diary and Visitation Record* of F. P. Kenrick, p. 260.

St. Mary's, (New) Oxford, is listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1853 as a new church. VR, p. 67, says it was constructed in 1852.

The Church of the Holy Ghost, Athens, is listed as being built in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855, and as completed in the same directory for 1856. Apparently it was completed late in 1854 or in 1855.

St. Lawrence's, Colebrook (Colebrook Furnace), was blessed by Neumann on July 12, 1853, VR, p. 64, and appears for the first time in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854.

For a complete list of the churches erected in Bishop Neumann's term, see index under "Churches."

¹³³ BCA 30 U 10, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Cascade, Lycoming Co., September 28, 1853.

¹³⁴ This incident is related in RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt

[Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15–25, 1860. The letter does not localize the incident. There is mention of a similar attempt in 1859 to block the railroad on which the bishop and two Redemptorists were riding, Wuest, *Annales*, IV, Part I (Boston, 1914), 393. The incident took place at Doylestown but no mention is made of Germans.

¹³⁵ GUA, 23–9, Neumann to a priest, Philadelphia, April 6, 1853.

¹³⁶ BCA 30 U 7, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, August 25, 1852.

¹³⁷ *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, 13 Jahr (1855), 683; "Erzbischöfliche und bischöfliche Sitze in den vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika," *Berichte*, Heft XXVI (1854), 1–4.

¹³⁸ Mehoopeny, August 2, 1854, VR, p. 114; Shohola, June 21, 1858, *ibid.*, p. 98; Ashland, September 19, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 94.

¹³⁹ Tioga Village, June 18, 1858, in home of Peter Burns, *ibid.*, p. 15; Wellsburg (Wellsboro), June 17, 1858, in home of Wm. Carroll, *ibid.*, p. 16; also in Wellsboro, same date, in home of Jacob [Sickley?], *ibid.*, p. 16; Fork Settlement, June 29, 1858, in the home of John Kiernan, *ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁰ Lockhaven, September 21, 1853, *ibid.*, p. 84. The name of this town appears during this period as both Lockhaven and Lock Haven.

¹⁴¹ Milford, July 20, 1858, *ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁴² KK, December 8, 1853.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1854; *ibid.*, June 23, 1853; cf. *Catholic Herald*, October 13, 1853.

¹⁴⁴ Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 304; cf. "The True Catholic Spirit," *Catholic Herald*, August 8, 1844.

¹⁴⁵ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 338–40; RABP, N, BP, Bonifacius Wimmer to John Berger, St. Vincent's Abbey, Westmoreland, Pa., March 27, 1872.

¹⁴⁶ *Catholic Herald*, June 9, 1853. The devotions were started on the feast of Corpus Christi of that year. Cf. "Constitutiones Synodi Philadelphiensis Quartaе," in *Constitutiones Dioecesanæ in Synodis Philadelphiensibus, Annis 1832, 1842, 1847, 1853 et 1855* (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 31.

¹⁴⁷ *Catholic Herald*, December 29, 1853. One copy of the schedule for 1856 in Neumann's handwriting is found in RABP, N, Forty Hours.

¹⁴⁸ Berger, *Leben*, p. 340.

¹⁴⁹ *Catholic Instructor*, March 31, 1855.

¹⁵⁰ A copy of the decree of Bishop Kenrick is in the Domestic Annals of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 287–96; *ibid.*, 196.

¹⁵¹ The bishop offered to place the property in the hands of the Jesuits. Patrick J. Dignan, *The Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States: 1784–1932* (Washington, D. C., 1932), pp. 182–3; cf. "Reopening of Holy Trinity," *Researches*, XXII, (1905), 57; cf. *Geschichte des Verkaufs der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeits-Kirche sammt allem Zubehör in Philadelphia an die Jesuiten* (Philadelphia, 1851).

¹⁵² A copy of a communication found in BP. The communication otherwise unidentified is "Aus Katholische Blätter, Linz," RABP, N, Data 1854.

¹⁵³ KK, October 21, 1852.

¹⁵⁴ *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XX (1852), 384, Hafkenscheid to the Archbishop of Munich, June 19, 1852. This letter is almost a duplicate of that sent to the Archbishop of Vienna at the same time; cf. *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 37–46.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. p. 135.

¹⁵⁶ *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, Philadelphia, May 11, 13, 19, 21, 26, 27, and 29, 1852. The verdict against the bishop was announced on May 29, 1852.

¹⁵⁷ BCA 31 Q 7, Bishop John Timon to F. P. Kenrick, Buffalo, July 10, 1852.

¹⁵⁸ *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 33–6, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, September 10, 1852.

¹⁵⁹ Peter Guilday, "Gaetano Bedini," *USCHS Records and Studies*, XXIII (1933), 102–9.

¹⁶⁰ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, 2-4-1, Charles Constantine Pise to Archbishop Purcell, Brooklyn, January 12, 1853. Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick found him a "charming gentleman and deep diplomatist." Guilday, cf. n. 159 *supra*.

¹⁶¹ *Catholic Herald*, July 28, 1853.

¹⁶² Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Nolan, *op. cit.*, pp. 415–16. Nolan follows Dignan in stating it was settled in August, 1853. The court records put the final judgment later.

¹⁶³ RABP, N, Data 1854 has a printed copy of the "Statement of the Trustees of Trinity Church." Some misprints in spelling and punctuation have been corrected in the text.

¹⁶⁴ *Katholischen Blätter*, Linz, cf. n. 152 *supra*; Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District, Appearance Docket No. 40, July Term 1853 (March, 1853 to July, 1854) pp. 83, 175. The original documents of the case are filed under the same docket number 40, July Term 1853. Cf. Appeal Papers, *Commonwealth ex. rel. Smith vs. Dieffenbach*, 3 Grant 368 (Pa., 1854). The written report of Judge George Woodward's charge to the jury, twelve pages handwritten, says among other things: "Several answers might be drawn from the evidence; the substance and [the] amount of them would be that the election was so unfairly conducted as to prevent a majority of the qualified voters from coming to the polls. . . . In this Republican Country of ours, where elections are among the most constantly recurring, as well as important duties of the citizen, we all understand that they should be free from violence." The original document is filed with the other documents under Docket No. 40, July Term, 1853, Appeal Papers. The verdict of the jury was that the anti-bishop party should be ousted. It also claimed that the pro-bishop party had not established its claim to be the lawful trustees. This seemed to be against Bishop Neumann but in effect it was not, for he achieved his aim to dispossess the unlawful trustees. Judge Woodward appointed temporary trustees until a new election could be held. Both the verdict of the jury and the opinion of Judge Woodward can be found in the Appeal Papers *supra*.

¹⁶⁵ Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, April 6, 1854.

¹⁶⁶ *Catholic Herald*, April 15, 1854.

¹⁶⁷ Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, May 11, 1854, says they spent five weeks in jail. Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 35, says that on April 30, 1854 the trustees had already spent two weeks in jail.

¹⁶⁸ The church was reopened on April 23, 1854; cf. *KK*, April 27, 1854; cf. *Catholic Herald*, August 17, 1854.

¹⁶⁹ Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, December 10, 1857.

¹⁷⁰ *KK*, July 7, 1859; cf. Hertkorn, *A Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 102–3.

¹⁷¹ "St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia," *Woodstock Letters*, II (Woodstock, Md., 1873), 173.

¹⁷² For the fine spirit of this parish thereafter cf. Hertkorn, *A Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish*, pp. 102-34.

¹⁷³ ACHS *Records*, XXXI (1920), 197, F. P. Kenrick to Mrs. Allen, Baltimore, September 17, 1852.

¹⁷⁴ *KF*, p. 309, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Philadelphia, June 21, 1850.

¹⁷⁵ *Catholic Herald*, June 17, 1852; *ibid.*, July 15, 1852.

¹⁷⁶ BCA 30 U 7, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, August 25, 1852.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1852; *ibid.*, October 7, 1852.

¹⁷⁸ BCA 30 U 9, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, November 16, 1852, where he says he hopes to raise \$5,000.

¹⁷⁹ "It is so painful to see it in its unfinished state," cf. n. 173 *supra*.

¹⁸⁰ *Catholic Herald*, September 22, 1853.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, October 27, November 24, 1853; *ibid.*, December 1, 8, 1852.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, June 1, 15, and July 13, 1854.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1854.

¹⁸⁴ BCA 32 H, E. Q. S. Waldron to Archbishop Kenrick, Logan Square [Nov. 4 ?], 185[2?].

¹⁸⁵ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt, [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15-25, 1860.

¹⁸⁶ *KK*, August 12, 1852, describing the presentation of ring and chalice.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, January 19, 1854.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, December 2, 1852. The date of the dedication was November 28, 1852; cf. Wuest, *Annales*, II, 218; Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.

¹⁸⁹ *KK*, August 19, 1852.

¹⁹⁰ Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, July 27, 1854.

¹⁹¹ *Catholic Instructor*, July 2, 1853; the same issue has a letter from Dr. Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, to Neumann, Dublin, May 8, 1853.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, September 17, 1853, said they were sending £1,000; cf. *Catholic Herald*, December 29, 1853; *ibid.*, February 23, 1854.

¹⁹³ Felix Ward, C.P., *The Passionists* (New York, 1923), pp. 106-8; a Brother Cyprian Derivan of the Third Order of St. Francis also collected, *Catholic Instructor*, September 4, 1852.

¹⁹⁴ BCA 30 U 9, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, November 16, 1852; Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, (New York, 1912), I, 275-301.

¹⁹⁵ *Catholic Herald*, June 17, 1853.

¹⁹⁶ *KF*, p. 339, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, n.p., November 18, 1852.

¹⁹⁷ BCA 30 U 9, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, November 16, 1852.

¹⁹⁸ BCA 30 U 6, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 29, 1852.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. n. 196 *supra*.

²⁰⁰ BCA 30 U 8, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, September 13, 1852.

NOTES

CHAPTER XIII

¹ *KF*, p. 376, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, Baltimore, October 8, 1854.

² BDA, RP, Neumann to his father and sisters, Philadelphia, April 21, 1852.

³ The pastoral, postdated November 4, 1854, appeared in the *Catholic Herald*, November 9, 1854.

⁴ *KK*, October 26, 1854; *ibid.*, October 19, 1854. The steamship *SS Arctic* went down at that very time with a loss of 318 people; cf. Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of New York Port* (New York, 1939), p. 328.

⁵ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Paris, November 8, 1854.

⁶ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 350–1.

⁷ *Memoir of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Peters*, ed. Margaret Rives King (Cincinnati, 1889), II, 287–8, 310.

⁸ Berger, *Leben*, p. 351.

⁹ Ann Shannon McAllister, *In Winter We Flourish* (New York, 1939), p. 216.

¹⁰ Vincenzo Sardi, *La Solenne Definizione del Dogma dell' Immacolato Concepimento di Maria Santissima*, (Rome, 1905), II, 197.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 199–300; *KF*, pp. 377–80, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, House of the Canons, near St. Peter's [Rome], Feast of the Presentation of the Most Blessed Virgin, [November 21], 1854.

¹² This description is a composite of various reports; cf. Sardi, *op. cit.*, II, 423–44; *KF*, pp. 381–2, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, Rome, December 11, 1854; Deuther, *Life and Times of the Right Reverend John Timon*, pp. 230–4, gives Bishop Timon's description; King (ed.), *op. cit.*, II, 293–4; Archbishop William Ullathorne, *The Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God* (New York, 1904), pp. 189–91; *KK*, January 11, 1855.

An unnamed Philadelphia Jesuit is authority for the statement that Bishop John Neumann was the one who held the book for the Sovereign Pontiff on that great occasion; cf. Donnelly, *A Memoir of Father Felix Joseph Barbelin, S. J.*, p. 326. It is unlikely that Bishop Neumann should be singled out for this ceremonial distinction; no record of it has been found in Redemptorist archives. Yet, it may be noted that Bishop Neumann with fifty others was made an assistant at the Papal Throne, November 29, 1854, nine days before the definition; cf. *Notizié per L'Anno MDCCCLV* (Rome, 1855), 96. Berger, *Leben*, p. 351, says he was made a "Päpstlicher Hausprälat." There was present at the definition, however, another Redemptorist, Nicola Maria Laudisio, Bishop of Policastro, acting as deacon of the bishops in the ceremony; and his presence may have misled the informant of Barbelin into believing that he saw Neumann holding the book. Cf. Sardi, *op. cit.*, II, 425.

¹³ BDA, RP, Neumann to "Rev. [Hermann Dichtl]," Rome, December 17, 1854.

¹⁴ Pastoral of Bishop Neumann, May 1, 1855, *Catholic Herald*, May 3, 1855; *Catholic Instructor*, May 5, 1855.

¹⁵ Sardi, *op. cit.*, II, 445–52; *KF*, p. 383, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, Rome, December 11, 1854.

¹⁶ "Relatio status Ecclesiae Philadelphiensis in Foederatis Americae Septen-

trionalis Statibus, A.D. MDCCCLIV," APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1852-1854, Vol. XVI, fols. 852r-857v. The report to the Sacred Congregation is dated, Rome, December 16, 1854; cf. APF, LD, 1855, Vol. CCCXLVI, fol. 63v, a letter from Propaganda to Neumann, Rome, January 22, 1855.

¹⁷ Berger, *Leben*, p. 351.

¹⁸ "Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis," by a member of the Sisterhood, ACHS *Records*, XL (1929), 43-4.

¹⁹ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 352-4. The return itinerary of the bishop is given in Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 65.

²⁰ BCA 28 C 1, George Allen to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 29, 1860.

²¹ Domestic Chronicles of Leoben, quoted in a letter of Rev. Victor Reislinger, C.S.S.R., to Stephen Landherr, C.S.S.R., Mautern, September 12, 1935, RABP, III, Stephen Landherr.

²² RABP, III, John Berger, Adalbert Schmidt to Berger, Graz, April 20, 1883.

²³ The *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* (1855), 27, quoted in LR, II, 75; Berger, *Leben*, p. 353.

²⁴ RABP, N, BP, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d.; *Sion*, 24 Jahr (Augsburg, 1855), 168; *Salzburger Kirchenblatt*, 4 Jahr (1855), quoted in LR, II, 46; *Salzburger Kirchenblatt*, February 15, 1855, quoted in LR, II, 48.

²⁵ "Kirchliche Mitteilungen," *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, 13 Jahr, Beilage zu num. 7 (February 14, 1855), 163.

²⁶ RABP, N, BP, Math. Kasimar, "Erinnerung an die Ankunft des Hockwürdigen Herrn Bischofs von Philadelphia Joh. Nep. Neumann in seiner Vaterstadt Prachatitz in Böhmen," n.p., n.d., an eyewitness' account of the homecoming; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 355-63; *Prager Zeitung*, February 9, 1855, quoted in LR, I, 37; *Catholic Herald*, March 20, 1855; RAPP, Neumann to his sister, Mother Caroline, Budweis, February 12, 1855.

²⁷ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1855, Neumann to Rev. [Father Holba], Budweis, February 12, 1855; the date 1854 on the letter is evidently a mistake; since Neumann was not in Budweis in 1854, it should be 1855; RAPP, Neumann to his sister, Mother Caroline, Budweis, February 12, 1855; BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Paris, March 2, 1855.

²⁸ RABP, N, BP, John George Zabref to [Berger], Munich, March 15, 1872.

²⁹ Berger, *Leben*, p. 367; cf. BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Paris, March 2, 1855.

³⁰ *Augsburger Postzeitung*, February 28, 1855, quoted in LR, I, 161.

³¹ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Paris, March 2, 1855; cf. Berger, *Leben*, p. 367, quoting a letter of Neumann to Hofkaplan Müller; cf. LR, I, 153.

³² New York *Herald*, March 28, 1855.

³³ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Philadelphia, April 10, 1855 (copy).

NOTES

CHAPTER XIV

¹ BCA 28 D 25, Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, [Philadelphia], April 10 [1855 ?].

² Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 65. This entry is under March 25, 1855, but the contents show it includes items for the last days of March.

³ *Catholic Herald*, May 3, 1855; *Catholic Instructor*, May 5, 1855.

⁴ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 68; *Catholic Herald*, May 17, 1855; *Catholic Instructor*, June 2, 1855.

⁵ Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, pp. 323-38.

⁶ Henry F. Brownson (ed.), *The Collected Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, XVIII, (Detroit, 1885), 321; cf. Gorman, *Catholic Apologetical Literature*, pp. 97-122.

⁷ Billington, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-200.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-38.

⁹ Henry F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life from 1845-1855* (Detroit, 1899), pp. 418-24.

¹⁰ Peter Guilday, "Gaetano Bedini," *USCHS Records and Studies*, XXVIII (1933), 102-9. For documents on Bedini's part in the Ugo affair, cf. Henry De Courcy and John Gilmary Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1856), pp. 56-91; cf. Billington, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-3.

¹¹ De Courcy and Shea, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-9.

¹² Sister M. Theophane Geary, *A History of Third Parties in Pennsylvania: 1840-1860* (Washington, D. C., 1938), p. 162.

¹³ *Philadelphia Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, May 5, 1852.

¹⁴ Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1943), p. 189; *KK*, March 31, 1853; John M. Campbell, "Biographical Sketch of Hon. James Campbell," *ACHS Records*, V (1894), 265-303.

¹⁵ De Courcy and Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 527; cf. Sister M. St. Henry, I.H.M., "Nativism in Pennsylvania with Particular Regard to Its Effect on Politics and Education, 1840-1860," *ACHS Records*, XLVII (1936), 40-7.

¹⁶ *Congressional Globe*, U. S. 33d Congress, 2d sess. (Washington, D. C., 1855), Appendix, pp. 48-53.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, U. S. 33d Congress, 2d sess., Appendix, pp. 111-16. The message was widely circulated in pamphlet form. Cf. *Catholic Herald*, January 25, 1855.

¹⁸ Geary, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-9.

¹⁹ GUA, Shea Collection, 92.2, printed copy of the petition, without date and signature; cf. "Petition of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to Prohibit Charters to Churches Not Having Lay Trustees, Debarring Bishops from Appointing Other than Lay Trustees, and the Clergy from Receiving Legacies," *Researches*, XI (1894), 129-32. The original printed copy in GUA has many orthographical mistakes.

²⁰ Cf. AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-1, Kenrick to Purcell, Baltimore, September 19, 1853. For O'Connor's earlier interest in church property, *ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-1, Kenrick to Purcell, Pittsburgh, February 13, 1844.

²¹ Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Church Property in the United States*, p. 197.

²² Martin I. J. Griffin claimed it was not the trustees of any church that sought to pass the law, "Know Nothingism, not Trustees," *Researches*, XXVIII (1911), 344; but Dignan claimed it was the trustees, *op. cit.*, p. 198; cf. also *Catholic Instructor*, February 16, 1854.

²³ Both sent memorials to the legislature, *Pittsburgh Catholic*, March 17, 1855.

²⁴ *Catholic Instructor*, March 24, 1855.

²⁵ *Pittsburgh Catholic*, March 17, 1855. A copy of the remonstrance is in Philadelphia Archdiocesan Archives (cited hereafter as PAA). The petition sought to substitute another law. Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 66, records the fact that 1,100 names to the petition were obtained in six hours.

²⁶ *Catholic Instructor*, April 7, 1855.

²⁷ Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

²⁸ *KF*, p. 387, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, n.p., Monday of Holy Week [April 2], 1855.

²⁹ *Catholic Herald*, April 12, 1855.

³⁰ BCA 30 U 9, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, November 16, 1852.

³¹ BCA 30 U 6, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, April 29, 1852; GUA, 23-9, Neumann to Rev. [James Cotting S.J.], Philadelphia, August 6, 1852; *ibid.*, 104-6, Neumann to Father Superior [S.J.], Philadelphia, August 23, 1852; RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1852, Neumann to "Rev. Pastor of Pottsville" [Daniel Oberholzer], Philadelphia, December 10, 1852; GUA, 23-9, Neumann to [Cotting, S.J.], Philadelphia, March 16, 1853; *ibid.*, 23-9, Neumann to [Cotting], Philadelphia, April 6, 1853; RABP, N, Chestnut Hill Letters, Neumann to Mother St. John [Fournier], "Temps de la Passion" [1854]; *ibid.*, Neumann Letters 1854, Neumann to Sylvester Eigel, Philadelphia, May 10, 1854; *ibid.*, Chestnut Hill Letters, Neumann to Mother Superior, New York, June 13, 1854. Cf. the Memorial of Father Sourin stating how he had to obtain the permission of the legislature to get a mortgage on a Catholic Church in Lancaster, *Pittsburgh Catholic*, March 17, 1855. One archbishop was quite surprised at Bishop Neumann's recourse to the legislature on a later occasion, cf. AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-m, Blanc to Purcell, New Orleans, April 14, 1856.

³² Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes*, p. 130, says: "Father Hughes had little business talent. He could frame a plan of money operations, but he needed the help of others to put it in execution. He could think out a great system of collections and disbursements; but for the details of finance, he had no head."

³³ BCA 31 I 8, Basil Shorb to F. P. Kenrick, [Summit Hill, Pa.], October 16, 1852; *ibid.*, 30 U 18, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, October 23, 1855; GUA, 23-9, Neumann to [Cotting, S.J.], Philadelphia, April 6, 1853; Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society, St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa., Francis X. Reuss Collection, MS, "History of St. James' Parish [Philadelphia]." BCA, Literarum Registrum 1851-1862, p. 78; cf. BCA 30 U 18, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, October 23, 1855.

³⁴ Bishop Neumann refused to transfer Father Martin from a church in York for this reason in 1853; GUA, 23-9, Neumann to [Cotting, S.J.], Philadelphia, August 6, 1853; Father Repish was refused a dimissorial for the same reason, RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to Mr. Benesch, Latrobe, Pa., December 8, 1857; for another case cf. BCA, Literarum Registrum 1851-1862, p. 87.

³⁵ BCA 30 U 17, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Easton, August 23, 1855.

³⁶ One instance was the difficulty with the trustees of the Pottsville cemetery, cf. p. 384.

³⁷ J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 716-17.

³⁸ *Catholic Herald*, February 8, 1855.

³⁹ Hertkorn, *Diamond Jubilee Memoir of St. Alphonsus' Church: 1853-1928*, pp. 35-6.

⁴⁰ *Catholic Herald*, June 3, 1855; *Catholic Instructor*, June 9, 1855.

⁴¹ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 77-8, under dates of October 14, 20, 1855.

⁴² Berger, *Leben*, pp. 348-9.

⁴³ Hertkorn, *Diamond Jubilee Memoir of St. Alphonsus' Church*, pp. 39, 50.

⁴⁴ *Catholic Herald*, November 1, 1856; *ibid.*, September 5, 1857.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, May 9, 1857.

⁴⁶ BDA, RP, Neumann to Herman Dichtl, Philadelphia, September 16, 1856.

⁴⁷ *Catholic Herald*, March 8, 1855; almost a year previously the same paper had charged that all were not contributing according to their means, *ibid.*, May 18, 1854.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1855; *ibid.*, February 8, 1855.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1855.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1855.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1855.

⁵² *Ibid.*, June 21, 1855; cf. *Catholic Instructor*, April 5, 1856.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 15, 1857.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, October 18, 25, 1856.

⁵⁵ Cf. pp. 276-7.

⁵⁶ *Catholic Instructor*, July 28, 1855.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, December 27, 1856; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 26, 1857. Father John McMahon called the Philadelphia clergymen "the most warm-hearted as well as the most accomplished in the United States." Of the Bishop of Philadelphia, he said the prelate showed him "much kindness."

⁵⁸ Cf. Arthur Charles Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict: 1850-1865* (New York, 1934), pp. 173, 274.

⁵⁹ Scharf and Wescott, *op. cit.*, I, 718-20.

⁶⁰ Buffalo Diocesan Archives, Catholic Chancery, Buffalo, N. Y., Diary of Bishop John Timon of Buffalo, MS under date of October 31, 1856.

⁶¹ Mathäser, *Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B., und König Ludwig I von Bayern*, pp. 89-90, Wimmer to King Ludwig of Bavaria, November 29, 1856.

⁶² BDA, RP, Neumann to Dichtl, Philadelphia, September 16, 1856.

⁶³ *Berichte*, Heft XV (1842), 59, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, Pittsburgh, May 4, 1841; cf. *ibid.*, "Zur Auswanderungssache," Heft XXVI (1854), 66.

⁶⁴ Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, pp. 84, 102, 147, 230, 247. They were later to build one in Rochester. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁶⁵ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 79-80, under dates November 6, 12, 22, 1855.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 76, under date of October 5, 1855; *ibid.*, under date of November 22, 1855; Francis X. Roth, *History of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, Tacony, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1934), pp. 16-27; *Catholic Herald*, November 15, 1856.

⁶⁷ "Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis," by a member of the Sisterhood, ACHS Records, XL (1929), 42-50; cf. RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1858, Neumann to Mother Superior [Mother Mary Francis], January 11, 1858.

⁶⁸ *Catholic Herald*, March 30, 1854.

⁶⁹ Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., "Some Memoirs of Our Lady's Shrine," ACHS Records, XII (1901), 137-68, 257-8.

⁷⁰ *Catholic Herald*, December 13, 1855; Jesuit Archives, Maryland Province, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland (cited hereafter as JAMP), 223-R,

Felix Barbelin to Father Provincial [Stonestreet], S.J., Philadelphia, December 11, 1855.

⁷¹ Hertkorn, *Diamond Jubilee Memoir*, p. 37. The opening on April 2, 1854, was apparently in the basement of the building.

⁷² VR, p. 34, gives the date of blessing of the new St. John's Church, Haycock, as August 19, 1855. A church had been erected here more than half a century before.

⁷³ VR, p. 138, the cornerstone of St. Gabriel's, Hazleton, was blessed on September 16, 1855. No date is given for the blessing of the completed church.

⁷⁴ For Seven Dolors Church, Parkesburg, cf. *Catholic Instructor*, October 13, 1855; VR, p. 24.

⁷⁵ VR, p. 140, St. Philomena's, Hawley, was blessed April 6, 1856; the cornerstone had been laid in 1851, *Catholic Herald*, April 26, 1856.

⁷⁶ VR, p. 89, Mt. Carmel, Minersville, was blessed June 29, 1856.

⁷⁷ VR, p. 35, Our Lady of Carmel, Doylestown, was blessed November 23, 1856.

⁷⁸ VR, p. 27, St. Aloysius', Pottstown, was blessed by Father Philip O'Farrell, August 22, 1856; cf. *Catholic Instructor*, July 29, 1854; cf. *Catholic Herald*, August 17, 1854.

⁷⁹ St. Nicholas', Berlinsville, was dedicated December 7, 1856; *Catholic Herald*, December 13, 1856; VR, p. 56.

⁸⁰ VR, p. 90, Immaculate Conception, Tremont, was blessed December 14, 1856; *Catholic Herald*, December 20, 1856.

⁸¹ VR, p. 40, Our Lady Help of Christians, Lykenstown, was blessed December 13, 1856; cf. *Catholic Herald*, December 13, 20, 1856.

⁸² VR, p. 55, the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, a frame building, was begun October 22, 1856, and blessed December 28, 1856; cf. *Catholic Herald*, October 11, 1856.

⁸³ VR, p. 99, unnamed church, probably a former Protestant church purchased in May, 1856, by Father Maurice Walsh of Tamaqua. This became St. Raphael's, Tuscarora, now St. Bertha's. The deed for this property, "John Saxon and Mary Ann Saxon, his wife to John Neumann, Bishop of Philadelphia," is in the Deed Book, No. 51, p. 328, dated April 16, 1856, and recorded February 5, 1857. Judge James J. Curran secured the deed for Rev. Felix Charles Fink, of Brockton.

⁸⁴ VR, p. 31.

⁸⁵ VR, p. 52; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, June 20, 1857, announced that this church was blessed on June 7, 1857.

⁸⁶ VR, p. 50; this church was begun July 12, 1857, and was opened on the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost of the same year. It was dedicated in May, 1858; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, May 16, 1858, for a description of the fine church and the charming little town of 2,500 inhabitants.

⁸⁷ VR, p. 136, St. Simon's, Dunmore, was opened April 20, 1857, and blessed July 26, 1857; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, August 1, 8, 1857.

⁸⁸ VR, p. 94, the cornerstone of St. Joseph's, Ashland, was laid September 6, 1856. The bishop recorded that it was almost finished in October, 1857.

⁸⁹ VR, p. 94, St. Maurice's, Ashland, was opened for services December 28, 1856, but not blessed until October 14, 1857; cf. *Catholic Herald*, October 25, 1856, for laying of cornerstone on October 19, 1856.

⁹⁰ St. Boniface's, Williamsport, was begun in August, 1854, VR, p. 107. Ap-

parently it was completed in 1855. Cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855 and for 1856.

⁹¹ VR, p. 25; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 26, 1857. It is called the "Name of Mary" Church in *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac and List of the Clergy* for 1858.

⁹² *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, August 8, 1857; cf. *ibid.*, August 1, 1857.

Church services were open to the faithful in other parts of the diocese likewise by means of chapels. The Cathedral Chapel was erected in 1857 by Bishop Wood and blessed in December, 1857; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, November 28, December 12, 1857; also KK, December 3, 24, 1857. The Sisters' convent at Woodland City was blessed August 9, 1857; cf. VR, p. 47.

The Immaculate Conception Church at Lock Haven was opened at this time, cf. VR, p. 84, and *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1860.

St. Nicholas of Tolentine Church at Wilkes-Barre, formerly a chapel, was erected at this time, cf. VR, p. 130; KK, October 16, 1856.

⁹³ BCA 28 D 47, Elizabeth Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, [Philadelphia ?], December 2, [1854 ?].

⁹⁴ Berger, *Leben*, p. 308. There is no question of the fact that the bishop heard confessions in Irish; however, the report that he learned Gaelic "overnight" seems exaggerated. The bishop was at Trevorton on October 16, 1857. From what can be gathered, he learned about the need of an Irish confessor before he went there; or, perhaps having gone there on an earlier visit, he resolved to learn Gaelic. At any rate, in spite of all his linguistic knowledge he probably needed more than one night to learn Gaelic, though for an emergency a polyglot handbook for confessions might have been used.

⁹⁵ RABP, II, St. Alphonsus', N. Y., 1895, Mission Report of J. G. Schneider, C.S.S.R., of mission given at Trevorton, December 8-16, 1895.

⁹⁶ *Catholic Herald*, August 16, 1855; *Catholic Instructor*, November 4, 1854; *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855.

⁹⁷ *Catholic Instructor*, September 17, 1853; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, November 14, 1857; *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855.

⁹⁸ Hertkorn, *Diamond Jubilee Memoir*, p. 41; *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1856.

⁹⁹ Trinity School was listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1853. The parish had a school in the preceding century, but dissensions apparently had dissolved it.

St. Joseph's parish had a boys' school before Neumann arrived, but a new school was added (St. Joseph's Female Academy) in "a large and commodious house lately purchased for that purpose," *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1854. The girls had previously used a rented house, *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1853.

¹⁰⁰ *Catholic Herald*, March 8, 1856; *Freeman's Journal*, September 20, 1856; Sister M. Eleanore, C.S.C., *On the King's Highway* (New York, 1931), p. 286.

¹⁰¹ JAMP, 224-P, Father J. Enders, S.J., to "Very Rev. and dear Father" [Stonestreet?], S.J., Conewago, September 18, 1856. A Jesuit lay brother had conducted a school at Conewago before Neumann arrived, but a school for girls was added when the Sisters of St. Joseph went to McSherrystown, *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1857.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* The difficulty of ascertaining what was a Catholic school is evident in

the town of Hawley. At one time it was reported to have five schools "supported by the public school funds," *ibid.* for 1853. For the year 1860 it had one school. This apparently was a parochial school under the pastor, *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1860.

¹⁰³ KK, August 30, 1855.

¹⁰⁴ BDA, RP, Neumann to Dichtl, Philadelphia, September 16, 1856.

¹⁰⁵ The Christian Brothers came to St. Peter's and later to St. Anne's to direct the boys' schools or boys' division of the schools, *Ten Decades of Education: 1845-1945*, The Centenary of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in America, Province of Baltimore (Philadelphia, 1948), pp. 48-9.

¹⁰⁶ "Constitutiones in Synodo Dioecessana Philadelphiensi V," Constitution 4, *Constitutiones Dioecessanae Annis 1832, 1842, 1847, 1853, 1855 et 1857*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ Berger, *Leben*, p. 313.

¹⁰⁸ BDA, RP, Neumann to his father, Philadelphia, January 16, 1857; RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his grandfather, mother and Aunt Louise, Philadelphia, June 29, 1857; *ibid.*, Berger to his mother, Philadelphia, July [5?], 1857; *ibid.*, Berger to his aunt, Philadelphia, July 24, 1857.

¹⁰⁹ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his mother, St. Vincent's, Latrobe, September 10, 1857.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Berger to Mr. Benesch, Latrobe, December 6, 1857.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Berger to his mother, Latrobe, June 28-July 5, 1858.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Berger to his mother, Latrobe, September 10, 1857.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Berger to his aunt, Annapolis, September 29, 1859; *ibid.*, Berger to his mother, Cumberland, January 7, 1860.

¹¹⁴ *Catholic Instructor*, November 10, 1855, quoted in *Researches*, XXVI (1909), 31; Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 79, under date of November 6, 1855.

¹¹⁵ Cf. William J. Boyle, *The Story of St. Michael's: 1834-1934* (Philadelphia, 1934), pp. 91-101; KK, July 24, 1854; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, July 26, 1856.

¹¹⁶ The bishop was at Auburn on July 17, 1856, the day of the accident, and at Silver Lake on July 18, VR, pp. 126-7. Berger says he interrupted his visitation to come back, *Leben*, p. 307.

¹¹⁷ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, August 9, 1856.

NOTES

CHAPTER XV

¹ BDA, RP, Neumann to Dichtl, Philadelphia, September 16, 1856.

² BCA 30 U 9, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, November 16, 1852.

³ BCA 30 U 13, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, September 25, 1854.

⁴ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1853, Neumann to Rev. [Michael Holba], Philadelphia, November 16, 1853.

⁵ Berger, *Life*, p. 422; cf. p. 174; cf. KF, p. 339, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, n.p., November 18, 1852.

⁶ Berger, *Leben*, p. 376.

⁷ *Catholic Herald*, July 19, 1856.

⁸ *Ibid.*, August 23, 1856.

⁹ *Ibid.*, September 6, 1856.

¹⁰ Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, March 12, 1856, quoted in Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, March 22, 1855.

¹¹ Cf. p. 293.

¹² *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, November 8, 1856, quoted in Alfred Barrett, S.J., "Bishop of Old Philadelphia," *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, LXXV (September, 1940), 36; for other disturbances cf. *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, June 4, 1855, on rioting on a river boat; *ibid.*, June 7, 1855, on pickpockets; *ibid.*, May 28, 1855, on a disorderly house.

¹³ Archbishop Bedini, then secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, so ranked Bishop O'Connor, Peter Guilday, "Gaetano Bedini," *USCHS Records and Studies*, XXIII (1933), 166.

¹⁴ John Gilmary Shea, *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886), pp. 232-3.

¹⁵ Cf. T. Byrnes Barry, "Bishop Richard Vincent Whelan: 1841-1850," *The Catholic Virginian*, XIII (January, 1944), 3-5; *ibid.* (February, 1944), 10, 26; *ibid.* (March, 1944), 13, 47, 49; Shea, *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church*, pp. 350-1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 352-3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 362-4.

¹⁸ *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII, Habitum Anno 1855* (Baltimore, 1857), pp. 4-5.

¹⁹ Bishop Neumann proposed making the feast a holy day of obligation even before the promulgation, BCA 30 U 12, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Dushore, Sullivan Co., July 27, 1854; *Concilium Baltimoreense Prov. VIII*, p. 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

²¹ *KF*, p. 362, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, n.p., [January 21], 1854.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 385, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of St. Louis, Rome, December 11, 1854; BCA 34 J 21, F. P. Kenrick to the Bishop of Louisville, Baltimore, January [17?], 1855.

²³ *Freeman's Journal*, December 8, 15, 22, 1855; *ibid.*, April 5, 1856.

²⁴ BCA 32 B G 6, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore, May, 1855, MS written by Father James A. Corcoran, secretary. These are not to be confused with the printed *Acta*; cf. *Concilium Baltimoreense Prov. VIII*, pp. 10-11, 16-17.

²⁵ "Animadversiones S. Congregationis circa Decretum VIII," *ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

²⁶ Archbishop, later Cardinal, John M. Farley in an address at the Golden Jubilee celebration of the American College, 1909, Henry A. Brann, *History of the American College of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States, Rome, Italy* (New York, 1910), p. 335.

²⁷ *Concilium Baltimoreense Prov. VIII*, p. 13. The objection to the erection of the see was written by Bishop O'Connor to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, Pittsburgh, August 16, 1855, APF, SRCG, 1856, Vol. CMLXXXI, fol. 1088-1089v.

²⁸ The vote of Bishop Neumann against the proposal is in the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore, May 8, 1855, BCA 32 B G 6.

²⁹ The See of Washington was erected July 22, 1939, but a distinct archbishop

for it was appointed only on November 29, 1947; cf. "Supremae ecclesiasticae potestatis," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXI (July 22, 1939), 668-70; "Universi dominici gregis," *ibid.*, XL (November 15, 1948), 101-102.

³⁰ BCA 32 B G 6, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore, under date of May 9, 1855; cf. *Concilium Baltimoreense Prov. VIII*, pp. 14-15, 23.

³¹ BCA 32 B G 6, Minutes of the Proceedings, under date of May 7, 1855.

³² *Ibid.*, May 9, 1855. The following counties of Pennsylvania were selected as the territory of the new see: Tioga, Bradford, Susquehanna, Wayne, Clinton, Lycoming, Sullivan, Wyoming, Luzerne, Pike, Center, Union, Northumberland, Montour, Columbia, Carbon, Monroe and Schuylkill.

The difficulty of determining the proper site for a new see at that time was clear. Forecasts as to the future of any town were hazardous. Thus one writer reported in the *Catholic Herald*, November 2, 1854: "This town [Pottsville] is located near the center of Schuylkill county and about 93 miles northwest of Philadelphia. Being contiguous to the great coal region, it is a place of considerable size and business, and exhibits many signs of prosperity and rapid growth. To the Catholic visitor it also presents cheering indications that his faith has many and zealous adherents among the population. . . . It is probable that before long Pottsville will be made some place of importance; but of this nothing is certain until the meeting of the next council. Our diocese is a very extensive one and will some day be divided into two, if not three." Despite the "signs of prosperity and rapid growth," and the "cheering indications," it did not attain the growth expected in that day. Two other towns were to become sites of episcopal sees, Scranton and Harrisburg.

Scranton was then just emerging with less of a Catholic population than Pottsville, while Harrisburg was described in the *Catholic Herald*, August 17, 1854: "Harrisburg does not grow fast and the fluctuating character of the population interferes very much with the increase of the [Catholic] congregation."

³³ BCA B G 6, Minutes of the Proceedings, May 11, 1855; cf. *KF*, p. 327, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., Feast of the Holy Name, 185[2?]; cf. also *KF*, p. 330, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., Kalends of March, 1852.

³⁴ Cf. n. 39, *infra*.

³⁵ *L'Osservatore Romano*, December 12-13, 1921, [p. 1]; cf. BDA, RP, Neumann to Dichtl, Philadelphia, September 16, 1856.

³⁶ APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fols. 682r-683v, F. P. Kenrick to Bedini, n.p., [October 16, 1856]. Archbishop Kenrick declared that the bishops acquiesced in the formation of the new diocese "principally in order to give the bishop a way of retiring honorably from a position for which he deemed himself little fitted." The point to be noted is that Neumann was the one who deemed himself little fitted for Philadelphia, not the other prelates. He persuaded them to agree to erect Pottsville so he could go there. Cf. n. 27 *supra*, O'Connor declared Neumann acted entirely on his own initiative.

³⁷ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-r-m, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of Cincinnati, Baltimore, May 12, 1855.

³⁸ BCA 32 B G 3, Epistola Patrum Concilii Baltimorensis Octavi ad SS. Dnum Nrum de novis sedibus erigendis, a MS copy.

³⁹ APF, SRCG, 1856, Vol. CMLXXXI, fols. 1028-1029v; cf. APF, ASC, 1856,

Vol. CCXX, fols. 440r-441r (Sommario della ponenza, n. VI), Neumann to the Cardinal Prefect, Philadelphia, May 28, 1855.

⁴⁰ APF, Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1855, Seconda Parte, Vol. CXXII, fol. 1834, Neumann to "Most Reverend and Illustrious Monsignor" [Barnabò], Philadelphia, June 4, 1855.

⁴¹ BCA 30 U 14, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, June 7, 1855. Neumann might have been influenced in his own request to leave Philadelphia by the fact that Bishop O'Connor had asked to leave Pittsburgh two years before, going to Erie. Later, O'Connor came back to Pittsburgh. Similarly, Bishop Francis P. Kenrick had written a letter to the Sacred Congregation on July 25, 1835, asking that the Diocese of Philadelphia be divided and offering to take the proposed Diocese of Pittsburgh as his episcopal see, Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick*, pp. 112-116.

⁴² BCA, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* a die 10 October, 1851 ad diem 17 October, 1862, p. 82, which states under date of June 8, 1855, "Resp. Epo. Philadelphensi . . . suasique ut in sede sibi assignati, Divine [sic] Providentia disponente, quietus maneret."

⁴³ APF, LD, 1855, Vol. CCCXLVI, fol. 461r, Propaganda to Neumann, Rome, July 4, 1855.

⁴⁴ BCA 30 U 17, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Easton, [Pa.], August 23, 1855.

⁴⁵ Cf. n. 39 *supra*.

⁴⁶ BCA 30 U 2, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., n.d.; BCA, 30 U 20, Neumann, to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, March 10, 1857.

⁴⁷ *Catholic Instructor*, June 9, 1855; cf. *Catholic Herald*, June 3, 1855.

⁴⁸ JAMP, 225-R 5, Sourin, S.J., to "Father Provincial" [Stonestreet], S.J., Loyola College, Baltimore, August 4, 1857.

⁴⁹ Talbot, *Jesuit Education in Philadelphia*, pp. 51-2.

⁵⁰ Cf. *KF*, p. 391, n. 3.

⁵¹ APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fols. 441r-442r, F. P. Kenrick to the Cardinal Prefect, Baltimore, July 4, 1855.

⁵² Cf. n. 27 *supra*, O'Connor to Cardinal [Franzoni], Pittsburgh, August 16, 1855.

⁵³ Cf. p. 215; *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XXIV (1856), 74-9, Lawrence Holzer, C.S.S.R. to the Ludwig Missionsverein, Philadelphia, May 31, 1855.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Concilium Baltimoreense Prov. VIII*, p. 19, under date of May 12, 1855; APF, Acta a. 1856, fol. 441, F. P. Kenrick to [Franzoni] July 4, 1855; AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-m, F. P. Kenrick to the Archbishop of Cincinnati, Baltimore, May 12, 1855.

⁵⁵ BCA 30 U 17, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Easton [Pa.], August 23, 1855.

⁵⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, June 21, 1855.

⁵⁷ *Catholic Instructor*, quoted in *Freeman's Journal*, June 2, 1855.

⁵⁸ Cf. n. 27 *supra*, O'Connor to Propaganda, Pittsburgh, August 16, 1855.

⁵⁹ "Relazione completa rimessa da Mons. Bedini all' Emo. Sig. Cardinale Prefetto dello stato di quelle vaste regioni nell' anno 1855," APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1855-1857, Vol. XVII, fols. 43r-113v.

⁶⁰ Wuest, *Annales*, II, 459, Coudenhove to [Hafkenschaid], Philadelphia, March 2, 1852.

⁶¹ Cf. JAMP, 223-R 7, Barbelin, S.J., to [Stonestreet, S.J.], Philadelphia, July 4, 1855.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 223-R, Barbelin, S.J., to [Stonestreet, S.J.], Philadelphia, August 20, 1855; *ibid.*, Barbelin to [Stonestreet], Philadelphia, August 31, 1855.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 223-R 12. The document is dated December 8, 1855.

⁶⁴ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 75, under date of September 25, 1855.

⁶⁵ KF, p. 391, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., September 29, 1855.

⁶⁶ JAMP, 225-R, Neumann to Stonestreet, S.J., Elizabethtown, September 21, 1857.

⁶⁷ Cf. John Talbot Smith, *The Catholic Church in New York* (New York, 1908), I, 206.

⁶⁸ RABP, N, Data 1855, has a copy of "Rules for the Administration of Churches in the Diocese of Philadelphia, October, 1855."

⁶⁹ *Constitutiones Dioecessanae in Synodis Philadelphiensibus, Annis 1832, 1842, 1847, 1853, et 1855* (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 46. This is Constitution 19 of the Synod of 1855.

⁷⁰ John W. McFadden, "Notes for a History of Catholicism in Holmesburg and Northeast Philadelphia," ACHS *Records*, XL (1929), 169-75.

⁷¹ "History of St. James' Parish, [Philadelphia]," MS in the Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society, St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa., Francis X. Reuss Collection.

⁷² BCA, F. P. Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851-1862, p. 87, under date of August 18, 1855.

⁷³ RABP, N, Data 1855, "Rules for the Administration of Churches in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia," a printed circular dated October 24, 1875.

⁷⁴ Berger, *Life*, p. 443.

⁷⁵ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 76-7, under date of October 5, 1855.

⁷⁶ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 325-6.

⁷⁷ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o, Amadeus Rappé to the Archbishop of Cincinnati, Cleveland, April 5, 1859; Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, II (Rochester, 1926), 329; Michael N. Kremer, *Church Support in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1930), pp. 89-93.

⁷⁸ BCA 30 U 18, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, October 23, 1855.

⁷⁹ BCA, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851-1862, p. 92, under date of October 19, 1855.

⁸⁰ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-m, Otto Borgess to [Archbishop Purcell], Columbus, April 10, 1856; *ibid.*, II-4-m, Borgess to [Purcell], Columbus, April 25, 1856; cf. VR, p. 40, under "Mt. Pleasant." The date given is April 16, 1856; cf. also ACHS *Records*, XLI (1930), 162 n. about Father Devitt; cf. AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, James Wood to Purcell, Philadelphia, August 19, 1857.

⁸¹ For the seminarians cf. Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 69 and 81, under dates of May 20 and December 25, 1855. The Summit Hill suit was also causing some difficulty, BCA 31 I 9, Basil Shorb to F. P. Kenrick, Summit Hill, March 5, 1856; BCA 31 I 10, Shorb to F. P. Kenrick, Summit Hill, March 7, 1856.

⁸² BCA 30 W 57, O'Connor to F. P. Kenrick, [Philadelphia?], April 11, 1856. Contrast this statement with that of the Philadelphia *Press*, January 6, 1860,

which declared that the death of John Neumann "will be a heavy blow to the members of his diocese by whom he was justly held in high esteem and veneration."

⁸³ Cf. J. Percy Keating, Esq., "John Keating and His Forebears," *ACHS Records*, XXIX (1918), 289-335; Acta a. 1856. CCXX, fol. 673-4, F. P. Kenrick to Bedini, Baltimore, July 23, 1856.

⁸⁴ APF, LD, 1856, Vol. CCCXLVII, fol. 476, Bedini to F. P. Kenrick, Rome, August 26, 1856.

⁸⁵ Cf. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Anno Septimo, Terza Serie, II (Rome, 1856), 358; *ibid.*, Terza Serie, III, 98, 101.

⁸⁶ "Ristretto con Sommario e Voto sopra gli atti e i decreti dei Concilii provinciali di Baltimore, Cincinnati, S. Louis e N. Orleans," dated September 1, 1856, giving the viewpoint of the consultor to Propaganda, Gavino Secchi-Murro, nos. 38-42, APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fols. 406r-409v.

⁸⁷ "Relazione per la Congregazione generale sulla provvidenza da prendersi per Filadelfia," APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1858-1860, Vol. XVIII, fols. 1664r-1667v.

⁸⁸ APF, LD, 1856, Vol. CCCXLVII, fol. 522r, Bedini to R. P. Gavino Secchi-Murro, Rome, September 23, 1856.

⁸⁹ APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fol. 676 (new enumeration, fols. 681r-682v), O'Connor to Bedini, Pittsburgh, September 1, 1856.

⁹⁰ Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati: 1821-1921*, pp. 189-207; *Character Glimpses of Most Reverend William Henry Elder, D.D.*, pp. 76-82.

⁹¹ BCA 30 W 30, O'Connor to F. P. Kenrick, Erie, October 20, 1852.

⁹² *KF*, p. 438, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick [Baltimore?], April 13, 1860.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 355, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., September 10, 1853; AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-1, F. P. Kenrick to [Purcell], Baltimore, September 10, 1853.

⁹⁴ Bishop O'Connor was translated to the See of Erie, April 29, 1853, and returned to Pittsburgh again, February 20, 1854.

⁹⁵ Foglio per l'udienza pontificia 28 Sett. 1856, APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fol. 677 (new enumeration, fols. 677r-678v), gives a summary of the action taken at this time.

⁹⁶ BCA, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851-1862, p. 89; under date of September 19, 1855, Kenrick wrote: "E. Waldron me meam mentem promere nolle de translatione ecclesiae S. Joannis ad Jesuitas nisi partes exquirant."

⁹⁷ BCA 32 A 19, Carter to Frenaye, August 5, 1856, an enclosure in Frenaye to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, August 6, 1856. Carter does not mention the orphan asylum debt specifically, and undoubtedly the money advanced for other diocesan projects swelled the debt; but this investment at Tacony appears to be the main cause of the increase of the debts at the time.

⁹⁸ Cf. p. 317.

⁹⁹ BCA, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851-1862, p. 109; Kenrick confided to his letter book on September 11, 1856, "Scripsi ad Epm. Philadelphensem, litteris Pittsburg inclusis."

¹⁰⁰ APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fol. 675rv (new enumeration, fols. 679r-680v), F. P. Kenrick to Cardinal Barnabò, Baltimore, August 25, 1856.

¹⁰¹ Cf. n. 88 *supra*.

¹⁰² APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fols. 680r-681v (new enumeration, 689r-690v), Secchi-Murro to Bedini, Quirinal, Rome, September 25, 1856.

¹⁰³ Cf. n. 95 *supra*.

¹⁰⁴ APF, LD, 1856, Vol. CCCXLVII, fol. 526rv, Propaganda to F. P. Kenrick, Rome, October 1, 1856; *ibid.*, fol. 527rv, Propaganda to O'Connor, Rome, October 2, 1856.

¹⁰⁵ APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fol. 678 (new enumeration, fols. 683r-684v), F. P. Kenrick to Cardinal Barnabò, Baltimore, September 19, 1856.

¹⁰⁶ BCA 30 W 65, O'Connor to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, November 7, 1856.

¹⁰⁷ BCA Letter-Book II, 1784-1862. Kenrick wrote under date of October 1, 1856.

¹⁰⁸ APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fols. 681rv, 681 *bis* (new enumeration, 691r-692v), F. P. Kenrick to Bedini, Baltimore [October 16, 1856]. The date is not on the letter but Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851-1862, p. 110, gives it.

¹⁰⁹ BCA 30 U 19, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, November 14, 1856.

¹¹⁰ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-m, David Whelan to Purcell, Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Md., February 23, 1856.

¹¹¹ AUND, New Orleans Papers (January-June 1857), Purcell to Blanc, Cincinnati, January 4, 1857.

¹¹² BCA 31 R 20, Timon to F. P. Kenrick, Buffalo, February 19, 1856.

¹¹³ BCA 31 R 25, Timon to F. P. Kenrick, Buffalo, October 30, 1856. Bishop McGill of Richmond was a native American.

¹¹⁴ *KF*, pp. 397-8, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p. [November 11], 1856.

¹¹⁵ BCA 34 K 30, F. P. Kenrick to the Bishop of Louisville, Baltimore, February [20?], 1857.

¹¹⁶ *KF*, pp. 397-8, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., [November 11], 1856.

¹¹⁷ BCA 34 K 29, F. P. Kenrick to the Bishop of Louisville, Baltimore, February 19, 1857.

¹¹⁸ "Relazione per la Congregazione generale," cf. n. 87 *supra*. The "Relazione" states: "Let us hope that Monsig. Kenrick and Monsig. O'Connor have not given publicity to the letters which had been sent to them in October."

¹¹⁹ For a summary of the deliberations of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide in their general congregation on December 9, 1856, cf. APF, ASC, 1856, Vol. CCXX, fol. 672r. Pope Pius IX approved their decisions in an audience of December 11, 1856, *ibid.*

¹²⁰ BCA 32-C M 7, Barnabò to F. P. Kenrick, Rome, February 17, 1857.

¹²¹ BCA, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851-1862, p. 120.

¹²² Cf. n. 120 *supra*. For the Latin text of the message to Kenrick cf. n. 67, Chap. XVI. For the official notice to Wood cf. p. 328.

NOTES

CHAPTER XVI

¹ BCA 30 U 21, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 10, 1857; AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Neumann to Purcell, Philadelphia, April 10, 1857. In the second letter, Neumann wrote: "I did not fail at the solemn office of

yesterday to return sincere thanks to the Supreme Pastor for the provision he has graciously made for this diocess [*sic*]."

² Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 71, under date of June, 1855. The news about Pottsville was public knowledge, *Catholic Herald*, May 24, 1855.

³ Cf. n. 1 *supra*. Neumann in his letter to Archbishop Kenrick said: "The good qualities attributed to him [James Wood] by all have produced the most happy effect on all our Catholics."

⁴ Cf. Francis L. Dennis, O.S.A., "Most Reverend James Frederick Wood: 1813-1883" (Master's dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1932); Richard J. Purcell, "James Frederick Wood," *DAB*, XX (New York, 1936), 461-2; *Catholic Standard*, Philadelphia, May 6, 1882; *ibid.*, June 30, 1883; *AUND*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-i, James Wood to Purcell, Rome, Italy, April 12, 1844.

⁵ *AUND*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Blanc to Purcell, New Orleans, January 24, 1848.

⁶ *Ibid.*, New Orleans Papers, (January—June, 1848), Purcell to Blanc, Cincinnati, May 22, 1848; Lamott says that as early as 1846 Purcell had asked Archbishop Eccleston to have Wood as the coadjutor of Cincinnati, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, p. 83; *AUND*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Cardinal Franzoni to Purcell, Rome, Italy, October 9, 1848.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Ignatius Reynolds to Purcell, Charleston, May 8, 1850; *ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Reynolds to Purcell, Charleston, May 24, 1850.

⁸ Archbishop Purcell endeavored to have him as coadjutor in 1855; *BCA* 31 C 16, Purcell to F. P. Kenrick, Cincinnati, April 5, 1855; cf. *AUND*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-k, Archbishop Eccleston to Purcell, Baltimore, May 20, 1848, in which Wood was proposed for the Diocese of Vincennes, *KF*, p. 261, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., [October 6, 1847]. Peter R. Kenrick proposed him for Chicago, *AUND*, II-4-k, P. R. Kenrick to Purcell, St. Louis, May 16, 1848.

⁹ Lamott, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁰ Bishop Wood was in correspondence with Edward Purcell and Bishop Spalding of Louisville. His letters and theirs give evidence of the esteem they had for him.

¹¹ *BCA* W 28, O'Connor to F. P. Kenrick [Pittsburgh ?], October 9, 1853.

¹² *AUND*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-m, F. P. Kenrick to Purcell, Baltimore, May 12, 1855.

¹³ Wood's appointment for Fort Wayne is mentioned in the summary of the deliberations held by the cardinals, cf. n. 119 of chapter XV.

¹⁴ *AUND*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, David Whelan to Purcell, Wheeling, W. Va., April 1, 1857.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Josue Young to Purcell, Erie, Good Friday, 1857.

¹⁶ Cf. n. 87, 96 *infra*.

¹⁷ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, April [11?], 1857.

¹⁸ *BCA* 30 U 21, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 10, 1857; *AUND*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Neumann to Purcell, Philadelphia, April 10, 1857.

¹⁹ For Henry Damien Junker, cf. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, p. 170; for Wood's characteristics, cf. *Catholic Standard*, Philadelphia, May 6,

1882, and June 10, 1883. Miss Allen's remark is found in BCA 28 D 47, Philadelphia, Elizabeth Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, December 2, [1856?].

²⁰ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, May 2, 1857; Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, April 30, 1857.

²¹ KK, May 7, 1857; Martin Marty, O.S.B., *Dr. Johann Martin Henni, Erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee* (New York, 1888), pp. 238-40.

²² Wuest, *Annales*, III, Part I (Ilchester, Md., 1899), 265.

²³ Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, May 14, 1847; cf. Code, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

²⁴ Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, May 8, 1857; KK, June 11, 1857.

²⁵ RABP, N, BP, Visitation Nun to [Berger], Baltimore, July 9, 1872. The narrator of the anecdote states that there was "no cent in the episcopal treasury."

²⁶ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, May 7, 1857.

²⁷ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, July 4, 1857.

²⁸ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, June 29, 1857.

²⁹ Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict*, pp. 32-3; Humphrey J. Desmond, *Curious Chapters in American History* (St. Louis, 1925), pp. 33-4; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, April 3, 1858. Cf. Walter W. Jennings, *A History of the Social and Economic Problems of the American People* (Cincinnati, 1937), p. 733.

³⁰ Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, I, 726; cf. Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, September 24, 1857.

³¹ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, September 30, 1857.

³² Diary of St. Joseph's College 1853-1860, under date of September 24, 25, 1857. Wood seems to have taken over the financial books of the college at this time.

³³ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, August 19, 1857.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, September 30, 1857.

³⁵ Neumann's VR shows he was at Bethlehem, Allentown, Easton, and Stroudsburg in late August. He was at Eden Hall on September 20; at Elizabethtown on September 21, 1857, three days before the Jesuit chronicler wrote in the Diary of St. Joseph's College, September 24, 1857: "Tota civitas laborat panico metu propter pecunias." Neumann returned to Philadelphia the day after the coadjutor wrote the letter, so that the remark about running away was not quite accurate. As a matter of fact, Neumann showed he was not running away from difficulties; for at the time the rumor was circulating that the Jesuits were to give up St. John's, he wrote their provincial urging him to retain the new college property; cf. pp. 319-20.

³⁶ Cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, October 3, 1857. The Philadelphia banks suspended specie payment before the legislature was called into session on October 6, 1857.

³⁷ Cf. n. 67 *infra*.

³⁸ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, June 29, 1857.

³⁹ Cf. pp. 229, 257.

⁴⁰ Cf. n. 38 *supra*.

⁴¹ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, August 19, 1857.

⁴² *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, January 30, 1858; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴³ *KF*, pp. 407-8, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., January 25, 1858.

⁴⁴ Diary of St. Joseph's College, under date of January 22, 1858.

⁴⁵ BCA 28 B 15, Mr. Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., December 2, [1857?].

⁴⁶ JAMP, 225-R-4, Wood to Stonestreet, S.J., Philadelphia, July 30, 1857.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 225-R-5, Sourin to Father [Stonestreet], S.J., Baltimore, August 4, 1857.

⁴⁸ The various stages of the negotiations are reported in the Diary of St. Joseph's College, under dates August 25, September 23, 24, 25, October 6, 7, 13, 1857.

⁴⁹ JAMP, 225-R, Neumann to Stonestreet, S.J., Elizabethtown, September 21, 1857.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 225-R-9, Philadelphia, James Ward, S.J., to "Father Provincial" [Stonestreet], S.J., November 19, 1857.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 225-R-10. James A. Ward to Stonestreet, S.J., Philadelphia, December 1, 1857; *ibid.*, Ward to Stonestreet, Philadelphia, December 17, 1857; cf. Diary of St. Joseph's College under date of December 17, 1857. When Bishop Neumann died, other circumstances intervened, and the Jesuits were forced by the command of a European visitor of their province to give up the chapel in St. Joseph's College. The loss of the chapel obliged them to give up the new site of the college and St. John's also. As the Jesuits saw things, the loss of one place meant the loss of the whole arrangement; cf. Talbot, *Jesuit Education in Philadelphia*, pp. 65-6.

⁵² AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, June 17, 1858; cf. *KK*, March 4, 1858.

⁵³ APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1858-1860, Vol. XVIII, fols. 364r-367v, Wood to Barnabò, Philadelphia, September 15, 1858; Roth, *History of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum*, p. 23.

⁵⁴ *KF*, pp. 413-14, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, May 9, 1858.

⁵⁵ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, July 9, 1859.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II-4-n, D[avid] W[helan] to Purcell, Wheeling, March 20, 1858.

⁵⁷ *Concilium Provinciale IX, Baltimori Habitum Mense Majo Anno 1858* (Baltimore, n.d.), pp. 3-6.

⁵⁸ Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* 1851-1862, p. 146, under dates of April 28, May 1, 1858.

⁵⁹ "Congregatio Secunda Privata," *Concilium Provinciale IX, Baltimori*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, "Congregatio Quarta Privata," p. 15.

⁶¹ Besides the printed booklet of the Acta of the council, n. 57 *supra*; cf. *Coll. Lac.*, II, 170-82. The manuscript Latin copy of the acts is in BCA 32 B H 1.

⁶² "Pastoral Letter of the IX Provincial Council of Baltimore to the Faithful," *Freeman's Journal*, May 29, 1858.

⁶³ *KF*, p. 414, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, May 9, 1858.

⁶⁴ *ACHS Records*, XXXII (1921), 103, F. P. Kenrick to Mrs. Allen, Baltimore, May 13, 1858.

⁶⁵ BCA 32 B-v 4, F. P. Kenrick to Pope Pius IX, Baltimore, May 9, 1858 (copy).

⁶⁶ This was the information given by the letters from Propaganda, written in early October, 1856, to Archbishop Kenrick and to Bishop O'Connor. The Roman authorities asked them to make such information known so as to calm the agitation of the Philadelphia clergy, cf. pp. 300, 304.

⁶⁷ BCA 32-C M 7, Cardinal Barnabò to F. P. Kenrick, Rome, February 17, 1857, saying: ". . . superest . . . ut significem electum fuisse . . . D. Jacobum Fredericum Wood E[piscop]um titulo . . . in p[ar]ti[bu]s infid[eliu]m et coadjutorem Philadelphensem, ut E[piscop]us Newman [sic] ejus opera prout magis libuerit in dioecesi regenda juvetur; *ac si in renunciationis consilio perseveret, idoneo tempore bonorum Eccl[esi]asti corum titulos transferre in ipsum valeat.*" It was evidently the italicized clause (italicized by the author), that led Wood to think that Rome wished Neumann to resign. In view of the widely accepted but false rumor that Neumann wanted to resign, Wood could easily have read into the document such a desire on the part of the Roman authorities.

⁶⁸ KF, pp. 427-8, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, October 26, 1859.

⁶⁹ Cf. n. 65 *supra*.

⁷⁰ The territory named for the new diocese comprised the counties of Northampton, Lehigh, Carbon, Schuylkill, Northumberland, Union, and Center, and all the tract running north from these counties. The land running north embraced eleven counties: Monitour, Lycoming, Tioga, Bradford, Sullivan, Susquehanna, Wyoming, Luzerne, Wayne, Pike, and Monroe. It was in this area, but within smaller boundaries, that the Diocese of Scranton was erected ten years later.

⁷¹ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, F. P. Kenrick to [Purcell], Baltimore, May 12, 1858.

⁷² KF, pp. 413-4, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, May 9, 1858.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 468-9, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, July 4, 1858.

⁷⁴ Cf. pp. 302-3.

⁷⁵ Cf. n. 67 *supra*.

⁷⁶ Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, F. P. Kenrick to Blanc, Baltimore, July 14, 1858. This letter was kindly copied for the author by John Tracy Ellis, professor of American Church History at the Catholic University of America.

⁷⁷ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n, Wood to Purcell, Philadelphia, June 22, 1858. The phrase used by Bishop Wood was "expecto donec veniat immutatio mea," a reference to Job 14:4.

⁷⁸ BCA 30 U 25, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, St. Joseph's, Susqu. Co., July 5, 1858.

⁷⁹ APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1858-1860, Vol. XVIII, fol. 386rv, Neumann to Barnabò, n.p., n.d. This letter is found among the letters of October, 1858, and according to Monsignor Giuseppe Monticone, archivist of Propaganda Fide, it probably arrived in Rome in October, 1858. This would indicate that it was sent in September, 1858.

⁸⁰ Wood to Barnabò, n. 53 *supra*. Neumann's "rather taciturn and cold" nature, as Wood described it, was not apparent to a Catholic from Nippenose (Pa.) who described the glad welcome Neumann received there in June, 1858; he wrote to the editor of the Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund* that the children were especially attracted to "our well-beloved and highly revered shepherd," Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*, June 24, 1858.

⁸¹ Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁸² *Brooksiana, or the Controversy between Senator Brooks and Archbishop Hughes* (New York, 1855?), p. 185, where the Archbishop of New York states that the diocesan property had mortgages amounting to \$245,640.

⁸³ APF, LD, 1858, Vol. CCCXLIX, fol. 936rv, Barnabò to Neumann, Rome, November 15, 1858. Letters from Propaganda Fide are usually signed by the Cardinal Prefect and countersigned by the secretary.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 936v-937r, Barnabò to Wood, Rome, November 15, 1858.

⁸⁵ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4 o, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, January 7, 1859.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Wood to [Purcell], Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, April 15, 1859.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, May 30, 1859.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, James McGill to "Most Rev." [Archbishop Purcell], Richmond, June 9, 1859.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Blanc to Purcell, New Orleans, June 12, 1859. *Ibid.*, M. J. Spalding to Purcell, Louisville, Ky., August 23, 1859.

⁹¹ *KF*, pp. 422-3, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., July 14, 1859.

⁹² AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, July 9, 1859.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Josue Young to Purcell, Erie, July 25, 1859.

⁹⁴ BCA 30 Y 24, O'Connor to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, July 11, 1859.

⁹⁵ BCA 30 U 26, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, July 15, 1859.

⁹⁶ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, July 25, 1859.

⁹⁷ Code, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-5.

⁹⁸ BCA 29 J 4, John Hughes to F. P. Kenrick, New York, September 17, 1859.

⁹⁹ Code, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ BCA 34 K 42, F. P. Kenrick to the Bishop of Louisville [M. J. Spalding], Baltimore, September [18?], 1859.

¹⁰¹ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, October 26, 1859. The text of Wood's letter spelled aisy, "a-s-y."

¹⁰² *KF*, pp. 427-8, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, n.p., October 26, 1859.

¹⁰³ James Wood to John Berger, Philadelphia, June 12, 1882. A German version of this letter was published in the approbation of Berger's *Leben*, pp. v-vi.

NOTES

CHAPTER XVII

¹ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15-25, 1860.

² The historian's words are "Alphons hat diese höchste Krone dennoch erungen; im gottlosen 18 Jahrhundert ist er die grösste—eine imponierende Gestalt," Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, XVI, Part III, (Fribourg [Breisgau], 1933), 275.

³ *The Complete Works of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori, Centenary Edition*, ed. Grimm, XVII (New York, 1890), 429-73.

⁴ RABP, N, Neumann's Theological Notes, "De Sacramento Ordinis," chap. iv, "De Episcopis."

⁵ I Peter 5:4.

⁶ RABP, N, Neumann's Theological Notes, "De Sacramento Ordinis," chap. i, "Praedicatio."

⁷ Philadelphia Press, January 6, 1860.

⁸ RABP, N, Neumann, Theological Notes, "De Sacramento Ordinis," chap. i, "Praedicatio," has St. Alphonsus Liguori's "Lettera ad un religioso amico del modo di praedicare all' apostolica." For an English translation, cf. *The Complete Works of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori, Centenary Edition*, ed. Thomas W. Mul-laney, C.SS.R., XXII (New York, 1897), 359-403.

⁹ *Oeuvres de Saint François de Sales, Édition complète*, Tom. XII (Annecy, 1912), p. 193, St. Francis to A. M. Anton de Revol, "Evêque nommé de Dol," Annecy, June 3, 1603. This is Vol. II of the Saint's *Lettres*.

¹⁰ *The Complete Works of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori, Centenary Edition*, XXII, 324.

¹¹ *Catholic Herald*, August 26, 1852.

¹² *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 24, 1859.

¹³ Journal of Eden Hall, under date of October 4, 1854.

¹⁴ *Catholic Instructor*, July 15, 1854.

¹⁵ *Catholic Herald*, May 31, 1855.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1859.

¹⁷ KK, December 2, 1852.

¹⁸ BCA 28 D 48, Elizabeth Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 9, [1854?].

¹⁹ MJG, June 22, 1836. For further evidence of Neumann's effectiveness as a speaker, cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, October 2, November 20, 1858; *ibid.*, April 16, 1859.

²⁰ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Otto Kopf, O.S.B., to Wissel, Monte Cassino, Ky., February 27, 1902.

²¹ "Der Bischof Neumann," *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, XIII (1855), 679-83.

²² RABP, N, Wissel Papers, statement of C. A. Town.

²³ *The Complete Works of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori, Centenary Edition*, XVII, 458.

²⁴ Benedictus XIV, ep. encycl. *Ubi primum*, December 3, 1740, *Codicis Juris Canonici Fontes*, ed. Peter Cardinal Gasparri, I (Rome, 1923), 670-4; *Catholic Herald*, October 13, 1853.

²⁵ Cf. RABP, N, Wissel Papers, G. H. Kracke to James Loughlin, Haycock Run, Pa., September 20, 1892.

²⁶ Berger, *Leben*, p. 304.

²⁷ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, statement attributed to Father Coskery by "Rev. Mother Leonard." Father Henry Coskery was vicar-general of the Diocese of Baltimore, apparently not in a good position to know this matter. However, a comparison of Neumann's visitation tours with those of his predecessors, even with those of Bishop Kenrick, will give proof of the correctness of this statement.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Chestnut Hill Letters, Neumann to "Dear respected Mother," Philadelphia, October 7, 1856.

²⁹ Cf. n. 20 *supra*.

³⁰ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his cousin, Latrobe, Pa., March 28, 1858.

³¹ Berger, *Leben*, p. 376.

³² RABP, N, Neumann Theological Notes, "De S. Sacramento Ordinis."

³³ Cf. *Catholic Herald*, November 29, 1855; *ibid.*, September 13, 1856.

³⁴ Berger, *Leben*, p. 324; RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt, (copy), Pittsburgh, July 11, 1858. Cf. O'Donnell (ed.), *Saint Charles' Seminary*, p. 36.

³⁵ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 69, under date of May 20, 1855.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, under date of December 25, 1855.

³⁷ NYAA [A-12?], Neumann to Archbishop [Hughes], Philadelphia, September 21, 1859. RABP, N, Data 1859 has a copy.

³⁸ Quoted in Berger, *Leben*, p. 324. Cf. Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1888), II, 455.

³⁹ Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, pp. 6-7, 272.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁴¹ Ella M. E. Flick, "Bishop Horstmann," *ACHS Records*, XLV (1935), 169-83; Bishop Fitzmaurice's earlier education gives some doubts about whether he was ever under Bishop Neumann. The same holds true for Bishop Thomas McGovern, second Bishop of Harrisburg. Both of those were ordained by Bishop Wood, McGovern in December 1861, and Fitzmaurice, in December 1862; but, since both came from Philadelphia, it seems probable they were in his jurisdiction.

⁴² Bishop Stephen Ryan, C.M., "Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries," *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, I (1887), 385; cf. Mariano Maller to "Monsieur et très honoré Père," Baltimore, May 15, 1852, a photostat in Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo., Mariano Maller Letters II, from Coste 24 c/m, 19 c/m.

⁴³ Francis X. Reuss, "A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Ignatius Balfe, D.D.," *ACHS Records*, IX (1898), 49; M. A. Drennan, "The Early History of the 'Congregation of the Mission' in Philadelphia," *ibid.*, XX (1909), 11.

⁴⁴ Foglio di Udienza del 23 Maggio 1858, APF, Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1858, Parte Prima, Vol. CXXVIII, fols. 854r-856r (affaire n. 12). The request made no mention of a specific religious order, but other sources indicate that he had in mind, among others, the Vincentians.

Bishop Neumann also sought the aid of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and made overtures to them concerning the administration of the seminary. Negotiations between Neumann and the Oblates began in 1856. Neumann discussed the matter with the superior of Holy Angels parish, Buffalo, Charles Edward Chevalier, O.M.I., possibly when the latter was in Philadelphia preaching a mission. The Philadelphia prelate then wrote to the Superior General of the Oblates, Charles Joseph Eugene De Mazenod, Archbishop of Marseilles. De Mazenod and his consultants were favorably inclined to the proposition, but being temporarily short of men, they advised Neumann to contact the Oblate Provincial of North America, Eugene Bruno Guigues, Bishop of Ottawa. The following year Neumann resumed negotiations. De Mazenod was still favorable but short-handed. The Oblate General was willing to send two men from France to Canada provided Bishop Guigues could re-arrange his forces so as to enable three or four priests from Canada to go to Philadelphia. Guigues was unable to do this; and in the spring of 1858, Neumann was told by the Oblates that they could not accept his offer, cf. Archives of St. Joseph's Scholasticate of the Order of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa, Canada, Documents sur le Canada, Casimir Aubert, secretary

general of the Oblates, to Guigues, Marseilles, January 26, 1858 (copy); *ibid.*, Aubert to Guigues, Marseilles, February 2, 1858 (copy); *ibid.*, Aubert to Charles Edward Chevalier, Marseilles, April 3, 1858 (copy); *ibid.*, Aubert to Guigues, Marseilles, April 5, 1858 (copy).

The same archives have a copy of Procès Verbaux des Conseils Généraux de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée, Déc. 1844—Mai 1859, a digest of the discussions carried on by De Mazenod and his consultors. The references to Neumann are under dates of November 26, 1856, December 11, 1857, and January 7, 1858. The original Procès Verbaux is preserved in the archives of the Postulator of the Cause of Archbishop De Mazenod, Oblate Generalate, Rome, Gen. Cong., Section A, Class 20, Fasc. I. These documents were brought to the attention of the author by Rev. Joseph Wild, O.M.I., of Washington, D. C.

⁴⁵ RABP, N, MS List of Ordinations by Bishop Neumann, drawn up from various sources by the author.

⁴⁶ Clarke, *op. cit.*, II, 456.

⁴⁷ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Rev. F. Wiechman to [Wissel], Gas City, Ind., November 10, 1897; *ibid.*, statement by Sister Mary Charles McKeon, Baltimore, October 12, 1897; Berger, *Leben*, p. 304.

⁴⁸ BCA 30 U 17; Neumann wrote to Francis Patrick Kenrick, Easton, August 23, 1855: "I am of the opinion that more evil than good would come in this Diocese [*sic*] from an absolute prohibition of all mixed marriages [*sic*]" ; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 305-6. In those days where the decree *Tametsi* of the Council of Trent had not been promulgated and before the decree *Ne Temere* was issued, the marriage of a Catholic with a baptized non-Catholic was forbidden but not invalid. That is, such marriages were illicit, but they were not invalid. Neumann certainly opposed such marriages, but he did not favor an outright prohibition of mixed marriages contracted before a Catholic priest, provided that the non-Catholic party promised under oath to bring up the children in the Catholic faith.

⁴⁹ ACHS *Records*, XXXI (1920), 186-7, Kenrick to Mrs. Allen, Baltimore, June 21, 1853.

⁵⁰ BCA 28 D 4, Elizabeth Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., December 2, [1852].

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 28 A 20, Elizabeth Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p. [June 10?], 1853.

⁵² ACHS *Records*, XXXI (1920), 214, F. P. Kenrick to Elizabeth Mary Allen, Baltimore, June 21, 1853.

⁵³ BCA 28 B 5, Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., May 2, 1854.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 E 11, Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., April 1, [185?].

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 D 50, Elizabeth Allen to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, February 20, [185?].

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 28 E 13, G[eorge] A[llen] to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., n.d.

⁵⁷ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Aegidius Smulders, C.S.S.R., to Joseph Wissel, C.S.S.R., Philadelphia, February 3, 1898; cf. Wuest, *Annales*, III, Part II (Ilchester, 1907), 114.

⁵⁸ Sr. Mary Charles McKeon, cf. n. 47 *supra*.

⁵⁹ "Acta Synodi Philadelphiensis Quartae, Habita Diebus 20 et 21 Aprilis A.D. MDCCCLIII," *Constitutiones Dioecesanæ in Synodis Philadelphiensibus Annis 1832, 1842, 1847, 1853, et 1855* (Philadelphia, 1855), pp. 29-33.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Acta Synodi Dioecesanæ Philadelphiensis Sextæ habitæ . . . diebus 28 et 29 Octobris A.D. 1857*, n.d., n.p. It was evidently printed after July, 1859.

⁶² *KF*, p. 396, F. P. Kenrick to P. R. Kenrick, Baltimore, [May 26], 1856.

⁶³ *Manuale Devotionis Quadraginta Horarum in usum Sacerdotum Dioceseos Philadelphiensis* (Philadelphia, 1855). This booklet, written in Latin, was published "auctoritate Rev^{mi} Joan. Nepomuceni Eps. Philadelphien."

⁶⁴ *Kyriale or Ordinary of the Mass* (Baltimore, 1860). Cf. AUND, *Detroit Papers*, III-2-i, C. Maugin to Rt. Rev. Bishop Lefevre, [Philadelphia?], May 17, 1860.

⁶⁵ Appendix to "Acta Synodi Philadelphiensis Quartæ"; cf. n. 59 *supra*.

⁶⁶ Appendix to *Acta Synodi Dioecesanæ Philadelphiensis Sextæ*, cf. n. 61 *supra*. Cf. *Constitutiones Dioecesanæ in Synodis Philadelphiensibus*, pp. 47-50.

⁶⁷ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, P. C. Rosenbauer, C.S.S.R., to J[oseph] W[uest], C.S.S.R., n.d., n.p. Richard Clarke says it was a "leather box or capsule after a design of his [Neumann's] own for the preservation of the Holy Oils." Cf. *Lives of Deceased Bishops*, II, 455.

⁶⁸ *Catholic Herald*, December 31, 1853.

⁶⁹ RABP, N, Data 1856, the MS copy of the rules is in the bishop's own hand.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Data 1856, George Acres, C.S.S.R., to Rev. Henry Schorp, C.S.S.R., Ephrata, Pa., May 23, 1937. Cf. Hertkorn, *Diamond Jubilee Memoir of St. Alphonsus' Church*, pp. 52-5.

⁷¹ *Complete Works of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori, Centenary Edition*, XVII, 463.

⁷² Besides several smaller missions in German at Pottsville, Haycock, Reading, and Easton, the Redemptorist Fathers gave three large missions in the City of Philadelphia in May, 1852, one in German at St. Peter's and two in English at St. John's and at Assumption Church. The next year they gave a large mission at St. Mary's Church, cf. Wuest, *Annales*, II (Ilchester, 1893), 488-91.

⁷³ Cf. *KK*, July 15, 1858, for the mission of Father Weniger, S.J., at Easton. For the mission at Nippenose Valley (now Bastress) by the same preacher cf. *ibid.*, July 29, 1858.

⁷⁴ In 1854 they gave missions at St. Bernard's, Easton; St. Anne's [?], Easton; St. Joseph's, York; in 1855 they conducted the same exercises at St. Joseph's, Lancaster, and at St. Boniface's Church, St. Clair; in 1856 they were at Wilmington, Del.; in 1857 at St. Joseph's, Brandywine; 1858 saw them at Lewiston, Phoenixville, Allentown, Lockhaven, and Reading and in the City of Philadelphia itself at Assumption (renewing the mission given earlier in the year), at St. Peter's and at the Cathedral Chapel; in 1859 they were at Doylestown, Frenchville, Bellefonte, Reading, Friendsville, Silver Lake, Susquehanna Depot, West Chester, and in the city itself at St. Philip's and at the Cathedral Chapel once more, Wuest, *Annales*, III, Part I (Ilchester, 1899), 408-22; *ibid.*, IV, Part II (Boston, 1914), 427-8.

⁷⁵ BDA, RP, Neumann to his sister, Philadelphia, March 15, 1858.

⁷⁶ JAMP 225-P, Lewis Miller to Father Stonestreet, S.J., Chambersburg, June 16, 1857.

⁷⁷ Berger, *Life*, p. 442.

⁷⁸ RABP, N, BP, Sourin to [Berger], Baltimore, September 29, 1872.

⁷⁹ Berger, *Leben*, p. 327.

⁸⁰ BCA 30 U 12, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Dushore, Sullivan Co., July 27, 1854.

⁸¹ Cf. RABP, N, BP, Abbot Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., to Berger, St. Vincent's Abbey, Westmoreland, Pa., March 27, 1872.

⁸² All but the order to avoid seaside resorts were put into the twelfth statute of the synod of 1855, *Constitutiones Dioecesanæ in Synodis Philadelphiensibus*, p. 42.

⁸³ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 316-7; KK, September 24, 1857; Buffalo Chancery Archives, Diary of Bishop Timon, under dates of October 20-26, 1857.

⁸⁴ RABP, N, Data 1856, *Collationes Theologicae A.D. 1856*, a four-page printed leaflet listing the questions to be discussed during the four conferences for the year; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, May 15, 1858, announcing the conference in the northern regions at Scranton on July 28 of that year.

⁸⁵ Cf. "Association in Behalf of Deceased Clergymen," *Catholic Herald*, July 14, 1853. The members were obligated to say two Masses for each deceased priest of the association.

⁸⁶ RABP, N, Theological Notes, "De Religiosis."

⁸⁷ The Franciscan Conventuals went to St. Alphonsus' Church in Philadelphia, cf. pp. 320-1; KK, March 4, May 13, 1858.

The Benedictines took charge of Bellefonte, Mathäser, *Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B., und König Ludwig I von Bayern*, p. 93; ACHS Records, XLI (1930), 5; Neumann offered a church in Bridesburg to Abbot Wimmer, cf. Archives of St. Vincent's Abbey, Latrobe, Pa., Neumann to Wimmer, Philadelphia, January 16, 1857.

The Holy Cross Brothers taught a trade school, Sr. M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, p. 286.

For the Christian Brothers, cf. Brother Angelus Gabriel, F.S.C., *The Christian Brothers in the United States: 1848-1948* (New York, 1949), pp. 163-5; cf. "The History of the District of Baltimore Brothers of the Christian Schools," MS (Ammendale, Md., 1948), pp. 23-6.

⁸⁸ Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, p. 357.

For the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, cf. *The American Foundations of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur* (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 279.

For the Sisters of the Holy Cross, cf. Sister M. Eleanore, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

For the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, cf. pp. 386-92 of this text.

For the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, cf. p. 261.

⁸⁹ RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1855, Neumann to [M. Holba?], Budweis, February 12, 1854[5]; RABP, Neumann to his sister, Sister Caroline, Philadelphia, November 18, 1852. The Discalced Carmelites maintained that Bishop Neumann planned a foundation of their order in Philadelphia, *Carmel, Its History and Spirit and Saints* (New York, 1927), p. 128.

⁹⁰ RABP, N, BP, Mother (then Sister) St. John [Fournier], S.S.J., to Berger, Chestnut Hill, November 23, [18]72.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Chestnut Hill Letters, Neumann to "Dear Respected Mother" [St. John?], Buffalo, July 10, 1854.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Neumann to "Dear respected Mother," Philadelphia, June 10, 1854.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Neumann to "Dear respected Mother" [St. John?], Philadelphia, November 6, 1856.

⁹⁴ Cf. n. 90 *supra*.

⁹⁵ RABP, N, BP [Mother Caroline, S.S.N.D.] to [Berger], Milwaukee, April 21, 1874.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chestnut Hill Letters, Neumann to Mother St. John, Philadelphia, February 1, 1856.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Neumann to "Dear Respected Mother," Philadelphia, March 27, 1856.

⁹⁸ *Berichte*, Heft XXV (1853), 33-6, Neumann to the Archbishop of Vienna, September 10, 1852; BDA, RP, Neumann to a priest, Philadelphia, May 20, 1853.

⁹⁹ RABP, N, Chestnut Hill Letters, Neumann to "Dear respected Mother," Philadelphia, November 6, 1856, concerning the Middleton property. He mentions "the wealthy who do so very little for the Church & for the institutions of the poor"; *ibid.*, Neumann to "Dear respected Mother," Philadelphia, October 7, 1856, concerning the Kelly property; *ibid.*, Neumann to "Dear Respected Mother," Philadelphia, February 27, 1858.

¹⁰⁰ GUA 23-9, Neumann to Father [Cotting?], S.J., Philadelphia, March 16, 1853; Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., "Some Memoirs of Our Lady's Shrine," ACHS *Records*, XII (1901), 137-8; American Catholic Historical Society Collection, NIRI, St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Pa., Neumann to Rev. P. Reilly, n.p., n.d.

¹⁰¹ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, January 14, 1860.

NOTES

CHAPTER XVIII

¹ RABP, N, Data 1836, *Passe-Port à l'Intérieur*, a passport for Neumann issued March 1, 1836, at Strassburg.

² Berger, *Leben*, p. 198.

³ RABP, N, BP, Visitation nun to [Berger], Baltimore, July 9, 1872.

⁴ Cf. n. 1 *supra*.

⁵ A. J. Faust, "My Recollections of Bishop Neumann," *The Ave Maria*, L (1900), 97-100.

⁶ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Sr. Mary Charles McKeon to Wissel, Baltimore, October 12, 1897. RABP, III, Joseph Wuest, Wuest, C.S.S.R., to Edward Weigel, C.S.S.R., Ilchester, April 1, 1922, said: "The principal thing that struck me in Bishop Neumann was his extreme simplicity and unassuming humility." RABP, N, Wissel Papers, "Carmelite Unworthy" to [Wissel]. This Carmelite Sister, Teresa of Jesus, said of Neumann: "His talents and learning were so hidden as not to appear at first, but when known he was highly appreciated. . . . He was certainly a hidden saint, for which reason only a few knew and sufficiently could value him for what he really was."

⁷ Cf. p. 176.

⁸ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, January 14, 1860.

⁹ Faust, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Cf. n. 3 *supra*.

¹¹ VR, p. 60, under Dallastown, shows Neumann was in Dallastown on July 26, 1853. At that time Archbishop Bedini was hurrying to Philadelphia from Baltimore; cf. AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-i, Bedini to Purcell, Baltimore, July 27, 1853; BCA 30 U 11, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, January 20, 1854. Of the nuncio's visit Neumann wrote in this letter with typical self-depreciation: "On the first arrival of Mgr. Bedini things did not go on as they should, partly on account of my having to leave for the visitation, partly for the shortness of time—but above all for the fact of my being the poorest hand in creation for arranging

celebrations or ceremonies . . . sacred or profane. With the best will to do things like others, & to make myself amiable, I make every time more blunders, and say more nonsense than Sancho Panza. I have had this unwieldy disposition from my mother, and all the pains she, & my professors, friends and brothers have ever taken with me were fruitless & thrown away. I will then have to keep it with all its consequences until God Almighty will make an end. Would to God that the last act of mine may not be an everlasting misstep!"

Concerning this visit, the bishop did not mention anything about the dangers of having such a celebration in Philadelphia in 1853. Bedini had some sad days at Cincinnati and other places, so it may have been just as well that the Bishop of Philadelphia made no ceremonial display that year, in public at least. However, by January, 1854, Neumann felt the danger of rioting had passed.

¹² Rev. F. Wiechman, son of the tailor, tells the story, RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Wiechman to Rev. [Joseph Wissel], Gas City, Ind., November 10, 1897; *ibid.*, Chestnut Hill Letters, Neumann to "Dear respected Mother," Philadelphia, October 7, 1856, in which Neumann wrote "I am as poor as a Bishop can be."

¹³ *Ibid.*, Wissel Papers, Charles A. Norris to [Wissel], Nesquehoning, Pa., January 13, 1898.

¹⁴ Faust, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ RABP, N, BP, Coudenrove to Berger, n.p., n.d.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Sourin to Berger, Loyola College, [Baltimore], May 22, 1882.

¹⁷ Cf. n. 12 *supra*.

¹⁸ RABP, N, BP, Visitation nun to [Berger], Baltimore, July 9, 1872.

¹⁹ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his mother, Cumberland, January 7, 1860. Cf. Faust, *loc. cit.*; BDA, RP, Neumann to his sister, Philadelphia, March 15, 1858.

²⁰ Cf. n. 18 *supra*.

²¹ Berger, *Leben*, p. 378.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 307. The bishop said, however, that he was busy from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m.

²³ BDA, RP, Neumann to Dichtl, Philadelphia, September 16, 1856.

²⁴ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Sr. Mary Charles McKeon to Wissel, Baltimore, October 12, 1897.

²⁵ Berger, *Leben*, p. 377.

²⁶ RABP, III, John Berger, Redemptorist Father to the Redemptorist Community at Cumberland, Philadelphia, January 6, 1860.

²⁷ Cf. n. 18 *supra*.

²⁸ *Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann*, p. 21.

²⁹ RABP, N, Neumann's Retreat Notes, MSS, St. Francis Xavier to Gaspar Baertz, Goa, India, March 5, 1549. The quotation is apparently summarized. For a different wording, cf. Henry James Coleridge, S.J., *The Life and Letters of Saint Francis Xavier* (London, 1872), II, 111.

³⁰ BCA 34 K 29, F. P. Kenrick to the Bishop of Louisville, Baltimore, February 19, 1857. Francis Kenrick's letter does not say whether he himself attended, though about fifty others did.

³¹ KK, December 8, 1859, citing *New York Herald*, December 5, 1859.

³² *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, January 14, 1860.

³³ Cf. n. 18 *supra*.

³⁴ RABP, N, BP, Mother (then Sister) St. John to Berger, Chestnut Hill, November 23, [18]72.

³⁵ Martin I. J. Griffin, "History of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Philadelphia," *ACHS Records*, XX (1909), 396-7.

³⁶ *Superiors General* ("Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross," Vol. II [Paterson, N. J., 1941]), 113.

³⁷ Cf. n. 34 *supra*.

³⁸ BCA 28 D 46, Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., n.d.; *ibid.*, 28 D 27, Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., Sunday, April 29, [?]; RABP, N, BP, George Roesch, C.S.S.R., to Berger, Baltimore, July 24, 1872.

³⁹ NYAA, Neumann to John Hughes, Philadelphia, February 7, 1856; RABP, N, Data 1856, has a copy; *ibid.*, BP, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d.

⁴⁰ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15-25, 1860.

⁴¹ Cf. n. 34 *supra*.

⁴² RABP, N, Theological Notes, "De Oratione." Neumann likewise had a treatise on mystical theology, Berger, *Leben*, p. 379.

⁴³ RABP, N, BP, Coudenhove to Berger, n.p., n.d. Cf. *ibid.*, Visits to St. Peter's, Philadelphia, list of visits Bishop Neumann made to St. Peter's.

⁴⁴ GUA, 23-9, Neumann to Cotting, S.J., Philadelphia, January [2?], 1854.

⁴⁵ Mother St. John to Berger, cf. n. 34 *supra*.

⁴⁶ *Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann*, p. 21.

⁴⁷ RABP, N, BP, O'Connor, S.J., to Berger, Baltimore, March 22, 1872.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Sourin, S.J., to [Berger], Baltimore, September 29, 1872; *ibid.*, Sourin to Berger, Loyola College, [Baltimore], May 22, 1882.

⁴⁹ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 379-80; cf. RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15-25, 1860.

⁵⁰ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, January 14, 1860.

⁵¹ St. Bernard, *De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae*, Vol. CLXXXII, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (Paris, 1854), p. 942; Alfonso M. De Liguori, *La Vera Sposa Di Gesù Cristo*, Part I, Vol. XIV, *Opere Ascetiche* (Rome, 1923), 383.

⁵² RABP, N, Theological Notes, "De Humilitate Christiana."

⁵³ MJG, *passim*. For a typical appraisal of himself, cf. entry under date of January 25, 1835.

⁵⁴ RABP, N, BP, Visitation nun to [Berger], Baltimore, July 9, 1872.

⁵⁵ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15-25, 1860.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, BP, Mother (then Sister) St. John to Berger, Chestnut Hill, November 23, 1872.

⁵⁷ RABP, N, Theological Notes, "De Virtutibus Christianis," chap. iv, "De Zelo." Cf. *Oeuvres de Saint François de Sales*, Édition complète, Tom. V (Annecy, 1894), 213, 215. This is Vol. II, Bk. X, chaps. XIII, XIV of the Saint's *Traité de L'Amour de Dieu*.

⁵⁸ Cf. n. 49 *supra*.

⁵⁹ This statement is based on a study of all available sources giving information on churches coming into use during Bishop Neumann's regime in Philadelphia, *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for the years 1852 and 1860, *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac* for 1860, *Diary and Visitation Record of the Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick*, Bishop Neumann's Visitation Record,

parochial registers, parish histories and the Catholic newspapers of the period. For a list of the churches cf. index under "Churches."

⁶⁰ Berger, *Leben*, p. 380.

⁶¹ Henry Borgmann, C.S.S.R., *History of the Redemptorists at Annapolis, Md.*, p. 31; BCA 30 U 21, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, April 10, 1857. A similar departure from the diocese was occasioned by the consecration of Bishop Patrick Barry of Charleston; Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, p. 12; KK, August 20, 1857. He also laid the cornerstone of the Redemptorist church, St. Michael's, in Baltimore, *ibid.*, August 2, 1857; cf. RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to Benesch, Latrobe, December 6, 1857, for Neumann's visit to Latrobe.

⁶² *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, January 14, 1860.

⁶³ *Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann*, p. 9.

NOTES

CHAPTER XIX

¹ John G. Shea, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, IV (New York, 1892), 404 says Neumann "relieved of much external work by the aid of his coadjutor, seemed to devote himself more especially to the increase of the interior spirit in the communities, institutions and churches." Actually, Wood relieved more of Neumann's desk work than external work. How the idea of Bishop Neumann's being superseded seems to persist may be gathered from the author of *Jesuit Education in Philadelphia*, who says: "At this time, he [Bishop Neumann] had almost ceased to take an active hand in the business of the diocese," Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 64. This is not historical fact.

² AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o, Wood to [Purcell], Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, April 15, 1859.

³ VR, p. 127, shows Bishop Neumann was in the home of Edward Burke at Canton, Bradford Co., on June 12, 1858; *ibid.*, p. 16 shows him in the homes of William Carroll and James Stionley at Wellsboro, Tioga Co., June 17, 1858; *ibid.*, p. 15, shows him in that of Peter Burns at Tioga Village the next day; *ibid.*, p. 112, shows him four days later confirming four in the home of J. Kiernan at Fork Settlement; *ibid.*, p. 4, shows that on July 16, 1858, he confirmed in the home of Mr. Manning at Legedale; *ibid.*, p. 87, shows him in the courthouse at Milford, Pike Co. on July 20; *ibid.*, p. 98, shows him the next day in the school at Shohola; *ibid.*, p. 5, shows him on the day following that at the home of Mr. O'Donnell at Lackawaxen, etc.

⁴ How the settlements were being supervised is evident from the comparison of statistics for the year 1852 with those of 1860, as presented in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1852 and 1860.

⁵ VR, p. 129. The church was evidently not acquired, cf. Rhamanthus M. Stocker, *Centennial History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1887), p. 552.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122. It was blessed by Father E. Murray, September 4, 1859; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 24, 1859. This church now uses the abbreviated name, St. Columba.

⁷ VR, p. 15. Father Charles Maugin blessed it, June 19, 1859, cf. *Catholic*

Herald and Visitor, July 2, 1859, describing its four high columns supporting the front of the church and the cupola; *KK*, May 12, 1859.

⁸ VR, p. 135. Cf. *Dunigan's Catholic Almanac* for 1860.

⁹ VR, p. 51, says the cornerstone was laid on September 13, 1857; *The Official Souvenir of the Sixty-eighth Convention of the German Roman Catholic Central Verein, August 23-27, 1924* (n.p., n.d.), p. 1 says the cornerstone of the church of the Immaculate Conception was laid on September 13, 1857; the church was blessed on the eve of Ascension, May 13, 1858. It had been opened for services October 25, 1857. The church is now called the Immaculate Conception.

¹⁰ St. Patrick's, Canaan, VR, p. 140; cf. *The Catholic Light*, Silver Jubilee of His Excellency, the Most Reverend William J. Hafey, D.D., Bishop of Scranton, [p. 19].

¹¹ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, October 13, 1858.

¹² VR, p. 100. This Middletown was located in Susquehanna County.

¹³ *KK*, March 17, 1859; Roth, *History of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, Tacony*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁴ VR, p. 13. The church was erected in January, 1859.

¹⁵ St. Kieran's, Heckscherville, *Catholic Herald*, September 10, 1857; *KK*, September 24, 1857. The present pastor, Rev. Joseph F. Toye, says services began in this church August 1, 1858, according to popular tradition, Toye to the author, Heckscherville, February 1, 1952.

¹⁶ St. Jerome's, Tamaqua, had a church before Neumann arrived. This second church, 100 ft. by 60 ft., was blessed August 21, 1859, VR, p. 92; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, August 20, 1859.

¹⁷ Edward Roth, "Memoir of the Very Rev. Patrick Reilly, V.G., First Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Wilmington, Delaware," *ACHS Records*, V (1894), 17. The church was called St. Mary's, but it is listed in the VR as the "Immaculate Conception." Cf. *Cincinnati Wahrheitsfreund*, May 13, 1858; *KK*, November 25, 1858; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, November 13, 1858; *ibid.*, May 8, 1858.

¹⁸ VR, p. 114. The faculty for blessing it was given December 29, 1859. Cf. *Catholic Herald*, October 11, 1856, for its beginning.

¹⁹ VR, p. 77. This Middletown is in Dauphin County. Cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 26, 1857; *ibid.*, October 9, 1858. It was opened December 25, 1858, and blessed September 18, 1859.

²⁰ Moscow had a church in process of being built when Neumann died, cf. *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac* for 1859. VR, p. 134, reports that permission was given to buy a lot for a church as early as July 26, 1858.

Jenkintown's seventy Catholic families were given permission to buy a lot for a church as early as August 8, 1857, VR, p. 131.

Bonaughton (Bonneauville) laid the cornerstone for its church on July 31, 1859, VR, p. 71. It was completed in February, 1860, one month after Bishop Neumann died, Rev. Damien E. McGovern to the author, Harrisburg, June 9, 1952.

St. Joseph's, Susquehanna, is listed as early as 1854, but it appears that the college chapel at this place served as a parish church. A distinct parish church appears to have begun only in 1859, cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, November 26, 1859, describing the cornerstone laying on November 6 of that year; cf. Stocker, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

Gouldsborough Catholics received permission on July 26, 1858, to build a church, VR, p. 136, but construction does not appear to have gotten under way.

Hammerton received permission to buy a hall to serve as a church as early as December 4, 1856, VR, p. 23. However, the place remained a mission station and it is not known whether the hall was purchased.

Craneville (Lehigh Co.) is listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855, but it disappears from the directories thereafter. Durham (Bucks Co.) is listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1855 as having a church in the course of erection but apparently it was not completed before Neumann's death.

Several other churches appear to have been completed enough for use during this time:

St. Anthony of Padua Church, Mehoopeny, is listed in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1860 apparently as a completed church. VR, p. 114, says that the cornerstone was laid May 8, 1859. Holy Cross Church, Parryville, is listed in the same volume. VR, p. 90, says that the cornerstone of this church was laid on July 17, 1858. St. Patrick's, Trevorton, is likewise listed in *The Metropolitan Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1860. VR, p. 120, says that the cornerstone was laid on October 16, 1857, although the church was not blessed until after Bishop Neumann's death.

St. Basil's, Dushore, seems to have been rebuilt during the last years of Bishop Neumann. VR, p. 111, reports that permission was given to build a new church there on December 11, 1857. Rev. Xavier Aloysius Kaier, pastor of that place, is reported to have stated that the church was rebuilt in 1859, cf. Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., "Saint Basil's, Dushore, Pennsylvania During One Hundred Years," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XLIX (1938), 37.

St. John's, Pittston, although built during the years 1854-1856, was blessed only October 13, 1858, VR, p. 137.

²¹ SS. Peter and Paul's at Towanda is listed as having a school in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1860.

St. Nicholas', Wilkes-Barre, *ibid.*

The Catholic school at St. Mary's (Immaculate Conception) Church, Allentown, opened on October 6, 1858. Its first teachers were Mr. Jonas Adam, F. H. Gressing and a Mr. Lehmer. Thirty children were enrolled and each paid fifty cents for monthly tuition, Rt. Rev. Leo Fink to the author, Allentown, February 4, 1952; cf. KK, July 21, 1859. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1860 says it had fifty children under one teacher.

St. Simon's, Dunmore, is listed in *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac and List of the Clergy* for 1858 as having seventy scholars under one teacher.

The Williamsport school was started in 1859 when Father John Bach, pastor of St. Boniface's, opened it, having one lay teacher under his supervision, Rev. Leo J. Post to the author, Williamsport, February 3, 1952; cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for 1860.

St. Vincent's, Scranton, is listed as having 175 scholars under two teachers in *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac* for 1859.

St. Denis', West Haverford, is listed as having fifty scholars under one teacher in 1859, *ibid.*

The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1860 lists 44 schools, seven of which are separate divisions for girls in the same parish.

²² KK, July 21, December 15, 1859.

²³ Sr. Maria Alma, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, pp. 76, 87–8. The Sisters had both a select school for girls and a parochial school at Reading.

²⁴ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, July 7, 1859.

²⁵ Hertkorn, *Diamond Jubilee Memoir of St. Alphonsus' Church*, p. 63. The Sisters of the newly established Third Order of St. Francis took over the direction of the school.

²⁶ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 18, 1858. *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac* for 1859 says: "A Catholic School for Colored Children has been opened by Mrs. Wood on 7th street below Pine and Barker, in Philadelphia."

²⁷ Cf. Diary of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, 1853–1860, December 1, 1859. Cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, October 30, 1858, announcing a concert to be given by the school children.

²⁸ Diary of St. Joseph's College, under date of February 18, 1858. For the pastoral of Bishop Neumann, dated October 2, 1859, cf. Berger, *Life*, pp. 351–7; *KK*, October 20, 1859.

²⁹ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o. Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, October 26, 1859.

³⁰ *Boston Pilot*, quoted in *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, December 10, 1859.

³¹ Roth, *History of St. Vincent's*, pp. 23–5.

³² *Annals of the Good Shepherd, Philadelphia: 1850–1925*, by a member of the order (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 34–6.

³³ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, II, 78, under date of October 28, 1855.

³⁴ Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict*, pp. 262–84.

³⁵ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 19, 1859.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, September 11, November 6, 1858.

³⁷ "Kirchliche Mitteilungen," *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, Beilage zu num. 3, 17 Jahr (January 19, 1859), 70.

³⁸ Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, I, 732.

³⁹ APF, Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1855, Parte Seconda, Vol. CXXII, fol. 1834, Neumann to "Most Reverend and Illustrious Monsignor" [Barnabò], Philadelphia, June 4, 1855; BCA 30 U 28, Neumann to [F. P. Kenrick], Philadelphia, December 11, 1859; Foglio di Udienza del 23 Maggio 1858, APF, Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1858, Prima Parte, Vol. CXXVIII, fols. 854r–856r (affare n. 12); cf. the extract of one of Neumann's letters to Propaganda dated April 11, 1858 in APF, Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1858, Seconda Parte, Vol. CXXIX, fol. 988r. Cf. Appendix to *Constitutiones Dioecesanæ in Synodis Philadelphiensibus*.

⁴⁰ BCA 30 U 26, Neumann to F. P. Kenrick, Philadelphia, July 15, 1859.

⁴¹ Annals of Eden Hall, under date of October 6, 1858.

⁴² RABP, BP, Visitation nun to [Berger], Baltimore, July 9, 1872; Wuest, *Annales*, III, Part 2 (Ilchester, 1899), 114–15; *ibid.*, IV, Part 2 (Boston, 1914), 427.

⁴³ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 26, 1859; cf. Diary of Saint Joseph's College 1853–1860, under date of March 19, 1859; cf. *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, April 2, 1859. Cf. also "History of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia," *ACHS Records*, XLVII (1936), 198–207.

⁴⁴ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, April 23, 1855.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1859.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, December 24, 1859.

⁴⁷ St. Charles' Seminary Archives, Overbrook, Pa., W & ½, Wood to Reilly, Philadelphia, April 18, 1858.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Neumann to Edward Bayer, Philadelphia, September 23, 1858 (uncatalogued); *ibid.*, Neumann to "Dear Sir," [Philadelphia?], November 11, 1859.

⁴⁹ Henry John Steinhagen, *A Retrospect of St. John the Baptist Parish* (n.p., 1917), p. 13. The book is not paginated, but this incident is mentioned on the thirteenth page.

⁵⁰ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 26, October 31, 1857.

⁵¹ Cf. J. Walter Coleman, *Labor Disturbances in Pennsylvania, 1850-1880* (Washington, D. C., 1936).

⁵² The phrase "driving at a faster pace" was used by Bishop Lefevre, DAA, Lefevre to Bishop Wood, Detroit, August 2, 1857 (copy); Wuest, *Annales*, II, 59-62, 117, 167-71, 225, 267-8; Sr. M. Rosalita, *No Greater Service*, pp. 77-95.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-9; cf. *The Sisters of the I.H.M.* by a member of the Scranton Community, pp. 40-5; Sister Maria Alma, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, p. 50; Wuest, *Annales*, III, Part I, 112-23. The bishop brought the matter to Rome but failed to hold the Redemptorists at Monroe although his action did keep the Redemptorists at St. Mary's, Detroit, from which also they had been recalled by their Roman superior; cf. the documents in Wuest, *Annales*, III, Part I, 345-7, 355. Cf. Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit*, p. 453.

⁵⁴ DAA, Neumann to Bishop [Lefevre] of Detroit, Philadelphia, August 7, 1859. The anxiety seems to have been increased by the fact that the new director of the Sisters at Monroe was superseding Mother Theresa in much of the government of the Sisters; cf. Sr. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Mother Theresa herself declared that her motive was a desire to complete the rule of the Institute; cf. Sister M. Immaculata, *Mother M. Theresa Maxis Duchemin* (Scranton, 1945), p. 36.

⁵⁵ Sr. Maria Alma, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-4; *The Sisters of the I.H.M.*, pp. 56-60.

⁵⁶ Bishop Neumann did not write to Lefevre concerning the Sisters and the necessity of having arrangements completed, but he wrote to Mother Mary Joseph, Mother Superior of the Sisters, and the Bishop of Detroit seemed irked at it. Cf. n. 58 *infra*; cf. p. 390.

⁵⁷ DAA, Neumann to the Bishop of Detroit [Lefevre], Philadelphia, August 7, 1859 (copy).

⁵⁸ Mother Theresa's ideas about a foundation in Reading seem to have started while she was in Susquehanna on her first visit. She wrote to Bishop Lefevre: "As I told Your Lordship yesterday, I know the Bishop's [Neumann's] views only by a conversation I had with him whilst at St. Joseph's, for I have received no letters previous to the ones showed; had I, it would be known whatever was said then to me about Reading (for an establishment there was already in contemplation). I told all this on my return both to Your Lordship and Father Superior from whom I don't wish to have anything hidden," AUND, Detroit Papers, III-2-i, Mother Theresa to Bishop [Lefevre], Monroe, March 11, 1859. In view of this statement, Lefevre's expression of "utter astonishment" when Mother Theresa showed him Neumann's letter about the purchase of the house in Reading seems unwarranted. Nevertheless, Lefevre was firmly opposed to the Reading offer. Cf. DAA, Lefevre to Wood, August 2, 1859 (copy).

⁵⁹ AUND, Detroit Papers, III-2-i, Ed. Joos to Bishop [Lefevre], March 31, 1859.

⁶⁰ DAA, Lefevre to Wood, Detroit, August 2, 1859 (copy); cf. Sr. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁶¹ Sr. Maria Alma, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, p. 82; cf. DAA, Neumann to [Lefevre], Philadelphia, August 7, 1859 (copy).

⁶² Sr. M. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–8. Mother Theresa wrote to one Sister: “Is it not visible that God does not want us in Michigan?” Cf. Sr. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, p. 145; AUND, Detroit Papers, III-2-i, Mother Theresa to Bishop [Lefevre], Choconut [St. Joseph’s, Susquehanna], July 9, 1859. In this letter to Bishop Lefevre she indignantly denied that her efforts to go to Reading were motivated by a desire for temporal advantages or any wish to be near the Redemptorist Fathers; she added: “I will here declare, my Lord, that after the closest examination of my conscience, I cannot find that in all I did or said to get the Institution out of Michigan, right or wrong, I had any other motive but the welfare of the Institution. I knew the rules were not completed, that the intention of those who laid the foundation of the establishment had something more in view than to form a religious society. By the length of time we remained always the same in Monroe, I thought we could do better elsewhere.”

⁶³ DAA, Neumann to [Lefevre], Philadelphia, August 7, 1859 (copy).

⁶⁴ Copies of the letters are found in DAA, Joseph Jacobs to Sister Colette, Annapolis, May 4, 1859; *ibid.*, [Giles] Smulders to Sister Xavier, Philadelphia, May 15, 1859; *ibid.*, [Henry] F. Giesen to Mother Mary Joseph, Philadelphia [May 12?], [18]59. From them it is evident that the vocation to religious life of some of the Sisters had been fostered by the priests who wrote the letters. Father Jacobs later left the Redemptorists, Wuest, *Annales*, III, Part II, 439; Fathers Giesen and Smulders continued as Redemptorists for long years to work for souls; cf. Geiermann, *Annals of the St. Louis Province*, I, 410–11, for Giesen; for Smulders’ many-sided career, cf. Skinner, *The Redemptorists in the West*, pp. 92–9.

⁶⁵ Cf. n. 63 *supra*.

⁶⁶ Sr. Maria Alma, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, pp. 83–4.

⁶⁷ Sr. M. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–7; DAA, Lefevre to Wood, Detroit, August 2, 1859 (copy). Wood had inquired “confidentially” of Lefevre about the matter, AUND, Detroit Papers, III-2-i, Wood to Lefevre, Philadelphia, July 28, 1859.

⁶⁸ AUND, Detroit Papers, III-2-i, Wood to [Lefevre], Philadelphia, August 6, 1859.

⁶⁹ DAA, Neumann to Lefevre, Philadelphia, August 7, 1859 (copy).

⁷⁰ Sr. M. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–8.

⁷¹ Sr. Maria Alma, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–6; RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1860, Neumann to Sister Magdalen, Philadelphia, January 4, 1860. The bishop gave as reasons for changing Mother Theresa: “The unsettled state of the Congregation of Reading and the facility to rouse a storm in a compact Congregation would expose your new foundation to great dangers. I hope her love of God & of the Community will strengthen her to bring this little sacrifice.” Wood’s letter of August 6, 1859, to Lefevre showed that the coadjutor judged Mother Theresa’s presence in Reading as undesirable, cf. Wood to Lefevre, n. 68 *supra*.

⁷² Sr. M. Rosalita, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–35; Sr. Maria Alma, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–21; Sr. M. Immaculata, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–64; *The Sisters of the I.H.M.*, pp. 109–36. Mother Theresa first went to the Grey Nuns in 1867; later she went to New Orleans; she began her long stay in Ottawa in 1869. This explains why she says “eighteen years.” Her first stay was for twenty months; and her second, over sixteen years.

⁷³ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, July 3, 1858.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, September 24, 1859; AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-o, Wood to [Purcell], Philadelphia, August 29, 1859.

⁷⁵ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, September 17, 1859; *KK*, September 22, 1859; VR, p. 44, says 10,000 were present.

⁷⁶ Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, III, 13; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, December 24, 1859; *ibid.*, December 31, 1859.

⁷⁷ Cf. n. 20 *supra* for these churches. For the offer of a second Redemptorist foundation at Reading, cf. RABP, N, Neumann Letters 1859, Neumann to Father Provincial [John De Dycker, C.S.S.R.], Philadelphia, November 21, 1859.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Neumann Letters 1860, Neumann to Sister Magdalen, Philadelphia, January 4, 1860.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Buffalo *Aurora*, January 13, 1860, letter, A. Thies to Dear Friend Wickmann, Philadelphia, January 6, 1860.

⁸¹ RABP, N, Data 1860, Lawrence Holzer, C.S.S.R., to Father Provincial [De Dycker, C.S.S.R.], Philadelphia, January 5, 1860; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 381-2.

⁸² RABP, N, Data 1860, A. J. Stuhl [later C.S.S.R.] to Dear Friend [Berger], Philadelphia, January 19, 1860; RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Otto Kopf to Wissel, Monte Cassino, Covington, Ky., February 27, 1902.

⁸³ Printed letter in Provincial Archives of the Austrian Province, C.S.S.R., Vienna, Brother Christopher [Fröehlich], C.S.S.R., to Father [Coudenrove, C.S.S.R.], Philadelphia, January 15, 1860; Berger, *Leben*, p. 382; RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his mother, Cumberland, January 7, 1860; cf. letter of Otto Kopf, n. 82 *supra*.

⁸⁴ *Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann*, p. 3; Stuhl to Berger, cf. n. 82 *supra*; RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his mother, Cumberland, January 7, 1860.

⁸⁵ *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 6-10.

⁸⁶ Brother Christopher [Fröehlich], C.S.S.R., cf. n. 83 *supra*; Berger, *Leben*, p. 395; cf. Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, quoted in *New York Times*, January 10, 1860; RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his cousin, Franz Berger, Cumberland, February 8, 1860 (copy).

⁸⁷ Cf. n. 83 *supra*. Brother Christopher, C.S.S.R., *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 11-14.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁹ Berger, *Life*, p. 441.

⁹⁰ Cf. n. 83 *supra*, Brother Christopher [Fröehlich] to Father [Coudenrove]; "Auszug aus Einem Briefe des P.C. Stiessberger," Baltimore, February 16, 1860, *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, XXVIII (1860), 287.

⁹¹ APF, SRC, America Centrale, 1858-1860, Vol. XVIII, fol. 1160rv, William O'Hara to Propaganda, Philadelphia, January 7, 1860.

Bishop Wood also wrote Propaganda, *ibid.*, fol. 1148rv, Wood to Propaganda, Philadelphia, January 6, 1860.

NOTES

EPILOGUE

¹ RABP, N, Wissel Papers, Wiechman to [Wissel], Gas City, November 10, 1897; *ibid.*, III, John Berger, Berger to his cousin, Cumberland, February 8, 1860 (copy); Berger, *Leben*, p. 400.

² BCA 28 C 1, Mary Allen to F. P. Kenrick, n.p., Easter Sunday, 1860.

³ RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his aunt [Mother Caroline], Cumberland, April 15–25, 1860.

⁴ Berger, *Leben*, pp. 401–5.

⁵ Berger sent over that year to Europe a number of printed circulars for details from his relatives and from the late bishop's friends, RABP, III, John Berger, Berger to his mother and his Aunt Louise and Sister Caroline, Baltimore, February 10, 1872.

⁶ Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, pp. 314–15; Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, *Sanctity in America* (Paterson, 1939), p. 32.

⁷ *L'Osservatore Romano*, December 12–13, 1921, [p. 1].

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ MJG, June 26, 1836.

Bibliography

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES

When the Redemptorist John Berger, nephew of Venerable Bishop Neumann, began to write the first and only extended biography of his famous uncle, he made a long and tireless effort to uncover extant sources. Among the bishop's personal effects acquired on the latter's death, Berger fortunately came into possession of a most important manuscript, "Mon Journal," an examination of conscience written down by John Neumann during his last year as a seminarian and during the early years of his priesthood. It was a mine of information. Berger likewise contacted many of Neumann's childhood companions, who wrote long and interesting accounts of Neumann's boyhood days. The author was indefatigable, too, in seeking out Neumann's contemporaries who were still living in Europe and America to receive accounts of his life as a secular priest, as a Redemptorist and as a bishop. The research yielded much material for writing the earlier life of this servant of God, but the documentary evidence was slim concerning the life of Neumann as a Redemptorist and only fragmentary for his term as bishop. The result of this labor was published in *Leben und Wirken des hochseligen Johannes Nep. Neumann* (Philadelphia, 1883).

Neither the translation of Berger's biography a year later by Rev. Eugene Grimm, C.S.S.R., *Life of the Right Reverend John N. Neumann, Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia*, nor any of the subsequent biographies added significant material. For the most part they were brochures summarizing Berger's account, contributing at best a small number of anecdotal details.

A search for documents was later instituted by Rev. Joseph Wissel, C.S.S.R. He uncovered relatively little material. Happily, the Wissel papers as well as the more important Berger papers were preserved in the archives of the Baltimore Province of the Most Holy Redeemer. Along the years a number of letters of the bishop were discovered and kept in the same archival center by Rev. Joseph Wuest, C.S.S.R., and Rev. John Byrne, C.S.S.R., archivists of the province.

Before beginning this new biography, the author instituted a search in archival centers of the United States and Europe, in the newly published books covering those days, in the periodical literature and in the newspapers, both secular and religious. The gratifying results, particularly for the story of Neumann's episcopal years, make possible a more complete picture of the life of Bishop Neumann. The loss of manuscript material in several archives expected to yield much data brought dismay to the writer in the earlier stages of research. First, no one seems to know what happened to the letters John Neumann sent to his superiors in Europe when he was viceregent and vice-provincial of the American Redemptorists during the years 1847-1849. An examination was made of all possible archival centers for these letters—in Rome, Vienna, Liège, and other places—without avail. Fortunately, information from other

sources bridged the gap. Letters of other Redemptorists, mission accounts, domestic chronicles and particularly the letters of the European superiors to Neumann served to fill in the picture.

A still greater cause for concern was the fact that no trace of the administrative papers of Neumann as Bishop of Philadelphia could be found. The loss of these papers was first noted by Berger in the preface of his biography. The one saving feature was the preservation of the so-called "Note Book" of Bishop Neumann, in reality a visitation record. With this book as a basis for establishing a chronology of the bishop's activities and with data amassed from other sources, particularly from the letters of contemporary bishops and from the episcopal letters to Propaganda, it has been possible to gain a day-to-day close-up of the man and of his work.

Other expected yields of archival documents failed to materialize. Though Bishop Neumann was often in correspondence with Bishop John Timon, C.M., of Buffalo, and with Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, the diocesan authorities of both these sees maintain that no trace of this correspondence remains. However, these losses were more than offset by the richness of the material in other places.

A brighter side of the research came from the fact that the writer had the advantage of reading the various printed copies of the ecclesiastical processes instituted to establish the heroicity of the virtues of Bishop Neumann. Canon Law forbids the use of the material so published while the canonical investigations are in progress (Canon 1387). These printed copies, moreover, give little indication of the sources. Nevertheless, they served as a great guide to the bishop's life and they pointed to the possibility of sources. Even the objections of the Promotor Fidei, the so-called "Devil's Advocate," indicated new avenues for research.

Fundamentally the story related here is from manuscript sources. The Wissel papers and the more important Berger papers were re-examined. The much more abundant material later discovered, particularly that covering the years of Neumann as a vice-provincial and as a bishop, is a new presentation.

The classified bibliography given below will acquaint the reader with the sources used for the writing of this book. Since a mere enumeration of sources does not give the importance or non-importance of the material gathered, a brief appraisal is added to the more valuable archival items.

I. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

1. *Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook, Pennsylvania.*

Three Letters of Bishop Neumann

Visitation Record (Note Book) of Bishop Neumann

The Allen Papers

"Exegesis Veteris Testamenti, Prachaticii"

"Exegesis Librorum Novi Testamenti, IIdi anni theologi, 1832"

The three letters of Neumann were of no significance, but the Visitation Record, or Note Book, is of capital importance, especially since so much of

Neumann's life as a bishop was spent on visitations. The Allen Papers, the letters received by the members of the Allen Family from Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, were of paramount value because they gave the intimate viewpoint of the great archbishop in many matters. Both the Visitation Record and the Allen Papers have been published by this society in its *Records*. This periodical is cited for the individual letters used in this study.

2. *Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, Rome, Italy.*

Acta S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1852, Vol. CCXIV

Acta S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1856, Vol. CCXX

Lettere e Decreti della S. C. e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario, 1852, Vol. CCCXLI

Lettere e Decreti della S. C. e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario, 1855, Vol. CCCXLVI

Lettere e Decreti della S. C. e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario, 1856, Vol. CCCXLVII

Lettere e Decreti della S. C. e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario, 1858, Vol. CCCXLIX

Lettere e Decreti della S. C. e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario, 1860, Vol. CCCLI

Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali, 1852, Vol. CMLXXV

Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali, 1856, Vol. CMLXXXI

Scritture riferite nei congressi, America Centrale dal Canada all' istmo di Panama, 1852-4, Vol. XVI

Scritture riferite nei congressi, America Centrale dal Canada all' istmo di Panama, 1855-7, Vol. XVII

Scritture riferite nei congressi, America Centrale dal Canada all' istmo di Panama, 1858-60, Vol. XVIII

Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1855, Part II, Vol. CXXII

Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1858, Part I, Vol. CXXVIII

Udienze di Nostro Signore, 1858, Part II, Vol. CXXIX

No one can understand the nomination and election of John Neumann to the episcopate nor the involved negotiations concerning his request to have the Diocese of Philadelphia divided in 1855 and 1858 without using these archives. The bishop's own letters to Propaganda and to the Congregation of Rites, as well as letters of other bishops to Rome, make this archival source of inestimable value. The originals were not seen but authentic copies were sent to the author by Monsignor Giuseppe Monticone, head archivist of the Propaganda Archives.

3. *Archives of St. Joseph's Scholasticate of the Order of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa, Canada.*

Four letters of the Superior of the Oblates of Mary in America, Bishop Eugene Guigues, O.M.I., of Ottawa, Canada, and Casimir Aubert, O.M.I., secretary general of the same Congregation (copies)

"Procès Verbaux des Conseils Généraux de la Congrégation des Missionnaires de Marie Immaculée, Déc. 1844—Mai 1859" (copy)

These brought to light a hidden chapter concerning the efforts of Bishop Neumann to have the Oblates of Mary assume the direction of the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo in Philadelphia. The originals of these documents are in the archives of the Oblate Generalate in Rome.

4. *Archives of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana.*

Cincinnati Papers
 Detroit Papers
 New Orleans Papers

The papers found here were invaluable not only for the solution of the difficulties of the Coadjutor Bishop Wood, but also for the views of the prelates on the nomination of many bishops and on the questions confronting the hierarchy of that period. Of particular value were the Cincinnati papers since they contained many letters of early Redemptorists in the Ohio region and likewise the letters of Bishop Wood while the latter was serving under Bishop Neumann. Similarly, the Detroit papers went far toward explaining the difficulties surrounding the entrance of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart into the Diocese of Philadelphia.

5. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Catholic Chancery Office, Baltimore, Maryland.*

Bayley Papers
 Eccleston Papers
 Kenrick Papers
 Spalding Papers
 Acta Concilii Plenarii Primi Totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae
 Baltimori Habiti
 Concilium Provinciale IX, Baltimori Habitum, Mense Majo Anno 1858
 Epistola Patrum Concilii Baltimorensis Octavi ad SS Dnum Nrum de
 Novis Sedibus Erigendis
 Letter-Book II, 1784-1862 (Record of Roman Documents)
 Litterarum Registrum a die 10 Oct. 1851 ad diem 17 Oct. 1862
 Minutes of the Proceedings of the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore,
 May 1855. These minutes were written in Latin by Rev. James A.
 Corcoran. This MS and the MSS of the First Plenary Council and the
 Ninth Provincial Council listed above are not to be confused with the
printed Acta listed under "Printed Sources."

Of all the members of the hierarchy Bishop Neumann was in closest touch with Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick of Baltimore. Because of this and because of Archbishop Kenrick's position in the hierarchy and his correspondence with almost all the bishops of the country and with the clergy and laity of Philadelphia, his former see, the Kenrick papers housed in this archival center gave greater light on Neumann's career as a bishop than any other archival source. Thirty-one of Bishop Neumann's original letters are found here; his part in the First Plenary Council of Baltimore and in the Eighth and Ninth Provincial Councils held in the same city can be studied at first hand from the acts and proceedings of these councils. The letters of the Allen family to Kenrick gave many characteristics of Neumann not found in other letters. The Allens were

warm friends of the Archbishop of Baltimore, having been led into the church by him when he was Bishop of Philadelphia. In writing to the archbishop they were charmingly frank and informative; for this reason their messages have a special value. Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick's letters to his brother, Francis P. Kenrick, were likewise rich in details.

6. *Buffalo Diocesan Archives, Catholic Chancery Office, Buffalo, New York.*

The Diary of Bishop John Timon, of slight value for this study.

7. *Budweis Diocesan Archives, Budweis Diocesan Seminary, Budweis, Czechoslovakia.*

Rodler Papers

These contained twenty-four original letters of John Neumann to his relatives and priest friends. They are of special interest for Neumann's journey across Europe and his first years in the Diocese of New York, though some were written later in his life.

8. *Detroit Diocesan Archives, Catholic Chancery Office, Detroit, Michigan.*

Neumann Letter, August 7, 1859

Letter-Book of Bishop Lefevre, September 24, 1857-February 15, 1870

The one Neumann letter is a long and revealing account of Neumann's whole part in the coming of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart to Pennsylvania, while the Letter-Book contains facsimiles of other letters on the same subject.

9. *Georgetown University Archives, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.*

Shea Papers (Collection)

Six original letters of Bishop Neumann to Father James Cotting and others, a number of transcripts dealing with the church in the United States, particularly the Report of Archbishop Bedini on the Church in America, and a printed copy of the petition to the Legislature of Pennsylvania on Church property gave insight into the conditions of the times.

10. *Jesuit Archives of the Maryland Province, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland.*

These provincial archives of the former Maryland-New York Province contain a number of letters from the Jesuits, Barbelin, Ward and Sourin, which give the key to the transactions covering the transfer of St. John's Church in Philadelphia to the Jesuits. One particular letter of Bishop Neumann to Charles Stonestreet, S.J., then provincial, gives Neumann's attitude.

11. *Latrobe Seminary Archives, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.*

Two letters of Neumann to Bonifacius Wimmer, O.S.B., of little value for this study.

12. *Monroe Motherhouse Archives, Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan.*

A number of letters bearing on the departure of the Immaculate Heart Sisters for Pennsylvania were found here. Since the pertinent material is quoted in Sister Rosalita's *No Greater Service*, this work is cited in this biography.

13. *New York Archdiocesan Archives, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York.*

Two letters of Neumann, of slight value for this study

Several letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick to Archbishop John Hughes are of more importance for this study.

14. *Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District, Office of the Prothonotary, 456 City Hall, Philadelphia.*

Appearance Docket No. 40, July Term 1853 (Documents on the final decision of the Trinity Trustees Case)

15. *Philadelphia Archdiocesan Archives, Catholic Chancery Office, Philadelphia.*

Kenrick-Frenaye Papers, published as *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, Francis E. Tourscher (ed.), Philadelphia, 1920. They are valuable for a picture of the Church and for Francis Patrick Kenrick's comments on John Neumann and Philadelphia. Since the inception of this research, these papers have been transferred to the Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, at Overbrook, Pa. The published volume is cited in this study.

16. *Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, Our Lady of Perpetual Help Rectory, 526 Fifty-ninth Street, Brooklyn, New York.*

Provincial Papers (Documents pertaining to the various vicegerents, vice-provincials and provincials from 1832-1920)

Alexander Papers, 1840-1845

Hafkenscheid Papers, 1849-1854

Foundations (Documents pertaining to various foundations from their inception)

Detroit 1846-1860 Papers

Pittsburgh 1839-1860 Papers

New York 1842-1860 Papers

Personnel (Files on each member of the province)

John Berger Papers (personal papers)

Joseph Mueller Papers

Wenceslaus Neumann Papers

Francis Poilvache Papers

Francis X. Tschenhens Papers

Stephen Landherr Papers

Neumanniana

Neumann Letters, 1823-1860

Neumann Data

Berger Papers (material collected for first biography of Neumann)

Wissel Papers

"Mon Journal"—a most important document for Neumann's years as a seminarian and as a young priest in the Diocese of New York

"Kurze Lebensbeschreibung des P. J. Neumann, Priester der Versammlung des Hl. Erlösers u. erwählten Bischof v. Philadelphia in N. Am."—a seven-page autobiography written on the eve of his consecration

Theological Notes of John Neumann

Themata Sermonum

Sunday Announcement Book of St. Philomena's Church

"Direttorio per uso de' Novizi della Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore"

Researches on Bishop Neumann, 2 vols. MSS by Stephen Landherr, C.S.S.R.

Miscellaneous

Circularia Decreta atque Litterae editae a Reverendissimo Rectore Majore

"Chronica Prov. Am. C.S.S.R. 1832-71"

The Neumann letters are for the most part arranged in chronological order. However, the Chestnut Hill Letters, the Rodler Papers, the letters in the archives of the Redemptorist Province of Prague, the letters found in the *Berichte* and in the *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens* are kept under these headings. The letters, originals and copies, approximately 175, are of great importance.

The Berger Papers are indispensable for Neumann's early life.

17. *Redemptorist Archives, Prague Province, Prague, Czechoslovakia.*

Four Neumann Letters

18. *St. Francis Seminary Archives, St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.*

The Journal of Michael Wisbauer, *Journal meiner Abreise von Obernburg bis zur Ankunft in Milwaukee* [sic] v 5 Juli bis 9 Okt., 1847

Many printed letters published during the lifetime of Bishop Neumann were likewise procured in the splendid collection of German magazines found in this archival source.

19. *St. Joseph's Domestic Archives, St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.*

The Diary of St. Joseph's College, 1853-60, proved of great value in supplementing the story of the Jesuits at St. John's Church, as well as giving first-hand information regarding the monetary panic of 1857.

20. *St. Peter's Domestic Archives, St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.*

The Domestic Chronicles of this house, Vols. I and II, during the years of John Neumann as vicegerent and as Bishop of Philadelphia served in many instances to thread into a connected story the bits of information otherwise gathered. Moreover, a knowledge of the conditions of the church in Philadelphia is gained from a perusal of these pages.

21. *St. Louis Roman Catholic Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.*

Photostats of letters concerning the departure of the Vincentians from Philadelphia.

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